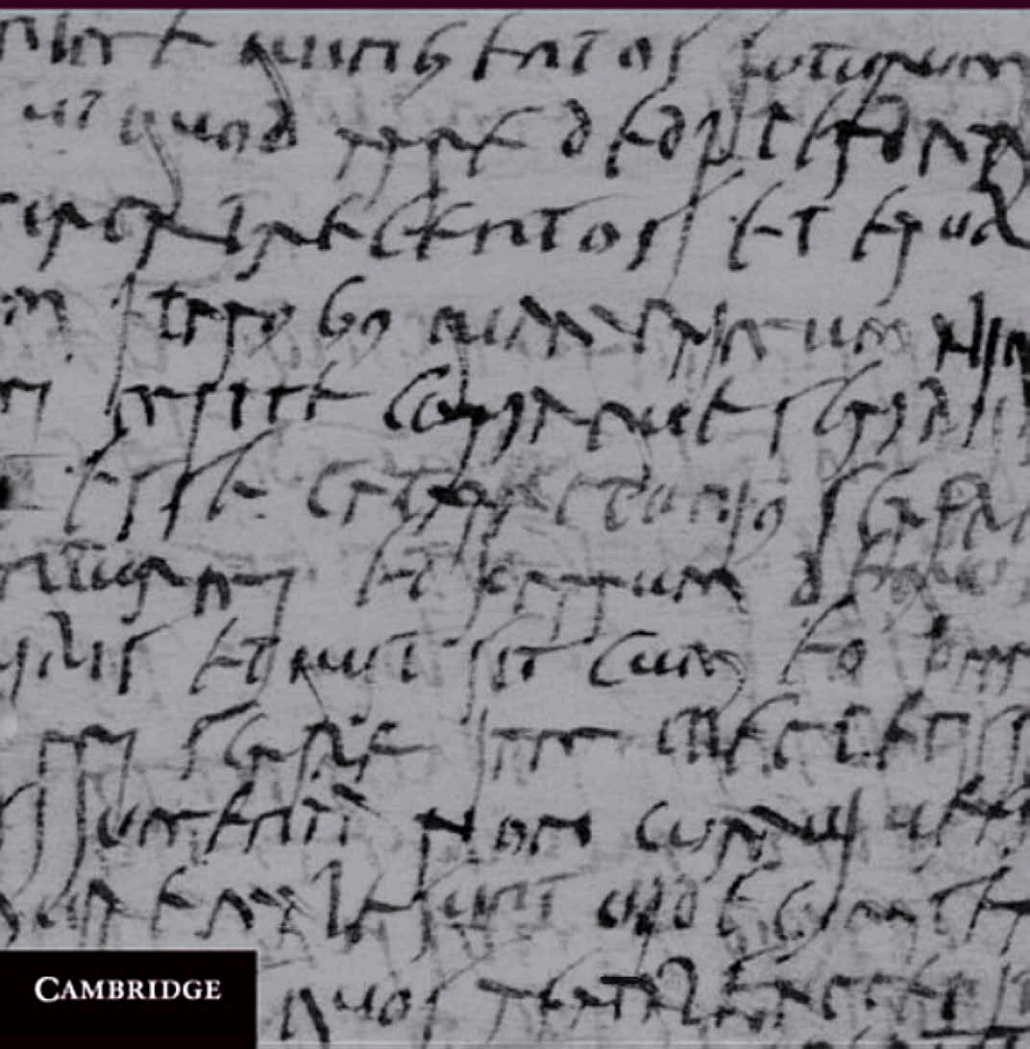


Social Variation and the Latin Language

J. N. ADAMS



CAMBRIDGE

SOCIAL VARIATION AND THE LATIN LANGUAGE

Languages show variations according to the social class of speakers, and Latin was no exception, as readers of Petronius are aware. The Romance languages have traditionally been regarded as developing out of a 'language of the common people' (Vulgar Latin), but studies of modern languages demonstrate that linguistic change does not merely come, in the social sense, 'from below'. There is change from above, as prestige usages work their way down the social scale, and change may also occur across the social classes. This book is a history of many of the developments undergone by the Latin language as it changed into Romance, demonstrating the varying social levels at which change was initiated. About thirty topics are dealt with, many of them more systematically than ever before. Discussions often start in the early Republic with Plautus, and the book is as much about the literary language as about informal varieties.

J. N. ADAMS is an Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He was previously a professor of Latin at the Universities of Manchester and Reading. He is the author of many books on the Latin language, including most recently *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600* (Cambridge, 2007) and *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2003).

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For Iveta and Elena

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Preface

William Labov, perhaps most notably in *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, and others have shown how English varies in accordance with the socio-economic class and educational level of speakers, and how class interacts also with such factors as gender, age, ethnicity, and the style, casual versus careful, adopted by speakers to suit different contexts. Classicists are well aware of social variation within Latin. It is obvious in the novel of Petronius, and from any comparison that might be made between, say, the Latin of Cicero and that of humble writing tablets from Vindolanda, Egypt and elsewhere. But accounts of social variation in Latin have had to contend with the terminology imposed on Latinists by long tradition, and with a persistent narrative of historical change and its social background as Latin developed into the Romance languages. There is an old term 'Vulgar Latin' (usually capitalised), of which the adjective is inevitably connected by classicists with the term *uulgus* 'common people', and is often taken to suggest that there was a language of the common people discrete from the educated variety represented in literary texts. Since the educated variety (Classical Latin) is deemed to have been a standard language and therefore largely fossilised over many centuries, the source of the Romance languages, differing as they do from Classical Latin in fundamental ways, has conventionally been sought in this Latin of the common people.

Studies of modern languages, however, such as that referred to above, have shown that linguistic change does not merely come, in the social sense, 'from below'. There is change from above, as prestige variables work their way down the social scale, and change may also take place across all social classes. Are we really to assume that the *uulgus* were solely responsible for the new vowel and case systems of the Romance languages, and for the development of a periphrastic future, a reflexive passive, a definite article, and so on?

In this book I will address the question whether in Latin change that was to affect the Romance languages came only from below. Should we

be talking of change in 'Latin' in general rather than in 'Vulgar Latin'? Is there evidence for linguistic innovation at higher social/educational levels that was to leave its mark on Romance? I will not get bogged down in traditional terminology, nor will I attempt to define, or collect definitions of, 'Vulgar Latin' (see however 1.5), a term that will be little used. Instead I will deal with about thirty topics, phonological, syntactic, morphological and lexical. These have been chosen because they encapsulate many of the differences between Latin and Romance. The discussion of most will be comprehensive, with the aim, first, of elucidating the changes that took place, and, second, of allowing the evidence to speak for itself in bringing out the social level or levels at which change might have occurred. A good deal of new evidence, such as that from recently published writing tablets, will be taken into account, but more importantly literary evidence will be presented that has always been available but usually passed over in silence. For example, any description of the transition from an oblique-case system based on inflections to one based largely on prepositions ought to report that already in the Augustan period the high stylist Livy fifty-four times uses *ab Roma* with verbs of motion, but *Roma* (ablative) never, in violation of the school-book rule that prepositions are not used with the names of towns. Would it be plausible to attribute this development to the language of the *uulgus*? Or again, a middle/anticausative or even passive use of the reflexive construction, usually attributed to a 'decadent' late period of the language and ascribed to 'vulgar' texts, appears in exactly the same form in the classicising purist Celsus as, centuries later, in the substandard text the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. An entirely false account of the social origin of this usage might emerge if one dwelt on the latter text to the exclusion of the former, and it is that sort of blinkered vision that often obscures the reality of historical change in Latin.

Another factor that has played a part in generating baseless distinctions (particularly of a phonological kind) between 'vulgar' and educated Latin has been a failure by scholars to distinguish precisely between speech and writing. Bad spellers sometimes write phonetically whereas the educated hold on to old orthography even when it is not representative of the sounds of their speech. Often a misspelling in Latin will reveal a pronunciation that there is good reason to attribute to all social classes. In such a case the educated avoided the misspelling but not the pronunciation that lay behind it, and the term 'vulgar' could only be applicable to the written form. Handbooks of Vulgar Latin are full of phenomena that belonged to the speech of all social classes and are not relevant to social variation in the language. The fact that they show up in the writing only of the poorly

educated has by a persistent slippage been taken to imply that they were a defining feature of the *speech* of the poorly educated as well.

The book is intended as a topic-based history of many of the most important developments of the Latin language as it changed into Romance, with particular reference to social variation and the social origin of innovations. It has at least as much to say about high literary varieties of the language as about informal and substandard non-literary writing. Though late Latin has a prominent place in it, it is not a book about late Latin. The story often starts in the early Republic with Plautus, and the question whether there is ever continuity between early Latin and proto-Romance is considered.

I am indebted to numerous people who have read parts or all of the work, answered queries, supplied me with their publications and given me access to work as yet unpublished. I must single out five of them. I owe a special debt to Adam Ledgeway, who read the work in its entirety, parts of it more than once, giving me a vast amount of information about Romance languages and saving me from numerous errors. I had access to his book *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change* while it was still in preparation. Thanks to his expertise in the bibliography of the Romance languages and of their relationship to Latin I discovered many articles and books that I would never otherwise have known about. Wolfgang de Melo provided me with authoritative interpretations of various passages in Plautus and with information about aspects of early Latin. He also read and commented on several chapters. I consulted David Langslow often, always with profit. He gave me access to sections of his edition of Wackernagel's *Lectures on Syntax* before it was published, and also supplied me with the text of passages from the Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles, a work of which there is no critical edition. Giuseppe Pezzini spent untold hours at the end converting the Greek into Unicode font. He also answered questions about Italian, provided me with bibliography and checked things when I did not have access to libraries. Harm Pinkster answered many queries, read some sections and generously let me see parts of his monumental *Oxford Latin Syntax* (in preparation).

I have pestered so many other people, always to my advantage, that it is hard to remember them all, and the list below almost certainly has omissions. To all of the following I am grateful: Brigitte Bauer, Frédérique Biville, Viara Bourova, Alan Bowman, John Briscoe, Philip Burton, Michela Cennamo, Anna Chahoud, James Clackson, Tony Corbeill, Eleanor Dickey, Carla Falluomini, Rolando Ferri, Panagiotis Filos, Manfred Flieger, Michèle Fruyt, Giovanbattista Galdi, Christa Gray, John Green, Hilla Halla-aho, Gerd Haverling, Nigel Holmes, Nigel Kay,

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Finally, I am greatly indebted again to All Souls College. The penultimate version of this book was finished before my retirement. I would never have been able to write the book or the two that preceded it without the years spent as a Senior Research Fellow of the college.

Abbreviations

<i>CC</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i> (Turnholt, 1954–).
<i>CEL</i>	<i>See</i> Cugusi (1992), (2002).
<i>CGL</i>	G. Goetz <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus glossariorum Latinorum</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1888–1923).
<i>CHG</i>	E. Oder and C. Hoppe, <i>Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924–7).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1862–).
<i>CL</i>	Classical Latin.
<i>CLE</i>	F. Bücheler, A. Riese and E. Lommatzsch, <i>Carmina Latina epigraphica</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1897–1926).
<i>CPL</i>	<i>See</i> Cavenaile (1958).
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866–).
<i>DML</i>	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> (Oxford, 1975–).
<i>FEW</i>	W. von Wartburg, <i>Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> (Bonn, 1928–).
<i>GL</i>	H. Keil, <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1855–80).
<i>ILCV</i>	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae ueteres</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1925–31).
<i>ILI</i> (1963)	A. Šašel, V. Hoffiller and J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana, 1963).
<i>ILLRP</i>	A. Degrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> , 2 vols. (I 2nd edn 1965, II 1963).
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916).

<i>LEI</i>	M. Pfister, <i>LEI: Lessico etimologico italiano</i> (Wiesbaden, 1979–).
Lewis and Short	C. T. Lewis and C. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1879).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> (revised and augmented by H. S. Jones, with a revised supplement) (Oxford, 1996).
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
<i>O. Bu Njem</i>	See Marichal (1992).
OCat.	Old Catalan.
<i>O. Claud.</i>	See Bingen <i>et al.</i> (1992), (1997).
OE	Old English.
<i>O. Faw.</i>	See Guéraud (1942).
OFr.	Old French.
OIt.	Old Italian.
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1968–82).
OProv.	Old Provençal.
OSp.	Old Spanish.
OTuscan	Old Tuscan.
Pg.	Portuguese.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina (Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne) (Paris, 1844–).
<i>REW</i>	W. Meyer-Lübke, <i>Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 3rd edn (Heidelberg, 1935).
<i>RIB</i>	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (Oxford, 1975–).
<i>RLM</i>	K. Halm, <i>Rhetores Latini minores</i> (Leipzig, 1863).
<i>SB</i>	F. Preisigke, <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (Strasbourg, 1915–).
<i>Tab. Luguval.</i>	See Tomlin (1998).
<i>Tab. Sulis</i>	See Tomlin (1988).
<i>Tab. Vindol.</i>	See Bowman and Thomas (1983), (1994), (2003); Bowman, Thomas and Tomlin (2010).
<i>Tab. Vindon.</i>	See Speidel (1996).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900–).
<i>TPSulp.</i>	See Camodeca (1999).
VL	Vulgar Latin.

‘Terentianus’ is used throughout to refer to the letters of Claudius Terentianus, for which see Youtie and Winter (1951), whose numeration is employed unless otherwise indicated. The *Tablettes Albertini* or Albertini

tablets, sometimes abbreviated as *Tabl. Alb.*, are cited from Courtois *et al.* (1952).

Abbreviations of texts cited from beyond the period covered by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* may be found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, *Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1990). Periodicals cited by abbreviation will be found in *L'Année Philologique* or the *Linguistic Bibliography*.

Abbreviations of editions of papyri and ostraca not given in this list may be found in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, available online at: <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

PART I

Introduction

Introduction: ‘Vulgar Latin’ and social variation

I ‘Vulgar Latin’

Readers will recognise this book as likely to discuss the entity that has traditionally been called ‘Vulgar Latin’ (henceforth not in quotation marks unless essential), a term that can be traced back to a phrase in antiquity itself, *sermo uulgaris* (on the terminology see R. Müller 2001: 155–65). Many have tried to give Vulgar Latin a precise meaning (for discussion of the problems and ideologies behind such terminology see the still pertinent remarks of L. R. Palmer 1954: 148–9, Löfstedt 1956: II.355–65 and Väänänen 1981a: 3–6, and more recently Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 467–70, Poccetti, Poli and Santini 2005: 22–8, and a good deal of Coseriu 2008, e.g. 147–67; for an old survey of definitions see de Groot 1923: 112–13), but it has continued to generate confusion. Lloyd (1979) identified thirteen meanings that have been assigned to the term (no doubt many others could be found: see Poccetti, Poli and Santini 2005: 25), and such multivalence has been seen as a reason for avoiding it altogether (see Wright 1982: 52–4). Even attempts to come up with a vague working definition while denying the phrase any technical character may run into trouble. Wright for example states in the foreword to his translation of Herman’s book (1967) on Vulgar Latin (Herman 2000: ix) that for Herman the term was ‘just a collective label, available for use to refer to all those features of the Latin language that are known to have existed, from textual attestations and incontrovertible reconstructions, but that were not recommended by the grammarians’ (cf. Herman 1967: 16). A problem is raised here by the words ‘not recommended by the grammarians’, because, as we will see below, 7 (i) (see too xxxiii.5), some features of the language with which grammarians found fault, far from belonging to lower, disparaged, social dialects, were current (majority) *educated* usage.¹ Grammarians do, it is true, transmit some information

¹ It is also a problem that ancient grammarians express no opinion one way or another of many of the phenomena that appear in handbooks of Vulgar Latin.

about lower-class usages not recommended for use by the educated classes, but their reasons for deeming a usage incorrect varied (see xxxiii.5), and they were far from being interested only in contrasting uneducated with educated usage.

Amid the terminological confusion there have on the other hand been many who have offered no definitions at all but have applied the label 'vulgar' willy nilly to usages that seem to be outside educated norms.² Commentaries on texts, literary and non-literary, are full of claims about supposed 'vulgarisms' found in these works.

The etymology of the adjective in 'Vulgar Latin' (< *uulgus* 'common people'), along with the widespread currency of the phrase as a scholarly term in modern European languages, has created a sense that a variety of Latin used strictly by the masses (as distinct from the upper classes) must be identifiable, or have been identifiable in the Roman period. A complicating factor is that *uulgus* and its derivatives, and particularly the form *uulgo*, when used in metalinguistic comments may refer to general (including educated) usage rather than the usage of the uneducated masses,³ but the latter meaning, sometimes with a derogatory implication, is well attested (see now the discussion of R. Müller 2001: 117–65, with illustration of the various meanings). In Latin writers there is recognition of a Latin of the common people. Note for example Gell. 1.22.2 *atque id dicitur non in compitis tantum neque in plebe uolgaria, sed in foro, in comitio, apud tribunalia* ('that is said not only at crossroads and among the vulgar plebs, but in the forum and assembly and before the tribunal'). In this case the usage alluded to was current among Roman orators or lawyers as well as among the ordinary people conversing at street corners, but the implication is clear that often there would have been a difference between the Latin of orators and that of the *plebs uolgaria* (on Gellius' use of *uulgus* see further R. Müller 2001: 152–5). Sometimes the addition of the adjective *imperitum* to *uulgus* makes it obvious that only the uneducated were being referred to when a disparaged term or form was cited, as at Col. 8.2.4 *nec minus Chalcidicum et Medicum, quod ab imperito uulgo littera mutata Melicum appellatur* (see R. Müller 2001: 150; on this and other such expressions in late Latin see Herman 1991: 32). For *imperiti* applied to speakers below the level of the elite see also iii.6. For disparagement by grammarians specifically of the usage of the Roman plebs see below, 7 (i).

² Two of my own books (Adams 1976a, 1977a) are guilty of this charge.

³ Note the phrase *uulgus grammaticorum* at Gell. 2.21.6, referring to the majority of grammarians themselves: see Holford-Strevens (2003: 175 n. 15).

In recent decades the inadequacy of 'Vulgar Latin' has been increasingly felt with the advance of sociolinguistics as a discipline. Analyses of social variations across well-defined social or occupational groups in modern speech communities are bound to show up traditional concepts of Vulgar Latin, however the phrase might be defined, as hopelessly vague. In this book we will not get involved in a critique of the terminology, and definitions of Vulgar Latin advanced in the past will not be collected and discussed. Instead a different, more practical, approach will be adopted, which will be explained later in this chapter (8). We will aim to determine what the study of a set of specific linguistic topics based on a full range of evidence has to tell us about social variation within Latin and its relevance to change over time. More will be said about 'social variation' below, 2.

We have already been somewhat disparaging of the term Vulgar Latin, which will not be used much in the book. It will, however, be maintained below (5) that the term can be serviceable precisely because of the inadequacy of the information available about lower social classes and their sociolects.

A little more must be said about problems associated with the term. There are three widespread notions, often linked to the use of 'Vulgar Latin', that need to be questioned particularly here. A section is devoted to each.

2 Aspects of social variation in language

First, the term, which is usually capitalised and thereby given almost technical status, implies that the Latin of the masses was a language variety quite discrete from the Latin of the educated; as Vincent (1997a: 168 n. 6) puts it, there has been a 'traditional hypostatization of "Vulgar Latin" as an independent language different and temporally discrete from the classical language'. This is a view that is at variance with the findings of those who have studied social variation in modern languages.

Where variables, particularly phonological, exist they tend not to be divided up neatly across social classes such that, for example, one class uses variable X and another variable Y. Note Chambers (2002: 350):

In every community that has been studied so far, sociolinguists have found that phonological variables tend to be distributed throughout the population, regardless of class, but graded so that the higher classes use particular variants infrequently and under more constrained circumstances, usually in casual settings with intimate participants. Grammatical variables are much more likely to be absolute markers of class membership.

Chambers goes on (350) to illustrate this contention from the glottal stop as a variant of /t/ in post-tonic position in Scotland and Northern England. In Glasgow the glottal stop is used in the speech of all social classes, but is of variable frequency from class to class. The gap between working-class and middle-class speech is described as enormous. Chambers concludes:

Clearly, what differentiates WC speech from MC speech in Glasgow is not the presence or absence of the glottal stop variant but its frequency.

He continues (350):

Membership of the Glasgow speech community entails using the glottal stop variant sometimes, regardless of social status, but there is clearly much more to it than that. It also entails a speaker's tacit knowledge of the frequency that is appropriate to one's social status, and this awareness serves both as a regulator of one's own usage and as an evaluator of the usage of others.

It is important to note also that social class does not operate in isolation as a determinant of linguistic behaviour. Most notably, since Labov (2006: Chapter 4) it has been clear that class interacts with stylistic variation. Labov (2006: 59) makes a distinction between *careful speech* and *casual speech*. A member of a high social group when using casual speech may depart more often from prestige usages than he would when using careful speech. Conversely speakers further down the social scale may aspire to use more prestige forms when they are speaking carefully (or, it might be added, writing). The result of such stylistic variations is that social divisions in speech are rendered less sharp than any idealised socio-economic index might lead one to expect. Stylistic variations themselves are not absolute, or, as Labov (2006: 84) puts it, 'all-or-none signals'. They form a continuum. Three other influences studied by Labov, ethnicity (see Labov 2006: 180–95), sex (196–7) and age (209–13) (see particularly Labov 2010: 294–322 on the intersection of sex, age and social class), must be mentioned here, though they will not be dealt with in this book (see now Clackson 2011c: 508–14 on the evidence for variation in Latin related to sex and age, with bibliography).

The above observations will turn out to be directly relevant to some of the data presented particularly in Part 1 of this book. Even from the limited evidence that is available it will become clear that to assume rigid phonological variations correlated exclusively with social class would be misguided. In the conclusion to Part 1 (xi) we will return to Chambers' remarks and summarise the findings of the preceding chapters that relate to them.

3 Vulgar Latin, Classical Latin and the source of the Romance languages

Second, Classical Latin, which tends to be used as a synonym of educated or standard Latin, is widely regarded as fossilised, a standard language, such that it continued unchanged for centuries once it had emerged in the late Republic (on standardisation see particularly Clackson and Horrocks 2007 Chapter VI, with the conclusion at 227; Adams 2007: 13–17, 2008; and the overview of 'Classical Latin' by Clackson 2011b). Since the Romance languages manifestly display a mass of differences from Classical Latin (e.g. they do not preserve the synthetic passive of the *infecum*), and since (on the above view) change did not occur in Classical Latin itself, therefore change must be located elsewhere, namely in the Latin of the masses, or Vulgar Latin. Thus the Romance languages are seen, at least by some, as the outcome of Vulgar Latin.⁴ This view has recently been put unequivocally by Solodow (2010: 107):

Classical Latin is not exactly the ancestor of the modern languages; the Latin written by Cicero and Caesar and taught at school was not the direct source of Spanish, Italian, and French. Instead, those languages derive from a different variety, which may be called 'Vulgar Latin'. 'Vulgar' is not a judgmental term here, but has its etymological sense, 'of the *vulgus*, the common people'.

An extreme view of the distinction between (Classical) Latin and Vulgar Latin has been called by Wright (1982: 1) the 'two-norm theory'. According to this Latin went on being spoken well into the medieval period by the educated, whereas the uneducated at the same time were speaking evolved vernaculars (see Wright 1982: 1–3 for a collection of such opinions).

Various questions are raised by such distinctions. Was the educated language really so fixed? A study of the syntax of, say, Tacitus compared with that of Cicero a century and a half earlier would suggest not (see e.g. xxiv.2.2.1). Must linguistic change necessarily be located well down the social scale at its inception? Is there evidence for change within educated varieties of the language that was eventually to have an outcome in the Romance languages? Should we perhaps be referring to change within Latin in general, instead of in a particular variety? In modern societies linguistic

⁴ There has been, it should be remarked, the occasional attempt to derive the Romance languages from Classical Latin: see Mańczak (1974: 231) (with the critique of Väänänen 1977). Others have preferred to stress the complexities of the relationship between the Romance languages and varieties of Latin (see the remarks of Poccetti, Polin and Santini 2005: 24).

change has been shown to spread from above as well as from below (see e.g. Labov 2006: 213 on a stigmatised New York phonological feature that ‘has met with an extreme form of social pressure from above, and has receded rapidly under this social correction’), and it will be interesting to see whether there are signs of Latin innovations starting well up the social/educational scale. The urban plebs were not entirely cut off from the cultural and linguistic influence of the educated classes (see Horsfall 2003: 54–8), and there is no reason in principle why prestige usages should not have spread downwards (see e.g. the index to Labov 2010 at 544, s.vv. ‘change from above’, ‘change from below’; also below, xxxiii.1.3 for a discussion of this question in relation to Latin).

4 Early Latin, Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages

Third, there has been a tradition of finding anticipations of the Romance languages in early Latin, particularly Plautus (see Marx 1909, Löfstedt 1911: 14–15 along with the index 343 s.v. ‘Alt- und Spätlatein’, Tovar 1964: 131, Campanile [1971] 2008: 1.337–8, Mancini 2000b: 108–9, Mańczak 2006). The argument or assumption goes that Plautus’ plays, in dialogue form and containing characters of differing social levels, give us an early glimpse of features of the spoken language, not least of lower social groups. These features may then disappear from view for centuries because of the high-style character of much Latin literature, to resurface eventually in the Romance languages.

One ought to be cautious in assessing the evidence for this scenario. Apparent continuities between the two chronological extremes may turn out to be merely superficial. In this book various Plautine and early usages and their relevance or otherwise to later developments will be considered (for a summary see xxxiii.4).

5 ‘Vulgar Latin’ as a serviceable term: the evidence for social variation in Latin

While ‘Vulgar Latin’ is easy to criticise, there are reasons why the term has been serviceable.

We do not know much about the language use of specific groups of speakers at lower points of the social scale (but see xxxiii.1.4). Linguists of modern languages have made use of the research of sociologists in attempting to explain what they mean by social class (see e.g. Ash 2002 for an

overview). Labov (2006: 108), for example, was able to use a ten-point socio-economic index combining three objective characteristics (occupation, education and income) in studying the social stratification of English in New York City. It is not open to a student of ancient sociolinguistics to set up subtle social divisions and to investigate linguistic variation across these categories. Numerous social groups in the Roman world are familiar to historians, such as the Roman plebs, slaves and freedmen, soldiers, 'rustics', doctors and vets, innkeepers and *muliones*, and the types of humble city dwellers listed by Martial 1.41 (see Purcell 1994, Horsfall 2003, the survey of invisible social types by Knapp 2011, and the sociolinguistic survey by Clackson 2011c: 514–19 mentioning various groups), but with a few exceptions (most notably soldiers and freedmen, or at least those depicted by Petronius and represented in the archive of the Sulpicii; see further below, 7 (iii), xxxiii.1.4) we do not have much of the linguistic output of specific lower-class groups and are never in a position to examine the distribution of variables (such as, say, the presence or absence of initial *h*) across the different groups (but see below, 7 (iii) on aspects of the *Cena Trimalchionis*). Our investigation of social variation must be unsubtle. We know a lot about the linguistic practices and attitudes of the literary elite, from their own writings and metalinguistic comments and from the extensive theoretical discussions extant written by the types of grammarians who had instructed them. We also know something of the writing practices of more practical men, such as architects, doctors and vets, who were educated but had not received the same pedantic instruction in the use of language as that experienced by those who had passed through the hands both of grammarians and rhetors. The architect Vitruvius even expresses a sense of his own linguistic insecurity because of this lack (1.1.18). Finally, we know quite a lot about the writing of soldiers of different ranks and educational status, from (e.g.) the commanding officer at Vindolanda (Cerialis: see *Tab. Vindol.* 225–90 with Bowman and Thomas 1994: 199–200) to humble African recruits using Latin as a second language in the desert of Tripolitania (*O. Bu Njem*: see Adams 1994b on their Latin). But for the most part badly spelt texts from the Empire come from the hand of writers whose precise social background is obscure, and our investigation of social variation tends to become a very general one, of elite versus non-elite usage. Only very rarely indeed do we find even general remarks about social dialects that are in some way more specific than the usual contrast between what is said *uulgo* and what should be or is said by the educated. One such is at Mart. 12.21.3–6, where Martial praises the speech of the Spanish

woman Marcella (see Adams 2007: 189–90). Not only does she not have a Spanish accent, but she speaks the Latin of the Palatine, not that of the Subura or Capitoline.

It has thus been inevitable that the ‘masses’ (*uulgus*) should have been treated as undifferentiated, and a vague Vulgar Latin brought into being.

Romance etymological studies have given a further impulse to the term. Romance philology has demonstrated that numerous Latin words surviving in Romance languages are either unattested in Latin itself, or hardly attested (see below, xxx). If a word is known to have existed but never surfaces in literature it may often (but not always) be a reasonable guess that it had its life in the speech of social groups below the elite.⁵ What social groups we cannot say because there is no textual evidence whatsoever, and for that reason the language of the *uulgus* in general becomes its domicile. The idea is crude, but we often cannot do better. What must be avoided, however, is the notion that this language of the *uulgus* was a separate language system completely discrete from that of higher social groups (on this point see above, 2).

For a definition of Vulgar Latin as the Latin of the *uulgus* in the loosest sense we may quote Herman (2000: 7), though one must resist the implication hinted at that linguistic change takes place in the uneducated part of the population and not in the part that had had a school education:

‘Vulgar Latin’ . . . is used to refer to the set of all those innovations and trends that turned up in the usage, particularly but not exclusively spoken, of the Latin-speaking population who were little or not at all influenced by school education and by literary models.

On this type of definition of the term see the discussion of Hofmann and Ricottilli (2003: 467–8). In Lloyd’s (1979) list of thirteen definitions it is numbered 5 (115), and disparaged. Lloyd himself felt (121) that if a vague term was sometimes needed, ‘Latin’ itself would do, possibly with specification, such as the Latin spoken in Spain by the uncultivated classes. It is obvious that the Romance languages came from Latin, but it is still worth asking whether different changes might have had their starting point at varying social levels of the language. If there is reason to think that a particular change begins at a social level beneath that of the educated elite,

⁵ There are of course other reasons why a term may remain out of sight. It may by chance never have been needed in the texts and inscriptions that have survived. How many Latin numerals, one wonders, are constructs rather than represented in texts? Or again a technical term may be invisible simply because treatises dealing with the subject to which it belongs are not extant. See further below, xxxiii.2 on the interpretation of submerged Latin.

we may not be in a position to specify at what precise social level, and the availability of a term that is admittedly imprecise but nevertheless sets up a distinction between the uneducated and educated may sometimes be useful.

Finally, it is worth drawing attention to a point made by Labov (2006: 132–3). It should not be assumed that, because he was able to use a ten-point socio-economic scale for New York, the same model would fit every society. Societies vary widely, and Labov mentions a study of CaneWalk in Guyana which established just two social groups. There is no reason to think that the Roman *uulgus* should have had such fine social divisions as those identifiable in New York. In modern Western societies there is mass education with widely different degrees of educational attainment, which split the population into numerous categories displaying speech variations. At Rome education was concentrated at the high end of the social spectrum, and in the relatively uneducated part of the population there might have been far less variation in educational levels.

6 Speech and writing

Far less satisfactory than the occasional considered use of the term Vulgar Latin to refer to the usage of the undifferentiated masses is the constant failure by scholars, both in handbooks on Vulgar Latin and in commentaries on texts (particularly those of a non-literary type preserved in writing tablets and the like), to distinguish between speech and writing. It is a contention of this book and particularly the first Part that many of the phenomena traditionally labelled in classical scholarship as vulgar, colloquial, substandard or the like were in reality normal features of standard educated Latin (for pertinent remarks on this subject in relation to the *Appendix Probi* see Powell 2011, e.g. at 84, 108; also Clackson 2011c: 517). The mistake is based on a confusion between spelling and speech. Often a misspelling, such as *pane* for *panem* or *pos tempus* for *post tempus*, is described as a vulgarism, even when it is known that the pronunciation behind the misspelling did not belong exclusively to the speech of the *uulgus* but was standard among the upper classes as well.⁶ The only non-standard features in such cases are the written forms, which are phonetic spellings of types that might be adopted sometimes by those of less than assured literacy. A handbook of Vulgar Latin may easily degenerate into a

⁶ Note too Powell (2007: 691 n. 19): 'there is the further issue whether a phonetic error represents standard or non-standard pronunciation, an issue on which traditional Vulgar Latin studies have often been confused'.

description of non-standard spellings, regardless of the social standing of the pronunciations lying behind them. Spelling variation is an interesting subject in its own right, but it is a different subject from the study of social variation in the language itself: there is a need to distinguish between misspellings in poorly written texts that reflect pronunciations specific to lower social classes, and misspellings that reflect pronunciations normal across the social spectrum. Those of the second type must be classed merely as literacy errors. In this book, and especially in Part I, we will try to identify misspellings of this sort and exclude them from the main narrative.

7 Sources of information

We may not have the evidence to categorise the different varieties of Latin used by subtly differentiated social groups, but do we have the means at least of distinguishing linguistically the educational elite from the ill-defined masses who were further down the social and educational scale? What are our sources of information about the language practices of the latter? We offer some categories of evidence, along with comments on their reliability.

(i) Grammarians and their pronouncements will occupy a prominent place in this book. They were not much interested in the speech of lower classes as such, though there are some exceptional texts such as Consentius' *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasms*, and scattered pronouncements on barbarisms and the like. Occasionally indeed stigmatised usages are linked to specific social groups. Consentius, for example, attributes three phonological 'barbarisms' to the Roman plebs (*GL* v.392.14–17 = Niedermann 1937: II.24–6):

per immutationem fiunt barbarismi sic: litterae, ut si quis dicat *bobis* pro *uobis*, *peres* pro *pedes*, *stetim* pro *statim*, quod uitium plebem Romanam quadam deliciosa nouitatis affectione corrumpit (on this passage see Adams 2007: 205).

Similarly Consultus Fortunatianus (*Ars rhet.* 3.4 *RLM* p. 123) ascribes a misuse of the neuter to *Romani uernaculi*:

gentilia uerba quae sunt? quae propria sunt quorundam gentium, sicut... Romani uernaculi plurima ex neutris masculino genere potius enuntiant, ut *hunc theatrum* et *hunc prodigium*.

Vernaculus means 'native' but also has an implication of 'low-bred, proletarian' (*OLD* s.v. 3), and there can be no doubt that Fortunatianus too was referring to the Roman plebs.

There are also comments by grammarians and other purists on phenomena used, as they put it, *uulgo*, a term, however, as we have seen (i), of variable meaning. Sometimes by these remarks grammarians sought to stigmatise usages that members of the class for which they were writing should not use. Occasionally they expressed themselves in an extreme form, stating that 'no one says' such and such, when they meant that the usage was widespread but ought not to be admitted by the educated (see xxiii.5 (6)).

Grammarians were not, however, detached linguistic observers but often doctrinaire, and their assertions are not always easy to interpret or necessarily consistent. An expression of disapproval should not automatically be taken to mean that the disapproved usage belonged to a social dialect beneath that of the educated class (see xxxiii.5). When a grammarian condemns a pronunciation or word (as *non Latinum*, *non Latine*, used *uulgo*) in favour of another, he will often not be making a contrast between two social levels of the language, but confining his attention to the speech of the educated.

For example, the grammarian might not have been upholding a current educated usage against a variant from a lower sociolect, but attempting to introduce a practice from the distant past that had been largely dropped by the educated themselves. A revealing passage is at Pompeius *GL* v.187.26–32: *quamquam hodie in usu est ut dicant 'inimicus tuus est', sed non est Latinum. . . 'inimicus' autem 'meus est' non bene dicimus*. The point is that *inimicus* historically took a dative (*inimicus tibi est*), and that is the construction recommended by Pompeius. He acknowledges that the possessive adjective *tuus* is 'in use today' (among the educated), despite which he maintains that it is not correct Latin (*non est Latinum*). The dative belonged to the earlier literary language, and Pompeius was for that reason treating it as more correct than current usage. Grammarians not infrequently advocated a return to the past. As late as the fifth century there were some grammarians who were insisting on the retention of the initial aspirate. Comments by Augustine show that this insistence was a form of archaism rather than a defence of educated usage against a new trend (see vii). Efforts in the late period to preserve the quantitative vowel system of Classical Latin also look anachronistic and derived from a study of classical verse rather than from the observation of real speakers (iii.6, p. 50). Quantitative errors committed by grammarians themselves point to the real state of the language.

Similarly, if a very late writer such as Isidore contrasts a usage of the *uulgus* with its classical equivalent (e.g. *Etym.* 17.6.27 *torris lignum adustum, quem*

uulguſ titionem appellat), we cannot assume that the classical term (*torris*) was still current among the educated (for this case and others similar see R. Müller 2001: 147). *Titio* might well by this time have been widespread across all classes, with the classical *torris* merely retaining an idealised existence in Isidore's mind.

But other cases may be more revealing for our purposes. Sometimes there may be evidence that the castigated variant was current particularly in lower social dialects, and the grammarian may be resisting its spread among the educated. The distribution of the variant in extant texts, particularly badly written non-literary documents, may confirm its currency down the social scale (see e.g. xv.2 on the use of *in* with the names of towns to express 'motion to'). We draw attention again to a point made earlier (2), that there are not rigid distinctions between social varieties of a language, but differences in the frequency with which different social groups admit stigmatised variants. When grammarians' attitudes to a phenomenon change over time, from hostility to acceptance, we may deduce a gradual rise to respectability of the usage among the educated, particularly if its initial attestations are in low-register or substandard texts and consistent with a beginning down the social scale. A case in point are comments on the proliferation during the Empire of compound adverbs and prepositions, particularly with the prefix *de-* (xxiii.8 with 5 (3)).

It follows that grammarians' assertions about usage should be assessed carefully as linguistic evidence.

(ii) There was an awareness among Church Fathers who had to address ordinary people that their audience might not be able to understand upper-class Latin (note e.g. Caesarius *Serm.* 114.2, CC 103, 474–5 *et haec quidem secundum litteram, sicut in libris sanctorum scriptum inuenimus, caritati uestrae rustico et simplici sermone, quem toti intellegere possint, insinuanda credidimus*; simple language should be used so that everyone can understand). The idea is sometimes expressed that the educated speaker (or writer) might have to adjust his language to match that of the audience or readership, and details may be given of a usage current among the masses that should be adopted instead of the classical term. The corpus of such *testimonia* is an interesting source of information about lower sociolects (see Herman 1991).

Augustine, for example, makes it clear that there would be no point in using *ōs* for 'bone' when addressing ordinary Africans because they could not distinguish *ōs* from *ōs* (see iii.6). The back-formation *ossum* (derived from the plural *ossa*) should be used instead. This is the form that was to survive in Romance languages. Augustine implicitly sets up a distinction

between upper-class usage, with *os* still preserved, and that of lower social dialects, in which *ossum* was the norm. We cannot differentiate the various social groups beneath the elite, but it is something to know that the *uulgus* in general would have used *ossum*. Augustine several times comments on this case (see the material at *TLL* IX.2.1093.50ff.), in one place (*In Psalm.* 138.20 l. 3 *quod uulgo dicitur ossum, Latine os dicitur*) making a distinction between 'mass' usage and 'correct Latin', in another (*Doctr. Christ.* 3.3.7) referring to *ossum* as a 'barbarism' but one that he would be prepared to use in the interests of clarity, and in a third (*In Psalm.* 138.20 l. 7 *ossum, sic enim potius loquamur: melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intellegant populi*) presenting grammarians as upholding the traditional usage, whereas it is better to be understood by the 'people' (with the last clause and its verb cf. the passage of Caesarius above). The use of *ossum* in literature is presented at *TLL* IX.2.1094.6ff. The form is largely in late low-register texts such as medical translations and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. In making a distinction between *uulgo* and *Latine* Augustine (above) is unlikely to have been referring by the first term merely to the general practice of the educated.

We will see two similar passages in Jerome, who apologised for using *cubitus* in the masculine, stressing that he knew the neuter to be correct but wanted to be understood by the *uulgus* (XIX.12). He uses the term *uulgus* (dependent on *consuetudo*, of the conventional usage of the group) and also the expression *simplices et indocti*, thereby (by the gloss) revealing roughly what he meant by *uulgus* (cf. the phrase *imperitum uulgus* above, 1).

Educated speakers such as Jerome do not make linguistic distinctions between different social groups forming the *uulgus*, but they were aware of differences in speech between the *uulgus* loosely speaking and those taught *Latine loqui* by grammarians. Since we are largely dependent on such imprecise informants for information about lower social dialects, it is little surprise that the imprecise term Vulgar Latin has had such currency.

Church Fathers were not the only ones who were conscious of the need to speak down to their audience or readers. In the preface to his work on gynaecology Mustio (Soranus Lat.) (p. 3 Rose) states that for the benefit of uneducated midwives who would have his treatise read to them (they were expected to be illiterate) he has tried *simplicius loqui* and to use 'women's words'. By this phrase he must be referring, it emerges from the text, to the nursery language used by humble wet nurses and midwives. This passage is unusual, in that a specific social group is singled out (cf. XXXIII.1.4), and some of the terminology in the treatise itself, constituting the 'women's words', is of considerable interest (Adams 2005c).

In three of the passages cited in this section the word *simplex* occurs, of the language that must be used to the uneducated (*indoctus* also occurs), or of the uneducated themselves.

(iii) There is the occasional special text, or part of a text, in which an educated writer portrays the Latin of lower social groups. The classic example is the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, in which freedmen mainly of Greek origin are given speeches of strikingly non-standard character. A drawback of a text such as this is that it is not a genuine specimen of a social dialect but a contrived representation by someone of a different social class. Nevertheless the *Cena* is of real interest, and not least because we have the other parts of the novel to compare with it. For example, all errors of gender in the novel are in freedmen's speeches, and all involve the neuter in some way (see XIX.5), and Petronius must have been indicating that he had noticed disturbances to the gender system of a particular type at low social levels. The indicative for subjunctive in indirect questions is also mainly a feature of the freedmen rather than of the novel in general (XXIX.I.7.I).

There are differences between the freedmen themselves, an indication that Petronius was one who did not see the *uulgi* as linguistically an indifferentiated mass. Two characters, Dama and Echion, have been found to have a particularly high number of departures from standard language (Boyce 1991: 76, 82), and Echion is notably prone to hypercorrections (Boyce 1991: 83–4). Another, Hermeros, is presented as more subject to Greek influence than the other speakers (Boyce 1991: 92–3, Adams 2003a: 815 s.v. 'Hermeros'). Trimalchio in some respects seems to be given Latin of a higher educational/social level than that of the other freedmen. For example, his use of the acc. + inf. is less rudimentary than that of other speakers (Adams 2005a). Petronius provides us with our only real picture of speech variations within a social group, that of freedmen.

Speeches in other literary works may sometimes contain usages intended to be appropriate to the social class of the speaker.

Various slave idioms turn up in Plautus and elsewhere. To refer to someone's *genius*, as is done by Hermeros at Petron. 37.3, was a mark of servile origin (M. S. Smith 1975: 80). Slaves used *noster* to qualify one belonging to their household, even of themselves, as at Plaut. *Mil.* 433 *certe equidem noster sum* 'certainly I belong to our household' (cf. 458 *nostra erilis concubina* 'the master's concubine from our household': see OLD s.v. 3, Brix and Niemeyer 1901 on *Mil.* 350). The constant anteposition of *erilis* in the phrase *erilis filius* in Plautus, against expectation for an adjective of this type, may reflect a servile habit of forefronting reference to the

master ('master's son'). Two servile idioms (*genius* and *noster* above) are used together at Petron. 53.3 *Gai nostri genio*. Another usage of slaves was *ipse* in the sense 'the master' (Stefenelli 1962: 122). At Plaut. *Asin.* 706 *badizo* is used for the only time in Latin literature, spoken by a slave, and is typical, according to Shipp (1979: 123), of the use of Greek by slaves in Plautus (see further Adams 2003a: 351–2 with n. 100). Another notable Greek term associated with slaves was *colaphus*, which was of Sicilian origin and must have reached Rome with the slave trade (see Adams 2003a: 351 n. 100, 2007: 439, Clackson 2011b: 252–3).

Rustics were a recognisable type often well down the social scale. In Plautus the rustic character Truculentus is given some rural language meant to sound funny (Adams 2007: 120–1). In Atellan farce rustic characters seem to have been assigned distinctive usages (Adams 2007: 153–7). There are many *testimonia* about rustic usages, which tended to be disparaged (see e.g. R. Müller 2001: 43–60). We will not deal with these here, as they are more relevant to regional variation (see Adams 2007: 804 s.v. "rustic" Latin and rustics'; cf. xxxiii.1.4).

Of a soldier Laetorius Livy (2.56.8) refers to 'the rough tongue in a military man' (*rudis in militari homine lingua*), and in the speech that follows (9) a few colloquial items have been detected (Ogilvie 1965: 377 ad loc.). In remarks put into the mouths of ordinary soldiers by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.22.2) and Apuleius (*Met.* 9.39) the same non-classical usage is found, *ubi* for *quo* (see xv.3). Direct speeches attributed in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* to the *presbyteri* whom Aetheria meets in her travels are linguistically distinct (see Väänänen 1989), and will come up in two chapters in this book (xx.5.4.1 on *ecce* with demonstrative pronouns, xxv.3 on the present tense with future reference). The short speeches in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great would also probably repay study. Speeches in Latin literature are not linguistically so indicative of the social class of the speaker as are speeches in many English novels, but there are touches here and there which could do with systematic investigation. These occasional usages in speeches, however, are all of miscellaneous character, whereas some more general features of lower-class speech (such as disturbance to the gender system) may be deduced from a study of the whole body of freedmen's speeches in Petronius compared with the Latin of the rest of the novel.

One 'special text', the *Appendix Probi*, which has traditionally been regarded as an attempt to castigate socially stigmatised pronunciations and accorded significance as evidence for the emergent Romance languages, may now be disregarded in this connection, following Powell's (2011) demonstration that it 'is not a transcription of popular speech but

a collection of real or alleged scribal errors and attempted corrections of them' (Powell 2011: 118).

(iv) Non-literary texts, such as inscriptions, writing tablets, ostraca and *defixiones*, may reflect the language use of lower-class speakers. It is known that scribes were often employed to write down a text (see e.g. Bowman and Thomas 1994: 199 on the hands in the archive of Cerialis at Vindolanda; Halla-aho 2003 on the letters of Terentianus), and the occasional dictation error suggests that the scribe was sometimes listening to the spoken word (see *Tab. Vindol.* 234, Adams 1995a: 90). For that reason hypercorrection, which is a mark particularly of someone composing with a pen in his hand and striving for correctness, is sometimes absent from such texts (see Adams 1977a: 5 on the letters of Terentianus). A soldier was mentioned above (iii) for his *rudis lingua*, and non-literary texts often bear the names of soldiers. The most noteworthy corpus is that of the soldier Claudius Terentianus, but there are others (see also above, 5), such as the Bu Njem ostraca, the ostraca of Wâdi Fawâkhir and Mons Claudianus, the Vindolanda tablets and a variety of miscellaneous texts. The significance of this material linguistically goes beyond its modest quantity. Sometimes a development is attested of which we would know nothing if we had only the literary corpus. For example, in the dative and genitive of demonstratives some distinctive feminine forms turn up in various documents, which are absent entirely from literature but to some extent reflected in Romance (see xx.3). Non-literary texts have provided a glimpse of a submerged, non-elite usage.

Non-literary documents are not of uniform type, and some specimens may have a distinctive feature that is illuminating. A text written in Greek letters because of the illiteracy in Latin of the (Greek) writer may have something of the character of a phonetic transcription (see e.g. *SB* III.I.6304 = *CPL* 193, with Adams 2003a: 53–63), given that the Greek alphabet marks some distinctions of vowel quantity. Sometimes we have two versions of the same document, notably in the archive of the Sulpicii, one written by a scribe and the other by a party to the legal transaction (see e.g. *TPSulp.* 51 in Camodeca 1999). A comparison of the versions may indicate differences of educational level. In the Vindolanda writing tablets there is a set of formulaic documents (military reports with the heading *renuntium*) that repeatedly display the non-standard form *debunt* for *debent* (see Adams 1995a: 102–3, 130–1, Clackson 2011c: 517). These texts were written by under-officers who were literate and by definition not of the lowest educational level. By contrast in a different type of document, an account (*Tab. Vindol.* 181), the classical form *debent* is written. This document is in the hand of a scribe who also wrote personal letters (and used a few

archaising forms) (see Adams 1995a: 131). The Vindolanda corpus may look linguistically fairly uniform, but in this case we can set up a sociolinguistic variation between two groups who would not be described as belonging to the upper-class elite (see also below, xxxiii.1.4).

In this general category of evidence must be included the vast corpus of inscriptions from all over the Empire and covering a wide time span. Many of these, such as the Pompeian graffiti, some eastern inscriptions and the Christian inscriptions published in *ILCV*, were inscribed or drafted by persons of humble education. Occasionally we may attribute an inscriptional feature to a social group (at least in origin). The *-aes* feminine genitive singular occurs particularly in the Latin nomina of Greek women of servile origin, and it reflects the influence (with latinisation) of the overtly Greek ending *-es* (see Adams 2003a: 479–83, 2007: 673–4, Clackson 2011c: 515). Here is a usage associated originally with the social group former slaves, and it is a further indication that the Latin of such speakers (witness the freedmen in Petronius, particularly Hermeros) must have had Greek or grecising elements.

Very late corpora, of which the Visigothic slate tablets from Spain are the best example (see Velázquez Soriano 2004), may take us very close to the Romance languages, and reveal developments that had occurred since the time of earlier documents such as the letters of Terentianus. The slate tablet 40.11 shows up a proto-Spanish suppletion in the verb 'go', and also exposes changes in the suppletion of *ire* that had taken place since the early Empire (see xxxi.5).

(v) From the late period many texts are extant from the hand of writers to whom classical models were a closed book. These include medical and particularly veterinary works, most notably the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, technical treatises of various types, such as the dietary work of Anthimus and the treatise *Compositiones Lucenses*, *Itineraria* such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, chronicles such as the Anonymus Valesianus II, Biblical or apocryphal works such as the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, other Christian texts such as the *Regula Benedicti*, legal documents such as the Albertini tablets, the *Lex salica* and other barbarian law codes, and a host of miscellaneous texts. Such material is generally referred to in this book as 'low-register', an unsatisfactory term to be sure. It is entirely possible that a late text with syntax and morphology that looks deviant by the standards of Classical Latin may reflect the educated usage of its day and have nothing to tell us about lower social dialects. Where possible comparisons must be made with the Latin of contemporary texts that appear to reflect a higher social or educational level. A significant

text in this respect is the *Mulomedicina* of Vegetius, a work which drew on the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Pelagonius. The linguistic changes that Vegetius made to the source material may sometimes be revealing, but there has been a habit in the literature of highlighting places where he makes a change, and disregarding others where he does not (see XIII.5.5 n. 17, XXVI.9), or of misrepresenting the facts. We will try here to present a more comprehensive picture of Vegetius' handling of his sources (see XXIII.7).

(vi) The educated themselves, users of the standard language when they were speaking in formal situations or writing in literary genres that adopted high-style language, were capable of admitting stigmatised usages associated with lower social dialects when the context was appropriate or because they wanted to present themselves in a particular light. Cicero was well aware of this (see the remarks of Väänänen 1981a: 5), and in one place asks Paetus to acknowledge that he uses 'plebeian language' in letters: *Fam.* 9.21.1 *uerum tamen quid tibi ego uideor in epistulis? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum?* It follows that literary or canonical Classical Latin itself cannot be excluded as a potential source of information about lower social dialects, and specifically about the ways in which stigmatised usages might have been exploited for effect. We referred above (2) to Labov's distinction between careful and casual speech. In one place (2006: 60) Labov alludes to 'casual conversation among friends or family members'. Just such a style is recognised by Quintilian (12.10.40–3), who appears to equate the *sermo cotidianus* used with one's family with what he calls *sermo uulgaris*:

(40) adhuc quidam nullam esse naturalem putant eloquentiam nisi quae sit cotidiano sermoni simillima, quo cum amicis coniugibus liberis seruis loquamur, contento promere animi uoluntatem nihilque arcessiti et elaborati requirente: quidquid huc sit adiectum, id esse adfectionis et ambitiosae in loquendo iactantiae, remotum a ueritate fictumque ipsorum gratia uerborum, quibus solum natura sit officium attributum seruire sensibus . . . (43) nam mihi aliam quandam uidetur habere naturam sermo uulgaris, aliam uiri eloquentis oratio: cui si res modo indicare satis esset, nihil ultra uerborum proprietatem elaboraret: sed cum debeat delectare, mouere, in plurimas animum audientis species inpellere, utetur his quoque adiutoriis quae sunt ab eadem nobis concessa natura.

Again, there are some who say that no eloquence is natural unless it is exactly like the everyday speech which we use to talk to our friends, wives, children, and slaves, and which is content to express our purpose without seeking anything studied or elaborate. Anything over and above this, they maintain,

is a mark of affectation and pretentious linguistic ostentation, remote from reality and contrived solely for the sake of words, whose sole natural function (they say) is to be the servants of thought . . . 'Vulgar' speech, it seems to me, has a different nature from the natural language of the man of eloquence. If all the latter had to do was to indicate facts, he would not make an effort to go beyond the correct uses of words; but as his duty is to please and to move and to induce various feelings in his hearers, he will also use those additional aids which we also owe to Nature (Russell, Loeb, with modifications).

An instance of 'plebeian' Latin in a letter may be cited from the emperor Augustus (*ap. Suet. Aug.* 76.2):

ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servaui, qui in balineo demum post horam primam noctis duas buccas manducaui prius quam ungui inciperem.

Manduco here is used in its Romance meaning 'eat' (as distinct from the earlier 'chew'), and this is the first example of that sense: see *TLL* VIII.273.36ff. at 74f. The social status of the verb may be deduced a little later from its distribution in Petronius. The synonymous *comedo* is found both in the *Cena Trimalchionis* and elsewhere in the novel (eleven times), but *manduco* occurs just twice (46.2, 56.4), both times in speeches by freedmen (see Stefenelli 1962: 64–5 on the semantic field). Petronius was locating the usage in lower sociolects, on which the emperor drew in a suitable context. There is also a literary example in the first-century (?) translator of Homer, Attius Labeo, in a citation by the scholia to Persius (1.4 *crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos*, = *Il.* 4.35 ὦμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδος). Attius must have been aiming for some sort of effect, and *pisinnus* too was 'far below literary level' (Courtney 1993: 350), and otherwise completely submerged until a much later period (see below, xxii.9 for further details).

It is, however, a mistake to see the crossing of social boundaries as motivated entirely by the desire to achieve particular contextual effects. Some individuals may deliberately disregard the efforts of grammarians to classify some usages as *Latine* ('correct', educated Latin) and others as *vulgo* or barbarous, for their own doctrinaire reasons. Augustus was a case in point (see Adams 2007: 16–17). For example, he is reported to have used prepositions with the names of towns, a practice attested in non-literary and a few literary texts and castigated in the grammatical tradition (see xv.2). He did so because he thought clarity was more important than ideals of linguistic correctness. Sociolinguists studying social variation in speech have drawn attention to the amount of variability and inconsistency

in individuals' output, with non-standard variants used in varying degrees alongside standard forms (see above, 2). It is impossible to attribute a cause to every departure from what is expected (see e.g. Labov 2006: 85); it is the frequency of a usage that is significant, not an individual occurrence. Classicists have often been perplexed by the occasional intrusion of 'vulgarisms' into classical texts where no obvious motivation can be seen, but these may merely reflect the fact that absolute distinctions between social dialects and styles do not exist.

(vii) Finally, the Romance languages may be used retrospectively to throw light on Latin, though ideally one looks for evidence from within Latin itself, however slight, to confirm a development or usage observable in Romance. It is one thing to find reflexes of *ebriacus* in a number of Romance languages, but another to find that it has turned up in low-register non-literary texts and is castigated by a grammarian (see xxii.6).

8 Aims and methods

In this book I will not set out to define what I might mean by Vulgar Latin and then try to describe its features. Nor will I adopt the approach of attempting to identify what might be known about the language of the *uulgus* loosely conceived. A book with the title of this one might indeed have a completely different format from that found herein. It might, for example, comprise a collection of *testimonia* referring to the usage of the *uulgus* or groups within that. Such *testimonia* are indeed scattered throughout, but no attempt has been made to be comprehensive, and their selection has been entirely determined by the subject matter of the individual chapters. The book is topic-based, and diachronic in its focus. It has about thirty specialised chapters, each devoted to a topic. The topics comprise many of the main phonological, syntactic, lexical and morphological developments that occurred within the history of Latin and lay behind the different appearance of the Romance languages compared with classical Latin. They form the core of handbooks on Vulgar Latin, though these tend merely to list examples of particular usages from selected sources and to imply their 'vulgar' status without presenting the full picture. Each topic is dealt with discursively. The evidence will be reconsidered, and in many cases it will turn out that there is either new evidence, or old evidence that has been neglected. Neglect or misrepresentation of existing evidence is one of the main factors generating some conventional narratives of the transition from Latin to Romance, and repeatedly we will see reasons for questioning these narratives. In a sense the book is a selective

history of the Latin language, particularly that of the later period. It differs from some other histories of the language in that particular attention is paid to social variation. It should be stressed, however, that most topics are dealt with fully, because selective treatment may produce misleading results.

Various questions will be addressed (see also above, 3). What linguistic changes with a Romance outcome took place within the period of recorded Latin, and at what social levels of the language are they attested? What do we know about lower social dialects of Latin (in the loose, collective sense adumbrated above, 5), and are the phenomena that have been attributed to them genuinely restricted in their social distribution? Is there strong evidence that linguistic change occurred predominantly in lower social dialects? Is it true that the Romance languages are the outcome of some such entity as Vulgar Latin, or should we be more open-minded and prepared to see Latin in all its varieties as potentially subject to change? To what extent were grammarians, usually regarded as 'guardians of the language', attempting to preserve against change a standard language? Were they successful, or were they perhaps more liberal than has been allowed? Were they really interested in standardisation in the modern sense at all? Many of our conclusions about the evidence for social variation and about the possible location of change within lower sociolects will be negative, but I make no apology for that. A false view of the history of the language may develop from partial or over-positive presentation of the evidence, and merely to identify misinformation about these lower sociolects would be an achievement in itself.

9 Narratives of social variation and linguistic change from Latin to Romance

We alluded in the previous section to the narratives that are to be detected behind discussions of the topics dealt with in this book. It may be useful to list several such here.

First, a Latin usage that was to survive in Romance is sometimes presented as occurring first (in the Republic or early Empire) in allegedly vulgar or non-standard texts. These typically include Plautus and the pseudo-Caesarian works such as the *B. Afr.* and *B. Hisp.*, letters of Cicero and particularly of some of his correspondents, and Petronius. The next stage identified is usually later Latin, in which the usage may be claimed to have become more frequent. The implication is that it had its beginnings in lower social dialects in the Republic but then spread across the social

spectrum by the late period. A phenomenon often described in these terms is the ablative of the gerund functioning without instrumental force as a present participle (xxvii.1). A problem may lie in the selective use of evidence. Is the usage really restricted to low-register texts in the earlier period? This narrative is so entrenched that scholars may see the pattern where it does not really exist.

Second, there are minor variants on the above narrative. A proto-Romance usage may supposedly be found in early Latin (e.g. Plautus and Terence) and not, or hardly ever, again until the Romance languages (see also above, 4). Alternatively, although a usage does turn up between Plautus and Romance, its appearance in Plautus is regarded as the significant event, as indicating that features of Romance can be traced back at a subliterate level to the early Republic, to a low variety of the language that Plautus was able to admit because he was writing comic dialogue. Phenomena that have been seen in this light include the supposed use of *ad* for the dative (xiii.5.1), and of masculines for neuter (xix.4.3.3). Often such a usage will be described as becoming frequent in late Latin. The interpretation advanced in this book of the history of the two usages mentioned in this paragraph will be at variance with that just mentioned. The findings of the book concerning possible continuities between Plautus/early Latin and Romance are summarised in the concluding chapter (xxxiii.4).

Third, an extreme view is sometimes encountered, that a phenomenon we associate with the Romance languages was already in place in the early Republic but completely submerged. It has been suggested by Pulgram (1975: 249–56) that a vowel system based not on distinctions of vowel quantity in the classical manner but on distinctions of vowel quality in the Romance manner goes back to an early period, even though evidence cannot be cited to support the claim (see iii.1). We will sometimes speculate in this book about developments in the language that were largely submerged, but it is desirable that there should at least be traces of what might have been happening beneath the surface of the literary language. On the problem of submerged features see xxxiii.2.

Fourth, the emphasis may be more on the appearance of a phenomenon in late texts than on its use in the earlier period. Notions of ‘decadence’ may come into it. There was, it is sometimes suggested, a decadent period in late Latin when the language was subject to change, literary conventions were breaking down and new developments were showing up even in texts. Uses of reflexive constructions with functions approaching the passive have been depicted according to such a narrative (xxvi.12). The picture

may sometimes be drastically altered if neglected literary texts of an earlier period are taken into account.

10 Analysing the chronology of change in a dead language

Anyone attempting to give an account of social variation in a language of the past and particularly its non-standard features faces severe difficulties. For dead languages or earlier periods of living languages we are dependent on written sources for information, but writing is highly conservative, and spoken idioms, pronunciations etc. may never be represented in the written language, though widespread in speech. Writing may also be misleading about the chronology of linguistic changes, because developments may not come to be reflected in the written record until they have been around for centuries in speech. One must always be sceptical about assertions to the effect that a certain linguistic innovation occurred, say, in the second century AD. All that we can assert with any justification about changes in a dead language is that certain innovations happen to turn up in writing for the first time at a certain date. Unless there is special evidence in a particular case we cannot know for how long before its first attestation a usage had been in existence (on the problem of dating linguistic change see the remarks of Wright 2011: 62, 65). There are many salutary instances that could be cited of usages that have had to be redated as a result of new discoveries.

An interesting illustration of the hazards of relying on the written record in assigning a chronology to a linguistic change may be quoted from Versteegh (2002: 60):

To illustrate the problem of determining relative chronologies on the basis of written material, let us take a hypothetical example from Standard Dutch. If a linguist from the twenty-fourth century were to become interested in the development of the comparative construction in Dutch (with the variable *groter als/dan*) solely on the basis of the written material, let us say from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, he would have to conclude that the normal construction of the comparative was with *dan*, which was gradually replaced in the course of the twentieth century by *als*. In the quality newspapers *als* starts to appear sporadically in the 1960s as a mistake (usually leading to reactions by infuriated readers complaining about the corruption of speech), but then it spread during the 1970s and 1980s, until in the 1990s one finds examples of it on almost every page of the newspapers. Fortunately for us, there is independent evidence showing that the use of *als* was just as widespread in Substandard Dutch in the seventeenth century as it is nowadays.

Determining the chronology of a non-standard usage in an earlier language or state of language is very much more difficult than identifying a non-standard usage as such. One might be tempted on the strength of cases such as that cited by Versteegh to adopt an entirely negative attitude to the possibility of identifying the chronology of change in a language attested only in writing. Alternatively there might be a temptation to speculate, and to place all new phenomena centuries earlier than their first attestation. An example of this second tendency is provided by the speculations of Pulgram about the proto-Romance vowel system (see above, 9).

But a closer look at the evidence of specific phenomena will show that there is often no need to take up either of these extreme positions, for at least two reasons. First, as was seen above (7), from the Roman period we have not only misspelt texts such as inscriptions, from which the chronology of the pronunciation changes behind the misspellings may be impossible to determine, but also special evidence of various sorts, such as *testimonia* by purists castigating departures from what they regard as correct, and comments by grammarians, who sometimes promote the old ways against the new and express a negative view of certain innovations. If a disparaged usage turns up for the first time in substandard texts at roughly the time when it is disparaged by a commentator, then we may be fairly confident that it had not existed for centuries beforehand at a submerged level. Changing attitudes of grammarians also have something to tell us. There is reason to think that grammarians came to accept (some) linguistic changes once they had been in place for some time, but were likely to find fault with them in the beginning. If hostility to a usage gradually gives way to acceptance in grammatical texts we may deduce that during the period of hostility the usage was relatively new (see XXIII.5 (3), 8 on compound adverbs, and XXXIII.1.2, p. 851 with cross references). It would be wrong to imply that evidence of these kinds is extensive, but used with caution it may provide some information about chronology.

Second, the evidence is often sufficient to reveal, if not the dates of a change (a concept of little meaning anyway, because even in a living language it is usually impossible to pin down the start of a development), at least its stages. Writing (particularly of a non-standard kind, marked by phonetic spellings) may bring out the steps by which a new system is established, providing a relative chronology, and that may be enough to undermine any speculation of the extreme form referred to above, which would have the new system already in place hundreds of years before it is visible. There are for example gradual stages identifiable in the passage from a Latin vowel system based on vowel quantity to the Romance systems

based on vowel quality, with the process lasting at least 500 years. It would be implausible to argue that the change was in reality complete centuries before the first stage in the process makes its appearance.

We will return briefly to this problem in the final chapter (xxxiii.2), and give examples of the special types of evidence that show that we have no need to take up either of the extreme options referred to above.

PART 2

Phonology and orthography

CHAPTER II

Phonology: introductory remarks

I Aims

In this Part there is a full discussion of most, if not quite all, of the major phonological changes that took place in the history of recorded Latin and left a mark on the Romance languages. Most of these developments show up in misspellings and metalinguistic comments mainly in the imperial and later periods, but that is partly a consequence of the character of the evidence that happens to survive. Inscriptions, for example, are overwhelmingly of imperial date. It would be a mistake to imply that the history of Latin can be divided neatly into periods (see the discussion of Wright 2002: 36–48 and Adams 2011: 257). Wherever possible republican antecedents of phenomena that are mainly late will be cited. There are, however, hazards associated even with this latter practice, because something that may look like an early republican anticipation of a phenomenon found again much later and reflected in Romance languages may turn out to have no direct connection with the (proto-)Romance feature (see xxxiii.4). Each possible anticipation must be assessed on its own merits.

Given the theme of the book, an attempt will be made to determine whether any of the changes discussed were tied to particular sociolects. It has commonly been assumed, as we saw at 1.3, that so-called Vulgar Latin changed over time much faster than the fossilised standard language, and that the Romance languages were the product not of the Latin of Cicero and Virgil but of that spoken by the masses. It is indeed true that the Romance languages, spread as they are over a vast area of Western Europe, must have evolved from the Latin spoken by the majority of the population in those various regions. But what is not clear is to what extent the phonology of these popular varieties might have differed from that of the varieties spoken by the tiny elite represented by such as Cicero. It is futile to try and deal with the phonology of lower sociolects in isolation (a fault of some handbooks of Vulgar Latin), because that is a sure way to exaggerate

the distinctiveness of the varieties that have traditionally been called vulgar or the like. One must look at the entirety of the evidence for particular phonological changes of Romance significance, and allow the evidence itself to suggest any differences related to social or educational class. The vowel system, diphthongs and various vocalic phenomena (syncope, hiatus) will be dealt with first, and then various consonantal features.

2 The interpretation of misspellings

Phonological change is evidenced almost entirely by aberrant spellings, which may point to changes in pronunciation. But the interpretation of misspellings is problematic. It is necessary to say something here about the causes of misspellings, which are numerous and often unrelated to the current sounds of the language, and also about the significance to be attached to the variable frequency of different types of misspellings.

2.1 *Special factors*

Misspellings may have nothing to reveal about the state of the language at a particular time, for a variety of reasons. A few factors will be listed here, but no attempt is made to be comprehensive.

Old deviant spellings linger on, sometimes for centuries, and may be picked up by anyone who is literate, and used to confer respectability on writing without having any basis in speech. If the poet Manilius spelt *nisi* in one place with *e* in the second syllable (see III.7.1.1), he would not have been attempting to represent the sound of speech but using an old form. If the writer of an informal letter on papyrus in Egypt adopted the same spelling, we need not assume that he, by contrast with Manilius, did so because that is how he heard the second vowel. He, like Manilius, might have seen the old spelling somewhere and assumed it was particularly correct. Substandard texts often contain deviations from a norm that are not literacy errors but quite the opposite: they may be determined by the recollection of a rule imbibed by the writer from instruction he had received. For example, in the letters of Terentianus there are signs of the grammarians' rule that [k] should be represented by *q* before *u*, *k* before *a* and *c* before other vowels (see Adams 1977a: 32–3).

Mechanical writing errors are common. Compiling a typology of these would be an undertaking in itself, and we can only cite a few instances here.

Geminated consonants may cause a problem. A writer may be aware that the written form of a word should contain a geminate but double the wrong consonant (e.g. *tyrrany* for *tyranny*; cf. *Turranium* at Terentianus 468.54).

Writers may be influenced by a form that they have just written or one that they are about to write. A sequence of accusatives in *-m* may cause an *-m* to be attached to a following term that should be in the ablative. In inscriptions the expected *-s* of a third declension name in the genitive is often omitted in the neighbourhood of a second declension genitive in *-i*.

There may be a physical reason for a misspelling, such as lack of space at the edge of a stone as the inscriber reaches the end of a line. This factor often effects the omission of a final consonant as the stonemason runs out of space (for details see VIII). Since some final consonants were lost in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages, there may be a temptation to treat an omission as linguistically significant when it is due to this extraneous factor.

2.2 *Varying frequencies of misspellings*

Phonetic misspellings are variable in frequency from type to type, and difficult to interpret if they are not numerous. Also difficult to interpret is the absence, or virtual absence, of a misspelling that would be taken, if it had occurred, to represent a known development of the language. Should we conclude from the non-appearance of a misspelling in the inscriptions and documents of a particular period that the phonetic change that would have inspired it had not yet taken place, or alternatively that writers were aware of the change and careful to avoid representing it in writing? Some different patterns will be illustrated here, and the methodology of assessing such evidence discussed. A detailed account of the evidence will be found in the appropriate chapters later in this Part.

(i) Certain misspellings are so frequent that there can be no doubt that they reflect the state of the language. Cases in point are the omission of *-m* (VIII) and the writing of *ae* as *e* (IV.2.2). But the state of what varieties of the language? Those spoken by a restricted educational/social class, or those spoken by the majority of the population? This is a question that cannot be answered merely from an examination of texts and their misspellings or absence thereof, because good spellers will stick to traditional spellings whether they are an accurate reflection of their own speech or not. If, roughly speaking, we are to place the pronunciation lying behind a misspelling in a particular social class, we need additional evidence, such

as remarks by grammarians or other speakers. There is such evidence for *-m* that is clear-cut (VIII.1.1). The information about *e/ae* is less straightforward, but there are indications that for a while grammarians attempted to preserve the diphthongal pronunciation (that is, among their clients, the highly educated) (IV.2.3). That would seem to imply the coexistence of two different pronunciations, with the monophthong presumably the norm down the social scale but the diphthong preserved by some purists. However, this duality may be idealised. Although grammarians might have been 'guardians of the language', their resistance to change in a particular case might have had limited aims. Were they always setting out to uphold the old ways in the speech, even informal, of their pupils, or sometimes simply trying to preserve a traditional articulation of the poetry that was the medium of their instruction? It will be suggested later that their efforts to maintain a quantitative vowel system related particularly to the recitation of poetry, and that even in their own speech the quantitative system was under threat (III.6). When *ae* was monophthongised it soon became a form of short *e*, as early hypercorrect spellings show, and again the preservation of the diphthong might mainly have been for the sake of the reading of poetry.

(ii) Some misspellings are very infrequent, and raise the question whether they reflect a phonetic reality or are mere slips. Certain types of contact assimilation, for example (*kt > t(t)*, *ks > s(s)*, *pt > t(t)*, *ps > s(s)*), are rarely attested (ix), and then not until the imperial period (if problematic cases are left out). If all misspellings of these types were combined and put alongside omissions of *-m*, their frequency would appear small in comparison, yet no one, it seems, has questioned the reality of the sound changes behind the misspellings. There are good reasons for this. Misspellings presented as mere statistics are not enough to provide reliable information about linguistic developments. There are, however, various telling facts about these assimilations and their attestation. First, structurally all of them are identical, as we will see, and of a type long avoided in the history of Latin. They form a system, and therefore attestations of the four categories may be treated as a unity. Their collective frequency may not come near to that of the omission of *-m*, but is rather more substantial than that of each of the categories considered in isolation. Second, the pattern of attestations is interesting. Republican examples have been adduced but are problematic. The first certain instances, and in some numbers, are in the graffiti of Pompeii, which provide the first real evidence that we have for non-standard varieties of Latin. The accumulation of examples in such documents almost certainly allows us to glimpse a feature of ordinary spoken Latin, albeit in

an area where there was possible substrate influence. This impression is confirmed by continuing attestations in low-register documents during the Empire. Third, most of the assimilations have some sort of outcome in the Romance languages. The facts are consistent with a conclusion along these lines. The structural type represented by the four assimilations left no mark on the lexicon inherited from the prehistoric period (unlike many other types). It was long resisted but became influential at lower social levels by the early Empire, and probably earlier in submerged varieties of the language. It then influenced many of the Romance languages, although during the Empire it must have been kept at bay by many educated speakers, to judge from the limited attestations.

We may conclude that infrequent occurrences of a misspelling may hide the linguistic reality, and that the pattern of those occurrences must always be considered, along with extraneous evidence such as that of the Romance languages and metalinguistic comments (though of the latter there are none in this case).

(iii) Some misspellings may appear to be frequent but a lot of the evidence collapses when special factors are taken into account. This is particularly the case with the omission of final *-s*. Several scholars who have considered its omission in inscriptions with some care have observed that a majority of cases can be explained away as abbreviations or as due to lack of space at the edge of a stone or as determined by the presence of *s* at the start of the next word (VIII.2.5.1). Not infrequently the omission of final *-t* is due to the same factors (VIII.3.4, p. 155), but there are also omissions that seem to be determined by the phonetic context (sandhi phenomena), and these point to an early stage in the loss of the phoneme in final position.

(iv) The phenomena referred to in (iii) may be used to raise a methodological point. In interpreting the significance of a misspelling or its frequency a comparison of the treatment of related phenomena in a text may be revealing. As 'interrelated phenomena' we might cite e.g. different consonants in final position, or different diphthongs. If one final consonant (*-m*) is omitted repeatedly in a group of texts but another (*-s*) rarely or never (once special cases of the types alluded to above have been eliminated), it may be reasonable to conclude that there was a difference in the speech of the writers between the treatment of *-m* on the one hand and *-s* on the other, with the first dropped but the other stable. If however both were regularly written, we would not know whether either or both were pronounced by the writers in final position, since the regularity of spelling might reflect not their speech but their level of literacy. Variable treatment of the consonants is more revealing because the presence of errors of one

type would suggest that the writers were not good spellers, and the absence of the other potential error might be taken to show that such a misspelling had no basis in speech.

This comparative method (for which see Adams 2007: 635–6) works particularly well in the assessment of the history of the diphthongs *ae* and *au*. The spelling *e* for *ae* is far more common than *o* for *au*: there are many texts in which the former is well represented but the latter non-existent (see IV.3). That the different treatment of the two related phenomena reflects the state of the spoken language is confirmed by the universal monophthongisation of *ae* in the Romance languages alongside the partial survival of *au*.

Such comparisons may be particularly useful in assessing negative evidence, that is the absence of a particular misspelling. If the misspelling is never committed in a text that also lacks misspellings of comparable types, the writer might have been a good speller. If he was in other respects a bad speller, the absence of the misspelling may be significant.

CHAPTER III

Vowel system

1 Vocalic misspellings and their interpretation

The vowel system of Classical Latin (based on distinctions of vowel quantity) differed in a fundamental way from vowel systems of the Romance languages (based on distinctions of vowel quality), but finding evidence for change in the Latin period itself is beset with difficulty. Vocalic misspellings or spelling variations occur throughout Latin. Some imperial spellings can be traced back into the Republic, and by definition these cannot securely be used to argue for developments in the imperial vowel system. A misspelling possibly reflecting, say, a vowel merger that shows up in Romance could in a late Latin text have a more mundane explanation; it might, for example, be old and archaising, and unrelated to recent developments. Worse, it might be open to more than one explanation. Though old, it might have been adopted by some writers in the imperial period not simply as an archaism but because it happened to represent a current pronunciation.

Mere statistics showing the incidence of a misspelling cannot be accepted on their own as evidence for a vowel change. The individual tokens must be examined, and those that might be explained in other ways eliminated. Several books that present statistics from inscriptions seemingly showing the state of the vowel system have less value than might be thought, because alternative explanations of the misspellings have not been taken into account.

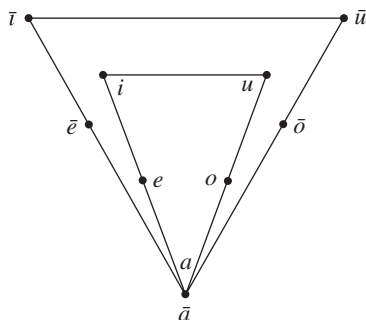
There is a view that the qualitative system of the Romance languages did not develop out of the quantitative system of Classical Latin at all, but out of a different system of 'Spoken Latin', which went back a long way and coexisted with conservative Classical Latin, 'until the latter simply faded out for lack of native or sufficiently schooled non-native users' (Pulgram 1975: 249; see the whole discussion at 249–56). It is pointed out (250) that if Latin texts had not survived and we had to reconstruct a proto-language from the Romance survivals, 'we should have no inkling of a

Latin with vocalic quantities' (cf. e.g. Väänänen 1981a: 29). It is impossible to prove that this dual model is correct for the early period, but there is evidence in the later period of an attempt by grammarians to preserve the quantitative system, and at that time there might possibly have been two systems coexisting (but for reservations see below, 6, pp. 50–1). The history of vocalic misspellings is consistent with a gradual change from one system to another, and there will be no speculation in this chapter about the early existence of an alternative vowel system for which we have no evidence (on the inadequacy of Pulgram's claims see also Loporcaro 2011a: 57 and the whole section, and Loporcaro 2011b: 112).

The literature on the question how and why the Latin quantitative system changed into one based on vowel quality is vast, particularly in Romance philology. No review of the bibliography or theories that have been advanced will be offered here. For a recent account of the different Romance systems and their relation to Latin see Loporcaro (2011b: 110–19). For Latinists Janson (1979: 11–45) provides an overview of the question, and there are some remarks by Pulgram (1975: 257–63); see also Herman ([1982] 1990: 218 with n. 1); for attempts in structural terms to explain the change see Spence (1965), with bibliography at 1 n. 1. There is no straightforward solution to the problems, because evidence is lacking, and it would be pointless here to go on speculating. The aim of this chapter will be to present what evidence there is, particularly from grammarians and from new non-literary texts.

2 The Classical Latin vowel system

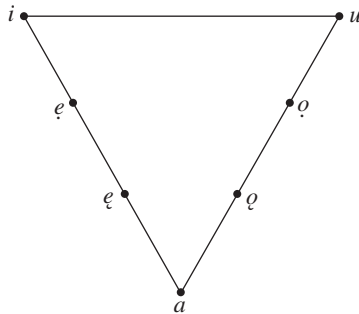
The classical vowel system is represented by Allen (1978: 47) and others (e.g. Pulgram 1975: 250, Vincent 1988a: 31) as follows:



Allen remarks that in the case of the close (*i*, *u*) and mid (*e*, *o*) vowels the long vowels seem to have been closer than the corresponding short vowels (i.e. those represented by the same graphemes) (cf. e.g. Sturtevant 1940: 108, Spence 1965: 11, Pulgram 1975: 250, Janson 1979: 40, Herman 2000: 28, Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 273). Some evidence is cited to support this contention, which need not be repeated. There is also evidence that in languages with a length distinction short vowels are more centralised (Janson 1979: 40), and that further favours the diagram presented by Allen.

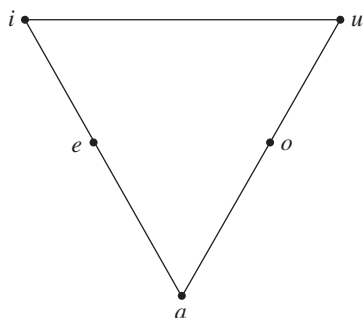
3 Vowel systems of the Romance languages

In most Romance languages, along with the loss of phonemic distinctions of vowel length (see below), certain vowel mergers took place (see e.g. Allen 1978: 48, Väänänen 1981a: 30, Vincent 1988a: 32–4, Herman 2000: 31–4, Loporcaro 2011b: 115). Long and short *a*, which must have had much the same position of articulation, merged. Long *e* merged with short *i* as a close *e* [e̝] (in the vowel diagram above it will be seen that these two phonemes are adjacent, and there must have been an opening of the short *i* towards the position of articulation of long *e*), and a corresponding merger occurred in the back vowels, of long *o* and short *u* as a close *o* [o̝]. The original short *e* was retained as an open *e* [e̞] and short *o* was retained as an open *o* [o̞]. There were thus two forms of *e* with different degrees of aperture, and two forms of *o*. This system has seven vowels:



There are regional variations.¹ Sardinia merged each of the classical long–short pairs, *ā/ă*, *ē/ĕ* etc. A five-vowel system is the result (for more detail see Jones 1988: 317–18; also Loporcaro 2011b: 112–13):

¹ The facts are conveniently set out by Vincent (1988a: 32–4) and Herman (2000: 32–3) but may be found in any general book on Romance philology.



Balkan Romance (Romanian) combines features of the main Romance system and the Sardinian system.² On the front-vowel axis the same mergers occurred as in most Romance languages. On the back-vowel axis long and short *o* and long and short *u* merged, as in Sardinian. The ‘Balkan’ and ‘Sardinian’ systems are also found in residual dialect areas of southern Italy.³

The changes above apply to vowels in stressed syllables. Note Herman (2000: 34) on unstressed syllables: ‘Developments are not so clear in the unstressed vowels; in these the loss of the length distinctions happened before it did in the stressed vowels, and the confusion of vowel quality then went further than it did in the stressed vowels.’ He cites as an illustration the fact that most Romance regions have /e/ in unstressed final syllables deriving from all of long *e*, short *e* and short *i*. Also, in ‘proparoxytone words (where the stressed syllable is the third from the end) the unstressed vowel in the penultimate syllable is particularly weak and liable to disappear entirely’ (syncope: see v).

The loss of phonemic distinctions of vowel quantity was universal in the Romance-speaking world. If there had only occurred this loss of vowel quantity (on the evidence for which in the Latin period see below, 6) the result would have been a vowel system of the Sardinian type everywhere (see Janson 1979: 16). But that was far from the whole story, and one cannot simply assume for the whole Empire a relative chronology that has loss of quantity preceding mergers of vowels. Janson (1979: 16) puts it thus:

In the other areas [i.e. other than Sardinia], there have been mergers between vowels that were different with regard both to quality and to quantity in the classical system, e.g. between /ī/ and /ē/. On the other hand, there are

² See e.g. Vincent (1988a: 33), Herman (2000: 33), Mallinson (1988: 392–3), Loporcaro (2011b: 113–14).

³ See Vincent (1988a: 33) and map viii in Harris and Vincent (1988: 484), and also Loporcaro (2011b: 112–13).

qualitative distinctions between vowels that were originally distinguished by quantity, e.g. between /ē/ and /ĕ/. In these areas, changes of vowel quality must of course have taken place. Further, these changes ought to have preceded the loss of quantity. Otherwise, there could occur no differences between vowels that were originally distinguished by quantity.

There do indeed seem to be signs of changes of vowel quality at an early period, well before the loss of vowel quantity could have occurred (on the chronology of change see also Spence 1965: 8, R. Coleman 1971b: 175). These signs will be discussed below in sections 5 and 7; see too 9.

4 Republican and imperial Latin

Much of the work on changes in the Latin vowel system has been devoted to finding signs of the vowel mergers noted above as occurring in most of the Romance languages, notably that of ē and ĭ. There is a widespread view that the corresponding back-vowel merger occurred later (see below, 10).

How would these mergers manifest themselves in a written text? In theory they would show up in the form of two misspellings in particular, first the writing of *e* where *ĭ* might have been expected, and second the writing of *o* where *ŭ* might have been expected. The *e*- and *o*-spellings might be taken to represent /e/ and /o/. Inverse spellings (i.e. *i* written for ē and *u* for ō) are far less easy to interpret, and perhaps should not be used to argue that a vowel change of proto-Romance type is in evidence. Here more attention will be given to the primary misspellings.

But even these are not straightforward. There are many reasons why *e* might have been written for *ĭ*, and cases must be assessed individually (see above, 1 and further below). The difficulty of interpretation comes up in the republican period, when early inscriptions not infrequently have *e* where *ĭ* is expected. This evidence is discussed in the next section.

5 Vowel confusions in early Latin

In early inscriptions *e* is sometimes written where *ĭ* is expected, as in *aidiles* nominative singular (*CIL* 1².8), *tempestatebus* (9), *trebibus* (398), *semol* (1531), *soledas* (1529), *oppedis* (583.31) and in the forms *dedet* (see *CIL* 1² index, p. 771 s.v. *do*) and *mereto* (1848, 2440; see the material cited in the index to *CIL* 1², pp. 813–14, and also Campanile [1971] 2008: 1.362–3). Quintilian (1.4.17) cites as spellings from the past *Menerua*, *leber* ('book') and *magester*, and the first is found frequently in early inscriptions (see the index to

CIL 1², p. 810).⁴ Wachter (1987: 305–6, 445), drawing attention for example to inconsistencies in the writing of *ē* and *ī* in the Scipionic *elogia* numbered 8–9 (*aidiles/aidilis, hic/hec, fuet/cepit/dedet*) and the Faliscan cooks' inscription (364; *Mineruai* rather than *Men-*, juxtaposed with *Falesce* rather than *Falisc-*), argues that the two vowels were articulated closely together in the early period, and that there was consequent uncertainty about the grapheme to be used (see further Wachter 1987: 258, 266–7, 487–8). The variations would have nothing to do with dialectal variation (after all, such variations are found in single texts, and at Rome – as in the Scipionic inscription – as well as outside), but would reflect a 'general instability' of *ī* and *ē*.⁵ Transliterations into Greek such as Λεπιδος for *Lepidus* suggest that the Latin *ī* was a 'peculiarly open one' (Allen 1987: 63),⁶ and more open than the Greek correspondent. There is evidence for a comparable openness of *ī* in Faliscan (Bakkum 2009: 1.95, 97). The above misspellings are found in stressed syllables (*trebibus, semol, Falesce, magester, hec, leber*), in unstressed syllables after the accent (*tempestatibus, soledas, oppedis, mereto*) and before the accent (*Menerua*), and in final syllables. The position of the vowel in the word and in relation to the accent is not a determinant of the confusion.

Some of these forms are special cases. In perfect verb endings the *e* was early (cf. e.g. Osc. **deded**; also Sihler 1995: 461), and the spelling *-et* was very persistent, even in the imperial period.⁷ In some other cases the *e*-spelling is also old, going back for example to the time before vowel weakening had occurred (*mereto*, perhaps *soledas*: see Leumann 1977: 84; de Vaan 2008: 571 considers *i* to have been the original vowel of *solidus*). But there remain some cases where the *e* must represent a passing stage in the articulation of original short *i*.

The question arises whether such spellings (i.e. those that are not special cases) reflect the same phenomenon as that seen in imperial inscriptions in forms such as *tetolo* for *titulum* (*CIL* XIII.7645; see below, 9 for such late spellings). This last would traditionally be taken to show proto-Romance developments (the mergers of *ē* and *ī* and *ō* and *ū*). Allen (1978: 49) interprets the form *trebibus* as showing the qualitative similarity of *ē* and *ī* in republican Latin. In one sense or another he must be right. If *ī* was particularly open it might have been articulated anywhere along the *ī*–*ē* axis

⁴ Ax (2011: 119) takes *leber* to stand for the god's name *Liber* (with long vowel), but without saying why in this context (between *Menerua* and *magester*) it is not the word for 'book'.

⁵ The phrase is Vine's (1993: 162), discussing Wachter's views.

⁶ For such transliterations see also e.g. R. Coleman (1971b: 175), Allen (1978: 49), and particularly the extensive material collected by Sturtevant (1940: 110).

⁷ See e.g. the material cited by Adams (2003a: 51).

as it appears in Allen's diagram set out above. Perhaps it was sometimes not far removed from \tilde{e} itself, or alternatively (the view, it seems, of Allen; cf. Spence 1965: 12, Wachter 1987: 258) it might have been articulated close to \bar{e} . But it is impossible to determine from the evidence where an e as written in a republican inscription for an expected \tilde{e} might have been located on the \tilde{i} – \tilde{e} axis, and it cannot be stated with any confidence that the handful of republican e -misspellings reflects exactly the position of articulation that \tilde{i} had at the time when it merged with \bar{e} , a merger that was not possible in Classical Latin of the Republic, when there were still oppositions of vowel length that would have kept \bar{e} and \tilde{i} distinct. On this last point see Loporcaro (2011b: 111): 'It is . . . unwarranted to take the changes in quality undergone by short vowels . . . as sufficient evidence for the collapse of Latin VQ,⁸ as suggested by most reference works on the Latin-Romance transition.'

The republican evidence will be alluded to again, but little can be made of it, not least because the misspellings are so few. The imperial evidence will be examined chronologically, to see if any trends emerge. The misspellings found in more than a dozen relatively early corpora (from about the first to the third centuries) will be considered (below, 7), and then reference will be made (9) to some later inscriptions (those from Gaul and Spain).

A crucial event in the transition from the Classical Latin vowel system to the Romance systems was the undermining of phonemic oppositions of vowel length (cf. Spence 1965: 10–17, R. Coleman 1971b: 181). As was just noted, \bar{e} , for example, could not have merged with \tilde{e} , nor \bar{e} with \tilde{e} (in Sardinia) if the old quantitative distinctions had been maintained. There is some evidence for the background to the loss of phonemic oppositions of length, which is presented in the next section.

6 The stress accent and its effect on the vowel system

Latin had a stress accent, as is revealed by the frequency of syncope at all periods (see v). In the imperial period there are signs that the stress accent was undermining a feature of the vowel system. In Classical Latin there are phonemic oppositions of vowel length both in stressed and unstressed syllables. Thus *lēvis* 'smooth' is distinguished semantically from *lēvis* 'light' by the length of the first vowel, which in both words is in an accented open syllable. *Ōs* 'mouth' is distinguished from *ōs* 'bone' in a monosyllabic word, in a syllable that is closed. The case of *feminā* (ablative) as compared

⁸ In this context VQ must mean 'vowel quantity'.

with *feminā* (nominative) is marked by the length of the vowel in a final syllable. Oppositions of length in final syllables, as in the example just cited, are, however, rare: on this point see Janson (1979: 43 with n. 14). What seems to have been lost in later Latin is not distinctions of vowel length, but phonemic, or meaningful, distinctions. Some of the evidence comes from Africa, but it is not exclusive to there. The evidence is first set out below, and then discussed. There is now a bibliographical overview of the collapse of distinctive vowel quantity by Loporcaro (2011a: 53–7), in which, however, there is disregard of the substantial (and growing) evidence from outside Africa.

Augustine has the following remark about a hypothetical pronunciation of the verb *cano*:

De musica 2.1.1 itaque uerbi gratia cum dixeris ‘cano’ uel in uersu forte posueris, ita ut uel tu pronuntians producas huius uerbi syllabam primam, uel in uersu eo loco ponas, ubi esse productam oportebat, reprehendet grammaticus, custos ille uidelicet historiae, nihil aliud asserens cur hanc corripere oporteat, nisi quod hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quorum libri exstant tractanturque a grammaticis, ea correpta non producta usi fuerint.

And so, for example, when you say *cano* or happen to use it in verse, such that you either lengthen in pronunciation the first syllable of this word or place it in verse in a position where it should be long, the grammarian, that guardian of tradition, will find fault with you, giving no other reason why it should be shortened except that those who have come before us and whose books survive and are handled by the grammarians have treated it as short not long.

The *a* of *cano* was subject to lengthening, and anyone who so lengthened it would be taken to task by grammarians, the ‘guardians of tradition’. Grammarians are portrayed as trying to resist changes in the vowel system. The tendency hinted at here is for the stress accent to effect lengthening of short stressed vowels, or at least those in open syllables (open syllable lengthening, OSL, in the terminology of Loporcaro, e.g. 2011a: 53). There is a suggestion that two different pronunciations of the verb might have been heard, the purist one advocated by grammarians, and a modern one determined (see further below) by the stress accent.

Not unlike the passage of Augustine above are two remarks by Consentius, the second of which complements Augustine’s remark:⁹ *GL* v.392.3 = p. 11.8–9 Niedermann *ut quidam dicunt ‘piper’ producta priore syllaba, cum*

⁹ These passages have often been discussed, for example in recent times by Herman ([1982] 1990: 219), Loporcaro (1997: 56), Vainio (1999: 31, 119), Adams (1999: 115), (2007: 263–5), Mancini (2001: 311–13).

sit brevis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est ('as some people say *piper* with a long first syllable, when it is short, a vice which is characteristic of Africans'), 392.11 = p. 11.18–20 Niedermann *ut si quis dicat 'orator' correpta priore syllaba, quod ipsum uitium Afrorum speciale est* ('as if someone were to say *orator* with a short first syllable, a vice which is particular to Africans'). The remark about *piper* is in line with that of Augustine quoted above. In the second passage Consentius says that Africans also shortened the first vowel of *orator*. The stress falls on the second syllable, and Consentius suggests that CL long vowels in open syllables that were not stressed were shortened. Two complementary developments are revealed, both related to the accent position. Vowels that were originally short were lengthened if they were in an open syllable bearing the accent, and vowels that were originally long were shortened if they were in an open syllable that was unaccented. Long vowels according to this information would only have been consistently maintained under the accent; those originally in unstressed syllables must have been weakly articulated such that they were no longer heard as long. In areas or social dialects in which the stress accent was having these effects vowel length could no longer be functional. *Lēuis* 'smooth' would no longer be distinguished from *lēuis* 'light' by the length of the vowel alone, because in both words the vowel was accented and therefore long. *Feminā* could no longer be distinguished from *feminā*, because in both the final vowel was unaccented and short.

These and related consequences of a stress accent are well attested for other languages too: see Allen (1973: 80) for examples from different languages.

The two phenomena discussed here tend to be attributed by the sources to Africa, but though they may have been prominent there they were not exclusively features of African Latin. Errors of versification marked by the lengthening of short vowels in stressed syllables and the shortening of long vowels in unstressed syllables turn up not only in African *carmina epigraphica*,¹⁰ but also in poems from Rome, Gaul, Spain and Moesia (see Adams 1999a: 116 n. 39). A chant of boys playing soldiers, not specifically of African origin, in which certain short vowels have to be lengthened in places under the accent, can be found at *SHA Aurel.* 6 (see Leumann 1977: 56, 252–3). There may even be cases of lengthening under the accent in an epigraphic poem from Pompeii.¹¹

¹⁰ See the material discussed by Adams (1999a: 113–17).

¹¹ *CLE* 44 = *CIL* iv.5092 (*Venerem, ūbi*). See R. Coleman (1971b: 177), Väänänen (1966: 19), Leumann (1977: 56), and in general on Pompeii Väänänen (1981a: 31).

Also significant is the grammarian Sacerdos' treatment of *perspicere possit* as a hexameter ending (*GL* vi.493.24). Sacerdos (a Roman grammarian, it seems: see Kaster 1988: 352–3) lengthened the *i* of *perspicere* under the accent:¹²

GL vi.493.20–6 disyllaba structura, quae non ualde quibusdam placet, antiquos uiros uehementissime delectabat. est enim fortis admodum uitansque etiam nostri temporis barbarismum, si non fuerit spondeo uel trochaeo post dactylum finita, ut 'primus ab oris' et 'in quo meam uoluntatem p. R. perspicere possit'. sic enim uersum heroicum hexametrum faciunt, quae sola uersificatio est oratoribus deuitanda.

The disyllabic structure [i.e. a clausula ending with a word of two syllables], which is not particularly pleasing to certain persons, greatly delighted the ancients. For it is very strong and also avoids (what is considered) a barbarism of our age,¹³ as long as it is not concluded with a spondee or trochee after a dactyl, as is the case in *primus ab oris* and . . . *perspicere possit*. For these (patterns) produce a heroic hexameter (ending), which is the only metrical pattern that must be avoided by orators.

Even a Roman grammarian at some time in the third century¹⁴ was capable of treating a (short) stressed vowel in an open syllable as long (for errors of prosody in Sacerdos see Keil's introduction, *GL* vi.423; also Holmes 2007: 671 n. 17).

For evidence in Sacerdos of the complementary tendency, that is for a long unstressed vowel to be shortened, see *GL* vi.494.7–12 (cited by Mancini 2001: 314):

ergo si nos ad eius modi structuram aliqua necessitas detulerit, poterimus reprehendentes inperitissimos comprobare, si nosmet nostrum officium fecerimus, corripientes syllabas breues, longas producentes, ut est 'causa laboro', sa producentes, et 'capsas admisero', sas producentes. in istis enim tantum modo syllabis, si correptae fuerint, erit barbarismus.

Therefore if necessity brings us to a structure of this kind, we will be able, if we do our duty, in finding fault with the ignorant to demonstrate the truth by shortening short syllables and lengthening long ones, as for example in *causa laboro* by lengthening *-sa* and in *capsas admisero* by lengthening *-sas*. In those syllables only there will be a barbarism if they are shortened.

¹² On this passage see Adams (2007: 264 n. 244); also Nicolau (1930: 72). For a general discussion of Sacerdos and his ideas see Nicolau (1930: 101–22).

¹³ The reference is to a clausula ending with a monosyllable, which is now considered a fault (see 493.11–20).

¹⁴ On his date see Kaster (1988: 352–3).

The grammarian will (by implication) correct *imperitissimi* if they shorten the long vowels in the final syllables of *causa* and *capsas*. There is an implied contrast here between the practice of the educated and uneducated, which at least suggests the possibility that two vowel systems coexisted at this time; the term *imperiti* will come up again in this context (see the passage of Augustine *Doctr. Christ.* 4.10.24 below; cf. *imperitum uulgus*, above, 1.1).

Consentius sometimes illustrated these phenomena without ascribing them to Africa: see *GL* v.392.18 = p. 12.2–3 Niedermann (*pices* with first syllable lengthened), *GL* v.392.25–6 = p. 12.13–14 Niedermann (*pices* with first syllable lengthened and second shortened), *GL* v.396.32–3 = p. 20.4–5 Niedermann (*ossua* with first syllable lengthened), *GL* v.397.20–1 = p. 21.8–9 Niedermann (*Fidenam* with the first syllable shortened). Note too *Sacerdos* *GL* vi.451.14 on the pronunciation of *Ceres* with a long first vowel under the accent when it should be short, and a short vowel in the final, unstressed, syllable, when it should be long: *ac si dicas 'Ceres' ce longa cum brevis sit, et res breui cum sit longa*. Alongside this note Donatus *GL* iv.392.21 *temporis, ut siquis 'deos' producta priore syllaba et correpta posteriore pronuntiet*, on lengthening the first vowel and shortening the second of *deos*. The treatment of the long vowel of the accusative plural ending here should be compared with that of *capsas* referred to in the previous paragraph. Mancini (2001: 314) also cites Consentius *GL* v.393.27–9 = p. 14.11–14 Niedermann on a hypothetical case of *nummos* with a short vowel in the final syllable.

Consentius' remark about *ossua* just referred to is worth quoting in full: *GL* v.396.32–5 = p. 20.4–7 Niedermann *ut si quis hoc ipsum quod diximus 'ossua' producta priore syllaba pronuntiet. erit enim barbarismus per adiectionem temporis in prima syllaba et per adiectionem litterae in secunda syllaba*. There are two barbarisms in the form *ossua*, one by the addition of a letter (*u*) in the second syllable (*ossua* for *ossa*), the other by the addition of 'time' if the (vowel of the) first syllable under the accent is lengthened. Here Consentius envisages lengthening of a stressed vowel in a closed syllable, and this suggests that at this period grammarians were conscious of a tendency of some speakers to lengthen stressed vowels, whether they were in open or closed syllables.

At *Doctr. Christ.* 4.10.24 Augustine mentions Africans much as Consentius does in some of the passages quoted above (see also above, 1.7 (ii)):

cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem 'ossum' potius quam 'os' dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo, quod sunt 'ossa', sed ab eo, quod sunt 'ora', intellegatur, ubi Aerae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant?

Why should a teacher of piety when speaking to the uneducated have regrets about saying *ossum* ('bone') rather than *os* in order to prevent that monosyllable [i.e. *ōs* 'bone'] from being interpreted as the word whose plural is *ora* [i.e. *ōs* 'mouth'] rather than the word whose plural is *ossa* [i.e. *ōs*], given that African ears show no judgment in the matter of the shortening of vowels or their lengthening?¹⁵

CL *ōs* and *ōs* are distinguished (in the nominative and accusative singular) by the length of the vowel. Augustine suggests that uneducated Africans (*imperitis*) would not be able to differentiate the two terms because they cannot distinguish short and long vowels. The argument seems to be as follows. In both terms the *o* is under the accent. If the stress accent lengthened a short stressed vowel, *ōs* 'bone' would be indistinguishable from *ōs* 'mouth' (with both having a long vowel). For that reason the Christian teacher in addressing the uneducated should use the substandard form *ossum* 'bone' (a back-formation from the plural *ossa*) to avoid confusion.

Are we to assume for the fourth or fifth century already a system of lengthening/shortening that was inevitably tied to the openness or otherwise of the syllable concerned, i.e. (Mancini 2001: 312) a system whereby in unaccented syllables all vowels were shortened, in accented closed syllables all vowels were shortened,¹⁶ and in accented open syllables all vowels were lengthened (OSL: see above, 44)? On this view the confusion of *os* 'bone' and *os* 'mouth' referred to by Augustine might be explained (since the vowel is in a closed syllable) from a single pronunciation of the two terms with a short vowel (see Mancini 2001: 314). This view would be out of line with the remark by Consentius (above) about the barbarism *ossua*, pronounced with lengthening of the vowel in the first syllable, which is accented and closed. It is uncertain whether in a monosyllable, before a single consonant, shortening would have taken place at the time of Augustine.

A few other items of evidence may be cited related to aspects of the decline of the quantitative system.

First, the grammarian 'Sergius' (*Explan. in Don.*) (see Kaster 1988: 429–30) makes a striking generalisation suggestive of the true state of affairs: *GL* IV.522.24–6 *syllabas natura longas difficile est scire. sed hanc ambiguitatem sola probant auctoritatis exempla, cum uersus poetae scandere coeperis* ('It is difficult to know syllables that are long by nature. This ambiguity only

¹⁵ On this passage see e.g. Herman (1991: 33 with n. 4), Adams (1999a: 115), (2007: 261–3).

¹⁶ Such a development can be illustrated in the transition of Latin to the Romance languages (see e.g. Väänänen 1981a: 30 on evidence for shortening of the first vowel of *frigidus* once syncope had occurred (*frigidus*, **friddus*) and the vowel was now in a closed syllable), but is a topic beyond the scope of the present chapter.

examples drawn from authority resolve, when you have proceeded to scan the verses of poets'). He has just distinguished between vowels (using by convention the term 'syllable' rather than 'vowel') that are long by nature and those that are scanned long by position. He admits in the passage quoted that it is difficult to know those that are long by nature, otherwise than by scanning verses of the poets. Here is evidence that change had progressed so far that even grammarians were unsure of themselves, and that uncertainty has been illustrated from *Sacerdos* above. The passage suggests that the authority for determining the correct length comes not from educated speech but from analysis of the poets.

Second, in final syllables of certain types there is a tendency to shortening from relatively early. In first person singular verb forms even in verbs that are not of iambic structure the final *o* increasingly appears as short in the early Empire (see e.g. Leumann 1977: 110, Fitch 1981: 303–5, the latter showing that the phenomenon increases in the later plays of Seneca; see too R. Coleman 1971b: 179). Nominatives in *-ō* in *n*-stem nouns (e.g. *mentio*, *Pollio*) also sometimes show shortening of the *o* (Leumann 1977: 110).

Third, relevant evidence has been uncovered by Holmes (2007) from an examination of clausulae in Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*. For example, he identifies 'instances of clausulae which differ from the clausulae that Vegetius favoured only in having the last syllable of the penultimate word long instead of short (e.g. *victos accepit* instead of *parte tractetur*)' (671). This phenomenon is found predominantly in syllables with a vowel that is long by nature rather than by position. Again, Holmes shows (673) that when a clausula demanded a long syllable at word end (e.g. a cretic–trochee *militi restat*) Vegetius avoided almost completely vowels that were long by nature in this final position and confined himself to syllables that were long by position. Here is a hint that 'Vegetius' ear for quantity was liable to fail him with final syllables' (673), or, as Holmes puts it at 674, 'for Vegetius (or for his readers) a long vowel was not sufficient to decide the quantity of a final syllable'. Holmes also notes (675) that 'Vegetius does not seem prone to the error of treating long syllables other than the final syllable as short', and makes the generalisation (682) that 'the final syllable of a word was likely to be heard as short in late antiquity'. Here is evidence to be added to that seen already that in final syllables vowels originally long were particularly prone to shortening.

We may conclude that the evidence of *Sacerdos*, the *SHA* (probably fourth century) and the scattered epigraphic poems referred to above shows that to place the origin of lengthening under the accent in Africa, of about the fifth century (on the basis of the *testimonia* of Augustine and

Consentius), and to assume that it spread from there,¹⁷ is mistaken. The phenomenon was far more widespread and of an earlier date. As for chronology, in Africa itself it is attested (along with shortening of long vowels in unaccented syllables) in an epigraphic poem dated precisely to 222.¹⁸ We may further conclude that shortening of long vowels in unstressed syllables, particularly but not exclusively at the end of the word, was not confined to Africa either.

Augustine's reference in the first passage cited in this section (*De musica* 2.1.1) to grammarians trying to maintain the old quantitative system against change suggests that the changes were considered substandard by the educated (though even grammarians themselves, such as Sacerdos, were prone to mistakes). It was also seen that Sacerdos alluded to finding fault with the *imperitissimi* if they shortened long vowels in final syllables, and the same term *imperiti* is used by Augustine (*Doctr. Christ.* 4.10.24 above) of those who were uncertain in their judgment of long versus short vowels. The verb *reprehendo* is twice used above (Aug. *De musica* 2.1.1, Sacerdos *GL* vi.494.8) of the grammarian 'finding fault' with those who got vowel quantities wrong. Errors of quantity deriving from the effects of the stress accent seem in these passages to be associated with the uneducated. For a while some careful speakers might have attempted to preserve the old vowel quantities, and if that were so there might in theory have been two systems side by side (cf. Spence 1965: 10, 13 on the possibility of old and new systems coexisting over a period), one of them regarded as vulgar by purists. It is important, however, to keep in mind the remark of 'Sergius' cited above, which suggests that any attempt by grammarians to preserve the quantitative distinctions would have been artificial, ad hoc and probably unsuccessful, such that to speak of an alternative vowel 'system' would be misleading. It is worth quoting the reservations of Janson (1979: 27–8):

[R]ules for quantity, important for the comprehension and writing of metrical Latin poetry, were taught in schools throughout late antiquity (and up to this day, incidentally). Thus, it was certainly prestigious to know the rules for quantity even long after the disappearance of phonological quantitative distinctions in normal speech. This does not mean, however, that we can take for granted that it was characteristic of the educated upper classes to retain a pronunciation with quantitative distinctions. That is possible, of course, but it is equally possible that the changes in vowel system were not socially stratified.

¹⁷ See e.g. Loporcaro (1997: 55–6), with bibliography.

¹⁸ The poem of Iasuchan: see Adams (1999a: 113–14).

Herman (1991: 37) similarly comments on the ‘desperate rearguard fight’ of grammarians to condemn neglect of the classical system, motivated as they were to preserve an understanding of classical metrical verse, and also by the fact that they ‘constructed some rules of inflectional morphology . . . on the inherited distinction of long and short vowels’.

7 Early imperial evidence for changes in the front-vowel system

In this section various non-literary corpora from the first three centuries AD are examined to see if there is any sign of the merger of \bar{e} and \tilde{i} as close e [e]. The merger might in theory show up in misspellings of the type e for CL \tilde{i} . It has, however, been seen from the republican evidence that a misspelling of this type need not mean that the proto-Romance vowel merger had taken place. The misspelling turns up in the Republic at a time when a merger is out of the question, because the quantitative system was still in place. Likewise, if in the early imperial period \tilde{i} had opened, say, to \check{e} , it would still have been distinct from \bar{e} if phonemic differences of vowel length had not yet been lost. The interpretation of the e -spellings is constantly problematic. Further discussion will be postponed until the evidence has been set out, in the hope that it may have something to reveal. Inscriptional misspellings have often been collected (see e.g. Sturtevant 1940: 108–9; older presentations of inscriptional evidence for one particular development (the merger of long e and short i) are assessed by Adams 2007 Chapter x), but in this chapter we confine ourselves to more coherent corpora, for the most part written on materials other than stone. Such early corpora are included even if they provide no misspellings, because the absence of examples may itself be revealing.

The question must always be asked whether a particular misspelling might not be a special case, determined not by the new quality of original \tilde{i} but by a non-phonetic factor (see above, 1). This question comes up in the first corpus below.

7.1 *Letters of Terentianus (Youtie and Winter 1951)*

There are twelve cases of e for CL short i (see Adams 1977a: 8) (two in *nese*):

- 468.35 nese
- 468.38 sene
- 468.38 uolueret
- 468.40 nesi
- 468.41 aiutaueret

470.24 dicet (probably too at 470.16, but partly restored)

471.11 lentiamina

471.33 dicet

471.34 lentiamina

CEL 143.10 nese.

These examples fall into a number of categories.

7.1.1 *nese*

The two syllables of this word must be considered separately.

The first *e* of *nese* may be archaising, as the first element may derive from *ně-*.¹⁹ The first vowel is always short in Plautus (Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: 11.170). A form with *e* (*nesi*) is itself at Plaut. *Poen.* 839 and also Fest. p. 164.1 Lindsay, and it will be seen above that the same form *nesi* is in Terentianus (468.40).

The second *e* is more complicated. The form *nesei* occurs in the early inscription *CIL* 1².366 (Spoletium). There are also cases of *nisei* in republican inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* 1².583.37). The second vowel-grapheme in Terentianus might reflect the early Latin long close *e* [ē] deriving from the original diphthong *ei* (see below, next section), and if that is allowed the *e* would be old-fashioned rather than a phonetic spelling. *Nise* is printed by Housman (1937a) at Manilius 1.471 (see also his note ad loc. (1937a: 110) advocating *nise* at Cic. *Leg.* 1.25, where manuscripts have *inse*), no doubt as an archaising form. The *e* of *nise* in Manilius is scanned short (from iambic shortening of the long close *e*).

There are other misspellings in non-literary texts that might be explained in this way. The issues are set out in the following section.

7.1.2 *e* deriving from original *ei*

The original diphthong *ei* changed in Latin to an *ī* (e.g. *deico* > *dico*), but from about 150 BC there turns up an intermediate form represented by the letter *e*, which must stand in this case for [ē].²⁰ The spelling occurs, for example, in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* (*conpromesise*). Eventually [ē] gave way to *ī*, though there are signs that it lingered on in country dialects longer than in urban Latin (see Varro *Rust.* 1.2.14, 1.48.2 and Leumann 1977: 64, Adams 2007: 52, 62). Once the change to *ī* was complete the *e* spelling had a tendency to turn up as archaic orthography.

¹⁹ See Ernout and Meillet (1959: 441–2), Leumann (1977: 387; also 101); contrast Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: 11.170), de Vaan (2008: 408).

²⁰ See e.g. Leumann (1977: 63–4), Allen (1978: 53–5), Adams (2007: 52–62).

This is nowhere clearer than in an Egyptian letter of Augustan (?) date published at *P. Oxy.* 44.3208 = *CEL* 10 (on which see Adams 2007: 138 n. 69, 442). The letter contains the old formula *deuom atque hominum (fidem)*, in which the first word is itself archaic (*diuus* = *deus*). The genitive plural ending is the archaic form (for CL *-orum*). In such a context the *e*-spelling can only be an archaic relic, perhaps remembered from some old text dating from the time when there was still a long close *e* in speech, and used here in keeping with the tone of the old phrase.

The change *ei* > *ē* becomes relevant to the interpretation of our *e*-spellings under particular circumstances. The spelling *e* for *ī* is not uncommon in later texts in disyllabic words such as *tibe*, *sibe*, *ube* (see below for details). In all these words the second syllable originally contained the diphthong *ei*. That changed by the normal process to *ī* (see above), and the *ī* for its part was shortened by iambic shortening to *ĩ* (see Leumann 1977: 108–9). If a term such as *sibĩ* is written with *e* in the second syllable in an imperial text or inscription, it may be tempting to see the *e* as representing the close *e* [e̞] which was the outcome in Romance of CL *ĩ*. But it follows from what has been said above that there is another way of interpreting such *e*-spellings. An intermediate (second) stage in the development (e.g.) *sibei* > *sibī* (> *sibĩ*) would have been *sibē*. Thus a spelling *sibe* need not reflect the late vowel merger at all, or even an open quality of *ĩ* of the type commented on above, ̣ in early Latin. It might rather be an old-fashioned spelling identical in type to that seen in *deuom*, a remembered form lingering on from the time when *ē* was still current. If in a form such as Manilius' *nise* the *e* were short, the length would derive from iambic shortening of *ē*, not from a new proto-Romance value of CL *ĩ* caused by a vowel merger.

There is some evidence favouring the interpretation of *sibe* (and other such forms in iambic words) as old orthography, whatever the length of the *e* (see further Adams 1977a: 149–50). According to Quintilian (1.7.24), Asconius Pedianus said that Livy wrote *sibe* and *quase* rather than *sibi* and *quasi*: 'sibe' et 'quase' scriptum in multorum libris est, sed an hoc uoluerint auctores nescio: T. Liuium ita his usum ex Peditano comperi, qui et ipse eum sequebatur. haec nos i littera finimus ('[s]ibe and *quase* are found in texts of many writers, but whether the authors intended them, or not, I do not know; I learn the fact that Livy used these forms from Pedianus, who himself followed the example. We spell these words with a final *i*', Russell, Loeb). Quintilian is not talking about speech but about spellings in manuscripts. Livy and many others wrote *sibe* and *quase*, and Asconius

Pedianus, having seen such forms in Livy, followed the *auctoritas* of the respected author. It is inconceivable that Livy and other literary figures used such spellings as a reflection of a proto-Romance vowel merger that was taking place in speech. They must have been using orthography with an old-fashioned flavour to it.

When an *e*-spelling for CL *ī* is found in a later text in a position in which in early Latin *ē* had once occurred, it is unsafe to conclude that the *e* reflects a recent development in the vowel system; the possibility must be allowed that it is archaising. The spelling even of the less well educated retains conservative features, and certain old or artificial forms may have a vogue.

In this small group of twelve *e*-spellings in Terentianus there are five (in *nesel/nesi*) that can be interpreted as old-fashioned. The CL form *nisi* occurs twice in letter 467 (10, 15), whereas the forms with at least one *e* are in letter 468 and the fragment of that same letter (*CEL* 143). It is likely that one scribe had a taste for the old forms.

7.1.3 The remainder of the evidence in Terentianus

There must also be a doubt about the credentials of *sene* for *sine* as a phonetic spelling in the letter just mentioned (468.38). *Sine* is attested with the form *seine* in republican Latin (*CIL* 1².583.54), presumably a false archaism based on observation of the interchange of *ei* and *i* (= *ī*) in such forms as *tibeil/tibi*, *sibeil/sibi* etc. (see Leuman 1977: 64). If *seine* had the status of an 'archaism', so *sene* might have been taken as an archaic variant showing the early *e*-spelling originally representing *ē*.

Of the remaining six *e*-spellings, four are in the final syllable of verb forms (*uolueret*, *aiutaueret*, *dicet* twice or possibly three times). Such forms will come up constantly below. The spelling *lentiamina* for *linteamina* occurs twice. In a bilingual glossary *linteamen* is written in Greek letters in the form λεντιαμεν.²¹ But even this form may be a special case. The word in its correct form has a sequence of the letters *e* and *i*. Once the closing of *e* in hiatus (in the second syllable) (see VI.2) had occurred, those writers dimly aware that there was such a sequence in the correct form might have got the order wrong. In a Vindolanda letter (*Tab. Vindol.* 643) the form *benifeciaro* also seems to have a misordering of the sequence of the same letters.

²¹ See Kramer (2001), 6.17 and Kramer's note (72–3) with further evidence.

7.2 O. Faw. 1–7, CEL 73–80, *Cugusi* (1981)

- 1.8 tibe
- 2.12 tibe
- 4.4 tibe
- 5a.3 tibe
- 2.3 scribes
- 2.3 mittes (may be future)
- 3.2 scribes
- 3.11 mittes
- 4.10 scribes
- 2.13 entro

There are ten cases of *e* for CL *ī*. Four of these are in *tibe*, where there was an original *ei*. For *tibei* see the letter of Suneros, *P.Oxy.* 44.3208 = CEL 10, line 5, a text which also has *deuom* (see above). Though *tibe* might be old-fashioned, these letters are very badly spelt, with no sign of hypercorrection or other old spellings, and there is an outside chance that *tibe* here is a phonetic spelling. *Tibe* alternates with *tibi* in the corpus. The spelling *entro* may show Greek influence (since Gk *ἐν-* corresponds to Lat. *in-*); there is one other definite case of Greek interference in the corpus (see Adams 2006). The remaining five examples are all in verb endings (present), in second person forms. Apart from *entro* all instances are in final syllable.

7.3 *Archive of the Sulpicii* (Camodeca 1999)

The only such spelling is *ube* at *TPSulp.* 45 (AD 37). This looks like old orthography (*ubei* is an attested spelling).

7.4 *Vindolanda* (Tab. Vindol.)

At 250 there is a spelling *debetorem* = *debitorem*. This may be a special case, influenced by *debet* (see Adams 1995a: 91). The spelling is in an unstressed syllable. *Vbe* is at 642 (see 7.3). At 617 *ībe* may be of the same type (see the editors ad loc.). Two letters by a certain Florus (643) have an accumulation of misspellings in the final syllable of verb forms, none of them perfects (*dabes* three times, *dabet* and *signabet* once each: Adams 2003b: 533–4). The same letter has the spelling *benifeciario* (on which see above, 7.1.3). In a new tablet (861; see Bowman, Thomas and Tomlin 2010)

a spelling *uexellarius* is found (possibly a vocalic assimilation, or influenced by the diminutive suffix *-ellus*). There are only ten possible examples in the Vindolanda tablets, five of them in verb forms and two possibly reflecting old orthography (*ube*, *ibe*). Three of the remaining examples (*debetorem*, *beneficiario*, *uexellarius*) may be special cases.

7.5 Vindonissa tablets (Speidel 1996)

Dabes occurs three times (15, 31, 53): cf. above on Vindolanda.

7.6 La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988)

Marichal (1988: 59) cites *tesanares* (76.8) < *ptisanarium* (which is found in Horace: see Marichal 1988: 91). There are several examples of *tisanares* in the corpus. The only other fairly certain example is *magedes* (163.3). The word, apparently an archaic equivalent of *lanx* (see Marichal 1988: 88, citing Plin. *Nat.* 33.146 *lances, quas antiqui magides uocauerant*), is of Greek origin (< μαγίς) and ought to have an *i* in the second syllable. Varro (*Ling.* 5.120) presents a popular form *magidam*, which is derived from the Greek accusative.

The relevance of these forms to real popular Latin is open to question, because in Gaulish short *i* is attested as opening to *e* in final or unstressed syllables (see Lambert 1995: 41). Since both words are technical terms, they had perhaps taken on a Gallicised form first when borrowed into Gaulish and then in the Latin of the potters.

7.7 Four Latin letters from Mons Claudianus (O. Claud. 2, 131, 135, 367)

These letters, all dated to the second century AD (131 and 135 c. 107), are without misspellings of this type.

7.8 Second-century legal document transliterated into Greek letters (SB III.I.6304, CPL 193)

In this text, which has numerous cases of *ĩ* written with an iota, there are two instances of epsilon instead. One of these is a grecism (εντερρογατι-ωνε, with the Greek prefix corresponding to Lat. *in-*), and the other is in βιγεντι for *uiginti*. Is this the same as those republican transliterations (see above, 5) showing epsilon for Lat. *ĩ*, motivated by the relative openness of the Latin *i* to Greek ears?

7.9 *Bu Njem ostraca (Marichal 1992)*

In this corpus of the mid-third century there are no examples, but many cases of (short) *i* correctly written (about 183). It is possible that the absence of misspellings of this type is a reflection of a feature of the African vowel system (see below, 13).

7.10 *Spanish curse tablet (Corell 1993)*

A curse tablet from Carmona (Seville) has two front-vowel misspellings, one in the final syllable of a verb form (*recipiates*), the other old-fashioned (*meretis*: see above, 5 for *mereto* in early Latin).

7.11 *Five early letters on papyrus (Cugusi 1973)*

In the five letters collected and discussed by Cugusi (1973) there are no such misspellings.

7.12 *Two early letters from Myos Hormos (Cuvigny 2003)*

In the letters M689 and M1107 (Cuvigny 2003: 409, 405), dated between the end of the first century and the time of Hadrian, there are no examples.

7.13 *P. Rainer Cent. 164*

In this text (late first century BC) there are no examples.

7.14 *Graffiti del Palatino (Väänänen 1966–70)*

These graffiti are of uncertain date, but may belong roughly to the second/third centuries.²² The only misspellings (see the linguistic appendices at 1.253, 11.255) are 1.304 *dicet*, 11.283 *futuet*, 289 *omnes* (nominative singular).

7.15 *Some statistics*

Forty-five (or forty-six) misspellings showing *e* for CL *ī* were considered from the fourteen corpora. About twenty-three were dismissed as special

²² Discussions of dating are at Väänänen (1966–70: 1.46–8, 11.80–2).

cases of one type or another. A further twenty (or twenty-one) were in the final syllable of verb forms.

The Pompeian graffiti must now be considered.

7.16 Pompeian graffiti

The relevant misspellings, which are numerous, have been analysed by Väänänen (1966: 21–2). He divides the material into three categories: cases (a) under the accent or pretonic, (b) after the accent but in non-final syllables, and (c) in final syllables. This last category is divided into spellings in nominal endings and those in verbal endings. Much of the material in the first two categories is problematic or open to special explanations, and there would be no point in counting or listing the examples again. But from (a) there remains *prauessimus* (*CIL* iv.8259) and from (b) *domene* (iv. 1871), *muli<e>rebu* (iv.4137) and *munerebu* (iv.6900).²³ The last two examples are identical in type to *tempestatebus* in an early Latin inscription (above, 5). Väänänen (1966: 21) refers to ‘le timbre indécis que devait avoir toute voyelle dans cette syllabe, qui était aussi la plus sujette à la syncope’.

Under (c), first section (‘désinences nominales’), Väänänen lists eight examples of the type *omnes* for *omnis* (nominative), and one example of *aled* for *alid*. Here again there is an exact parallel in an early Latin misspelling (*aidiles*). Väänänen (1966: 84) categorises the *e* as indicating ‘une prononciation ouverte de *i*’. One of the spellings in the Palatine graffiti seen above is of the same type.

Finally Väänänen lists (c, β) numerous examples of *e* for *ī* in verb endings of the third conjugation, first and second person singular (*-es*, *-et*), in both the present and perfect tenses, and also the future. In this list there are about forty-three examples in the present tense (which include three instances of *dicet*, a spelling found in a letter of Terentianus), and ten in the perfect.

The instances in the perfect (which include e.g. *fecet*) are easy to account for. The *e*-spelling in the third person is early (both with a following *-d* and *-t*), and was very persistent into the imperial period, particularly in certain verbs, most notably *fecet*. Numerous examples from early Latin can be found in the index to *CIL* i² (p. 820), and from later Latin at Adams (2003a: 51). The latter material, for example, includes fourteen instances of *fecet* from *CIL* vi, and also cases of the transliterated form φηκετ. The

²³ From this section I exclude *Hiredem* (for *Iridem*) because it is a non-Latin proper name, and *supstnet* because it is an obvious recomposition.

regularity of this transliterated form would not favour the view that there had been a merger of CL *ē* and *ī* in the early Empire, since the two vowels are rendered by different letters in Greek.

It follows that in the perfect the spellings with *e* at Pompeii may simply be old-fashioned. It would not be convincing to put them down at Pompeii of this period to Oscan influence (Oscan retained the ending *-ed*, as in *deded*),²⁴ because the *e*-forms go back in Latin itself to a period much earlier than that of the Pompeian graffiti in the first century AD, and they clearly had a traditional character by the time when they were written at Pompeii.

In the present tense the *e*-forms are more problematic. In early inscriptions third person singular verbs tend to be in the perfect rather than the present, and there is not the textual evidence to determine whether an *e*-spelling in a verb form such as *dicet* (for CL *dicit*) was established in early Latin (though it can be reconstructed as original: < **deik-e-ti*). In Oscan proper *e* is not attested in the third person present of the third conjugation (see Buck 1904: 59). Väänänen (1966: 22, 130) is nevertheless inclined to see the influence of Oscan at Pompeii in the present tense *e*-forms. However, *e*-spellings are found at Pompeii in the final syllable of futures as well, in which Oscan could not have been influential (for the futures *ibet* and *pugnabet* see Väänänen 1966: 22; an Oscan future is *didest*, i.e. *dide-s-t*, with syncope of the vowel in the ending).²⁵ In the material presented from elsewhere in the Empire in this chapter there are both futures (*dabes*, *dabet*) and future perfects with *e* (*aiuataueret*, *uolueret*; the Oscan future perfect is quite unlike the Latin).²⁶ There are at least four ways of explaining a form such as *dicet* at Pompeii: (i) it might be a traditional spelling which merely happens not to be attested in early texts; (ii) the *e* might have spread from the perfect (*dedet*) to other tenses; (iii) it might show Oscan influence; (iv) it might reflect weak articulation of the vowel in a final syllable. It is not obviously justifiable to latch onto (iii) amid all the possibilities. The simplest explanation of the *e*-forms in tenses other than the perfect (including the subjunctive *recipiates* in the Spanish *defixio*) is that they all reflect the same phonetic feature, namely an openness of *i* in verb endings (in final syllable). Certainly our material above from non-Oscan areas cannot be explained from Oscan influence, and it is preferable to account for the evidence by a single hypothesis.

²⁴ A view to which Väänänen (1966: 22) inclines.

²⁵ See Buck (1904: 169, 157), Meiser (1998: 182), Untermann (2000: 175).

²⁶ See Buck (1904: 173) on the formation.

7.17 Further statistics

If the Pompeian forms considered in the previous section are added to the statistics given from the other corpora, the number of *e*-spellings for *ĩ* rises to about 111, and of these a very high number (seventy-three) are in verb endings.²⁷ A further twenty or so cases (some of them classified above as special in some way) are in final syllables in other types of words, nominal, adjectival or adverbial. More than ninety of the 111 spellings considered above are in final syllables. That statistic suggests the manner in which readjustment to the front-vowel system must have been getting under way in the early centuries of the Empire. Final syllables never bore a stress accent, and for that reason vowels in this position were historically subject to modifications, such as loss (**homce* > *hunc*, *face* > *fac*: see e.g. Meiser 1998: 73–4), opening (*facili* > *facile*) and shortening. Some of the *testimonia* from grammarians collected in section 6 refer to shortening of a long vowel in final syllable, and we also saw other evidence for the phenomenon, some of it quite early. We therefore have at roughly the same period (the early centuries AD) evidence both for shortening in final syllables, and for a change in the quality of short *i* in such syllables. It is likely that in a verb form such as *dabis* the final front vowel was articulated with reduced tension, and that it tended to open slightly. As *ĩ* opened it will have moved close to *ē* without merging with it.

The proto-Romance vowel merger of *ē* and *ĩ* would only have occurred once phonemic distinctions of vowel length were lost across a wider spectrum, and evidence for the part played by the stress accent in undermining the quantitative system only appears in abundance from the third century. The transliterated form φηκετ shows that, though the final short vowel had an open quality, it had not merged with *ē*. Similarly the mid second-century transliterated text mentioned above (7.8), which, given that the Greek alphabet distinguishes better than the Latin between long and short vowels, is virtually a phonetic transcription, shows no sign of a breakdown in the quantitative system. Long *e* (η) and short *e* (ε), and long *o* (ω) and short *o* (ο) are consistently (and correctly) distinguished throughout, sometimes in the same word (οκτωβρης). In κωνσουλιβους *ō* and *ũ* are correctly distinguished. Iota is used repeatedly for *ĩ*, and the one departure from classical norms in this respect is consistent with a tendency to opening in the short-vowel system, as distinct from a merger across the short- and long-vowel systems. Yet this text has numerous errors of other types, and

²⁷ For a large collection of such misspellings in verb endings of different tenses from inscriptions and manuscripts see Schuchardt (1866–8: 11.45–9).

there are signs that it was partly taken down from dictation.²⁸ It could only be concluded that the proto-Romance merger was fully in progress if misspellings were more widely distributed within the word than they are in our early imperial documents, and if there was evidence for a disturbance to the quantitative system.

8 The Latin and Oscan vowel systems

The development in the Latin vowel system that has been the subject of this section was partially anticipated centuries earlier in Oscan (and possibly Umbrian),²⁹ in which long vowels had become closer and short vowels more open, with the consequence that the inherited \bar{e} and \check{i} moved together and achieved the same timbre (though a full merger will not have taken place because oppositions of quantity were largely retained).³⁰ Thus *líkitud* = *licētōd* has the same vowel grapheme in each of the first two syllables, in the first representing original \check{i} and in the second \bar{e} .

Scholars have not been lacking who have attributed the Latin (or proto-Romance) development to Italic influence.³¹ This idea would be hard to prove, particularly for the later and proto-Romance periods. The tendency for Latin \check{i} to open particularly in final syllables in the material just seen is a restricted adjustment which would not need an external cause, and it is attested mainly in the Empire when Oscan was in decline and is not confined to areas where Oscan had been spoken. Vowels in final syllables were subject to various forms of weakening in Latin. The open character of \check{i} in early Latin such that it was sometimes apparently heard by Greeks as indeterminate between \check{i} and \check{e} might have been a widespread feature of languages or dialects in parts of Italy, as it is attested too in Faliscan (see above, 5), but whether one should speak of a *Sprachbund* it is difficult to say.

9 Later Latin and front vowels

Later inscriptions from some parts of the Empire present a different picture from the earlier documents. Material here is taken from Pirson (1901) and

²⁸ For a discussion see Adams (2003a: 53–63).

²⁹ The parallelism is noted e.g. by Lejeune (1975: 249) and discussed by Seidl (1994) and R. Coleman (2000).

³⁰ See Lejeune (1975: 245, 247), Meiser (1986: 42), Seidl (1994: 351).

³¹ See e.g. Blaylock (1964–5: 21 with n. 19), Solta (1974: 50–1), Vincent (1988a: 33), Petersmann (1995: 537, 1998: 130). Väänänen (1966: 130), however, expresses scepticism, and draws attention to various parallel developments in popular Latin and Oscan that need not reflect the influence of the one language on the other. See also Spence (1965: 1), R. Coleman (1971b: 182 n. 22), Pulgram (1975: 257–8), Janson (1979: 28).

Carnoy (1906), who quote examples instead of merely providing undifferentiated statistics. There is also a vast amount of evidence in Schuchardt (1866–8: II.1–67).

Many instances of *e* written for CL *i* in later inscriptions from Gaul are quoted and classified by Pirson (1901), and these contrast sharply in their diversity with the restricted character of the early imperial misspellings discussed above. In Pirson's classification the misspellings fall into the following categories: (1) examples in accented syllables, open and closed (1901: 8–10): e.g. *baselica, menus, meser, nemis, precepuus, principibus, teto-lus, uteletas, ancella, claressimus, dulcessemus, minester*; (2) examples in initial pretonic syllables (1901: 32): e.g. *menister, megrauit, fegura, menores, fedelis, trebunus*; (3) examples in non-initial pretonic syllables (1901: 33): e.g. *degne-tatem, admenestrator, dedecauit, disceplina* and many others; (4) examples in post-tonic syllables (1901: 33–4): e.g. *maxemus, nobelis, ordene*, and a large number of others; and (5) examples in final syllables, of nouns, adjectives and particularly verbs, in the present, future and perfect tenses (1901: 34–6); this is by far the largest category. The frequency of such spellings in verb endings at an earlier period would appear to represent the start of a process. For misspellings in verb endings see also Gaeng (1968: 167–74).

Carnoy offers a similar collection from the Spanish inscriptions (1906: 18–26), classified in much the same way. Again the phenomenon turns up in syllables of all types, with misspellings prominent in final syllables (1906: 18–20). Carnoy gives a separate list of examples from Christian inscriptions (1906: 25–6).

It is impossible to dismiss the Gallic and Spanish evidence en masse as comprising old spellings and special cases of one sort or another. Since that is clear from the way in which Pirson and Carnoy have presented the evidence, more trust can be placed in Gaeng's (1968) statistics from the same regions of the Empire, which are not accompanied by much illustration.

Many inscriptions are not dated, but the majority from Gaul and Spain are probably quite late. Gaeng (1968) divides his vocalic data from these provinces into two chronological groups, ss. IV–VI and VII. The greater variety of these later misspellings compared with those in the earlier corpora suggests that there had been a step forward in the passage from the CL vowel system to the Romance. The effects of the stress accent on the quantitative system, which, it has been seen, become particularly apparent between the third and fifth centuries, must have been responsible for this new stage.

In the next section the back-vowel system is considered.

10 The back-vowel merger

The conventional view is that the merger of the back vowels *ō* and *ū* as close *o* (*/o/*) was later than the corresponding merger on the front-vowel axis. For remarks on the chronology see B. Löfstedt (1961: 90), Gaeng (1968: 98 with n. 59), Väänänen (1966: 27), (1981a: 36–7), Adams (1977a: 11), (2007: 588).³² Nor did the merger take place everywhere. In Romanian, as was seen (3), *ū* did not shift to a close *o* [*o*], though the standard change took place in the front-vowel system. In Latin texts the frequency of misspellings affecting the front vowels relative to that affecting the back vowels may be misleading. It has been pointed out that the phonemes */ĕ/* and */ĩ/* are twice as numerous in the language as */ĕ̃/* and */ĩ̃/*, and a lower incidence of back-vowel confusions is to be expected.³³ That said, there are texts in which spelling confusion in the back-vowel system is non-existent. The relative infrequency of that confusion compared with spelling confusion in the front-vowel system cannot be explained away as a statistical freak.

Any statistical account of spellings showing *o* for *ū* which does not cite the evidence must also be treated with suspicion (so that of Gaeng 1968), because many such spellings turn out to be special cases irrelevant to developments in the later vowel system.³⁴ Some old spellings were very persistent. Most notable among these is the writing of *uo* rather than *uu*, where the first letter represents a semivowel (*[w]*) and the second a short vowel. There was a reluctance to repeat the letter with a different phonetic value, and for that reason old spellings such as *seruos* persisted. Prinz (1932: 50–4) has a detailed discussion of the matter, along with statistical tables showing the incidence in inscriptions at different periods of *uo* versus *uu*. There is also a good discussion by Carnoy (1906: 51–4).

There follow some statistics from non-literary corpora. The evidence is set out in detail so that the special cases are eliminated.

10.1 *Letters of Terentianus* (Youtie and Winter 1951)

There are seventeen examples of *o* for *ū*, but almost every one is a special case.³⁵ There are four instances of *uo* (as in *saluom*, *nouom*, *fugitiuom*), eleven of *con* (which may either retain the old Latin vowel spelling, or

³² Herman ([1971] 1990: 143) suggests a modification of the usual view that the back-vowel merger was late: it was earlier in some areas than others.

³³ See Herman ([1968] 1990: 118–19), ([1971] 1990: 139), ([1985] 1990: 75).

³⁴ This point is several times made by Herman: e.g. ([1968] 1990: 110), ([1971] 1990: 138–9).

³⁵ Details may be found in Adams (1977a: 10–11).

reflect the influence of compound forms such as *confido*), one of the old-fashioned *quominos*, and finally *sopera* (471.21). Only the last is difficult to classify. It would not do to argue that here is a sign of the late back-vowel merger, because the non-syncopated form is suggestive of early Latin (*supera* for *supra* is in Livius Andronicus), and the *o* too may have been conceived of by the scribe as old-fashioned.

10.2 O. Faw. 1–7

For *con* (3.12) see above.

10.3 Archive of the Sulpicii (Camodeca 1999)

There are no examples (though many cases of short *u*), apart from the *uo*-spelling *fugitiuom* (with uncertainties of reading but the ending is clear) at *TPSulp.* 43.11.3.1.

10.4 Vindolanda (Tab. Vindol.)

No examples.³⁶

10.5 Vindonissa tablets (Speidel 1996)

No examples.

10.6 La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988)

No examples.³⁷

10.7 Four Latin letters from Mons Claudianus (O. Claud. 2, 131, 135, 367)

No examples.

10.8 Second-century legal document transliterated into Greek letters (SB III.1.6304, CPL 193)

No examples.

³⁶ See Adams (1995a: 91–2), (2003a: 533–5) for vocalic deviations from the norm, none of them of the type in question.

³⁷ See the material at Marichal (1988: 59), none of it of this type.

10.9 *Bu Njem ostraca (Marichal 1992)*

No examples (see Adams 1994b: 103–4). *Fornus* for *furnus* is a special case (see Adams 1994b: 104).

10.10 *Spanish curse tablet (Corell 1993)*

This contains *morbo(s)*, which, if it has been correctly interpreted, is another old spelling.

10.11 *Five early letters on papyrus (Cugusi 1973)*

No examples.

10.12 *Two early letters from Myos Hormos (Cuvigny 2003)*

No examples.

10.13 *P. Rainer cent. 164*

No examples.

10.14 *Graffiti del Palatino (Väänänen 1966–70)*

No examples.

10.15 *Pompeian graffiti*

The evidence is treated comprehensively by Väänänen (1966: 26–9). The vast majority of spellings showing *o* where *ũ* might have been expected are placed under the heading (28) ‘*o* pour *u* classique = *o* archaïque’, and are old spellings mainly of the types seen above in Terentianus. At 27 just four instances are cited of ‘*o* pour *ũ* originaire’, but all of these are special cases, or of doubtful interpretation. At Pompeii there is no sign of a back-vowel merger.

10.16 *Conclusion*

There is not a single case in this material of an *o*-spelling that might be interpreted as showing opening of short *u* in anticipation of a vowel merger. In the same material in the front vowels there are cases of opening.

The usual view of the relative chronology of these vowel changes must be correct.

II Later Latin and back vowels

Even in late inscriptions it is not easy to find examples of *o* for *ū* that can be put down to a change in the back-vowel system. More often than not such spellings fall into special categories. There is a careful treatment of the evidence from Spain by Carnoy (1906). He has a separate section (51–6) dealing with the old spelling *uo* for *uu*. Apart from that he classifies the material chronologically.

Examples from ‘une époque ancienne’ are at 49. *Annoro* (*CIL* II.3679) for *annorum* is possibly due to a tendency to opening, but it could be explained otherwise, for example as showing vocalic assimilation to the stressed vowel. The few other cases cited by Carnoy are slips or can be accounted for as case confusions (the writing of ablative forms instead of accusative, either mechanically or because of a sense that the ablative was appropriate: see *CIL* II.5144 *misolio* for *mausoleum*, 6288 *uoto*, possibly intended as an ablative).

Carnoy’s examples from the Christian period (1906: 49–50) are also unrevealing. There are just eight. *Arcos* and *porticos* might be pseudo-archaising. *Viscunos*, *Secouesos* and *Caisaros* are all taken to be Celtic forms (1906: 50), as is the genitive plural (?) *Argailo*. There remains the phrase *isto monumeto* (*Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* 403; Carnoy 1906: 49), which Carnoy equates with *istud monumentum*. It may be a genuine example, though there is again the possibility of a mechanical case confusion, and it is noticeable that the *u* in the second syllable of the noun is retained.

Finally Carnoy (1906: 57) cites examples from the fourth to the eighth centuries. These are more convincing as suggesting that a back-vowel merger had occurred. The examples are *Cesaracosta* for *Caesaraugusta*, *colomba*, *sobitus* and *tomolo*.

The Spanish evidence is consistent with a back-vowel change at a very late period. Carnoy’s setting out of the evidence allows one to identify spellings that have nothing to do with changes in the vowel system. These, if presented as statistics, might have given a false impression of the chronology of the change.

In the inscriptions of Gaul discussed by Pirson (1901) there are numerous misspellings showing *o* for *ū* that cannot be explained away as special cases. Pirson too is careful to give the special cases separately, as for example *uo* for *uu* in words such as *uiuos* (1901: 46). He interprets (1901: 47) various nominatives in *-os* (e.g. *Annios*, *Lupos*) as displaying the merger of *ō* and

ũ, given the late date of the inscriptions, but it is not impossible that the archaic form was remembered. Once these and a few other special cases are discarded there remain many misspellings that must reflect a back-vowel merger (e.g. forms such as *tomolo*, *tetolo* (also with the change in the front-vowel system represented), *consoles*, *secolares*, *famola*, *regola*, *popoli*). These are at 44–5; see also 16 for examples in stressed syllables. Most of the evidence is Christian (and marked as such) or otherwise late, but Pirson does not classify it chronologically.

Evidence from the Lombard laws (roughly seventh century) of *o* written for CL *ũ* is provided by B. Löfstedt (1961: 89–90). He notes (1961: 90) that the misspelling is less common than the corresponding one on the front-vowel axis, but it remains true that most examples are consistent with a vowel merger. Löfstedt treats *uo* for *uu* as a special case (1961: 91–2), and he discusses some other instances that cannot be put down to phonetic developments (93).

12 Conclusions

Adjustments to the vowel system must have taken place in several stages (the following account is very similar to that of Spence 1965: 10–17; cf. R. Coleman 1971b: 175). In the early Republic there are already signs that *ĩ* had an open quality that caused it to be written sometimes as an *e*. It might have had some such value as *ẽ*, but would have remained distinct from *ē* as long as the system of quantitative oppositions was in place. The tendency to opening of *ĩ* shows up in non-literary documents of the first three centuries AD mainly in the final syllable of verb endings. Throughout this period there is no trace of comparable opening of the mid back vowel. In the next stage (as evidenced by later inscriptions particularly from Gaul and Spain) opening of *ĩ* appears more extensively in different parts of the word, both in accented and unaccented syllables (including, still, verb endings). At about the same time (between the third and fifth centuries) the stress accent can be seen to have affected the quantitative system, and the open quality of CL *ĩ* would now have made it vulnerable to a merger with the original *ē*. Also in the late period signs appear of a comparable adjustment in the back vowels.

13 Regional variation

The question has often been asked whether there is evidence that the vowel system varied in different parts of the Empire, given that the outcomes of the classical system were not uniform in Romance. The most detailed

statistical comparisons of inscriptional spellings in different regions have been made by Gaeng (1968) and Omeltchenko (1977).³⁸ But statistics are difficult to interpret, and apparent regional variations may merely reflect variations in literacy among e.g. stonemasons.³⁹ Nevertheless one striking contrast shows up. Vocalic misspellings of the types considered here are extremely common in the later inscriptions of Gaul, but almost non-existent in Africa.⁴⁰ For Africa the inscriptional corpora can now be supplemented by two collections of non-literary documents, the Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets (see further Adams 2007: 644–7).

It was seen above (7.9, 10.9) that in the Bu Njem ostraca there are no cases of either the front- or back-vowel misspellings. Given the relatively early date of this corpus the absence of misspellings need not be indicative of an African peculiarity. But the Albertini tablets are much later (late fifth century), and very extensive. They are replete with every type of misspelling, yet the two vocalic misspellings are virtually non-existent. Väänänen (1965: 30) notes no instance of *o* for *ũ*, other than one in the expression *omnem pretio* (xxvi.10), which may be morphologically determined, in that accusative and ablative forms are often confused. There are only two certain cases of *e* for *ĩ*, in *aureularis* and *inutelem*.⁴¹ Väänänen also includes thirteen instances of *lateretis* = *latericiis* in this category, but this interpretation of *lateretis* is no longer accepted (see *TLL* vii.2.1002.47ff.).

Here are some further statistics (see Adams 2007: 646). In some Albertini tablets chosen at random (ii.2b, iii.3b, vi.12b, vii.14b, xi, xxii, xxv) *i* representing *ĩ* is correctly written about 182 times, compared with just one case of *e* for *ĩ*, and that is a special case (vi.12b *sibe*, an old spelling: see above, 7.1.2). In tablet xi there are half a dozen singular verb forms ending in *-it* of the sort in which the *e*-spelling often turns up elsewhere (see above, 7, *passim*), and in xxv such verb forms are even more numerous.

It was seen earlier (6) that Augustine says that Africans could not distinguish between *ōs* and *ōs̄*, which suggests that under the accent they pronounced the original *ō* and *ō̄* in the same way. The two words would not have been confused in most parts of the Empire, where, though phonemic oppositions of vowel length might have been lost, differences of quality

³⁸ The countless examples of *e* for short *i* assembled by Schuchardt (1866–8: 11.1–67) are unclassified in this respect.

³⁹ See Adams (2007) Chapter x, especially 629–35.

⁴⁰ I am referring here primarily to the findings of Omeltchenko (1977): see e.g. 204–8, 465–7. For Omeltchenko's inscriptional sources see 49–51. On the methodology of such studies and for an assessment of the evidence see Adams (2007: 637–8, 640–2, 643–9).

⁴¹ See Väänänen (1965: 26), Adams (2007: 644–7).

between the long and short mid vowels persisted. Augustine may be describing a different type of vowel system, one in which long and short *o* merged. Such, as has been noted (3), is the vowel system of Sardinian, where all the classical pairs of long and short vowels merged. The inscriptional evidence from Africa is consistent with a vowel system of the Sardinian type,⁴² though certainty is impossible. The sharp contrast between the evidence from Africa and that from Gaul suggests a distinction between the vowel systems of the two places in about the fifth century.

14 Final conclusions; social variation and vowels

Signs of opening of *ĩ* are already to be found in the republican period. In the early Empire the tendency is most marked in final syllables. From about the third century AD evidence accumulates for shortening of long unstressed vowels (and for a complementary lengthening of stressed vowels, and not only in open syllables), not least in final syllables. The two developments that were a *sine qua non* for the emergence of the vowel system of most of the Romance languages, namely (i) opening of *ĩ* towards the position of articulation of *ē* and a corresponding opening of *ũ* towards *ō*, and (ii) the loss of phonemic distinctions of vowel quantity, may have started in final syllables, or have been more advanced there early on. By the later period (notably of about the fifth century) we find numerous misspellings suggestive of (i) in other parts of the word, and evidence in grammarians and others for the loss of distinctions of quantity, and not only in final syllables. The evidence to do with the vowel system is consistent with gradual change, starting from opening of the front high vowel *ĩ* in the Republic and moving on to the undermining of the system of quantity and the opening of *ũ* much later. The view advanced by Pulgram (1975) that there had long been a submerged vowel system of Romance type alongside that of Classical Latin receives no support from the evidence.

It is appropriate to conclude with a few remarks about social variation and the vowel system. It would be unjustifiable to refer to a distinct and separate 'vowel system of Vulgar Latin' in reference to most of the phenomena that have been described in this chapter. A distinction must as always be made between substandard spellings, and the status of the phonetic features that lie behind them. There would have been purists who felt that the writing of *e* where historically (short) *i* was expected was

⁴² For a discussion of this question see Fanciullo (1992: 177–8 with 177 n. 45 for earlier bibliography); also Omeltchenko (1977: 196, 207, 466–7), Adams (2007: 647–8).

substandard, but that is not to say that the educated classes who always wrote *i* correctly did not themselves pronounce short *i* with a position of articulation close to that of short *e*. There is evidence to that effect in a grammarian (Terentianus Maurus ap. Pompeius *GL* v.102.10–11; see Allen 1978: 48), and in the early Republic, when spelling had not been standardised to the extent that was later to be the case, there are *e*-spellings even in learned compositions (the Scipionic *elogia*), which testify to the openness of the vowel *i* in educated speech. The shortening of long vowels in unstressed final syllables is another phenomenon that is attested in learned varieties of the language, and from quite early. It was only when grammarians became aware of a widespread breakdown in the quantitative system that some effort was made to preserve the old quantities, and at that time there might have been some stigmatising of ‘false quantities’. The information that we have about grammarians picking up educated speakers, say, for lengthening a short stressed vowel, suggests that in careful speech there would have been some attempt to retain the old quantity known from classical verse, but errors of the same type were made by grammarians themselves, and that demonstrates that consistency was not achieved. Some educated speakers must have aspired some of the time to use prestige features such as classical long vowels in unstressed syllables, but they did not succeed all the time. The evidence is consistent with the findings of Labov for New York City. There even highly educated speakers in their most careful speech did not achieve complete success when trying to use a prestige variable (see e.g. Labov 2006: 80–1). At Rome of about the fourth century we cannot set up two different vowel systems, an educated one based on vowel quantity of the classical type and an uneducated one in which phonemic distinctions of vowel length had been lost. The latter system was now widely current across the social classes, but some educated speakers were trying to retain old vowel lengths when they thought of it (i.e. in careful speech), and when they knew what the original length might have been. The evidence of Vegetius’ *clausulae* and of a remark by the grammarian ‘Sergius’ shows that they were often unaware of the classical length, and therefore correct classical vowel quantities were no longer current as part of a system but imposed on the new system haphazardly from time to time.

CHAPTER IV

Diphthongs

1 Introduction

The history of Latin shows the elimination of inherited diphthongs (see e.g. Leumann 1977: 60–73, Meiser 1998: 57–62). The two main diphthongs surviving into Classical Latin, *ae* and *au*, were converted into monophthongs within the period of recorded Latin, the first completely and the second partially. The developments raise questions to do with social variation.

2 AE

2.1 *The Republic*

The diphthong *ai* developed to a monophthong represented by *e* in a number of the languages of Italy in the Republican period, and also in the Latin of areas outside Rome.¹ At Rome itself the diphthong was narrowed to *ae*,² but full monophthongisation seems to have been resisted for some time (at least in educated varieties of the language), though eventually monophthongisation became general and the outcome of *ai* > *ae* in most words in Romance languages was an open *e* identical to the outcome of CL short *e* (see however below, n. 10).³

To take first Italic languages rather than Latin dialects. In Oscan *ai* remained as a diphthong (Buck 1904: 43–54), if the texts are anything to go by (though spelling is not a reliable guide). In Umbrian *ai* developed to a long open *e* (see Buck 1904: 44 on the evidence for its open quality). In Faliscan texts (if Faliscan is to be regarded as a language rather than a dialect

¹ On the diphthong and issues in its development in early Italy see now Bakkmum (2009: 1.109–14).

² The old *ai*-spelling enjoyed something of a revival in inscriptions in the imperial period, particularly in the reign of Claudius (see Lindsay 1894: 43, Pirson 1901: 18).

³ Romance developments are discussed in all handbooks on the history of Latin and Romance. See e.g. Lloyd (1987: 105–6).

of Latin) there are three spellings, *ai*, *ei* and *e* (see Bakkum 2009: 1.110, and for the instances of the three forms, 111); for interpretation of the data see Bakkum (2009: 1.112–14). There are also apparent cases of monophthongisation in non-Latin inscriptions from the territory of the Marsi and Aequiculi, such as Vetter (1953) no. 223 = Rix (2002: 66) VM 3 *pa.ui.pacuies.medis | uesung.dunom.ded(e) | ca.cumnios.cetur* (Antinum), 225 = Rix (2002: 66) VM 5 *esos* (Marruvium, S. Benedetto dei Marsi)⁴ and 226 = Rix (2002: 67) VM 8 *state* (dat.) (Collemaggiore).⁵

As for Latin, in republican inscriptions from outside Rome *e*-spellings are attested at Praeneste and Tusculum in Latium, at Falerii Novi (the region of Faliscan), around the Lacus Fucinus in the territory of the Marsi, and in Umbria and the ager Gallicus (a collection of material may be found in Adams 2007: 82–7). On the question whether there is any sign of monophthongisation in the inscriptions of Rome itself at this period see Adams (2007: 81–2). There is an absence of clear-cut evidence.

There is some literary evidence that throws light on the situation at Rome (see e.g. Lindsay 1894: 42): Varro *Ling.* 5.97 *hircus, quod Sabini fircus; quod illic fedus, in Latio rure hedus, qui in urbe ut in multis A addito haedus*; Lucilius 1130 (Varro *Ling.* 7.96) *Cecilius <pretor> ne rusticus fiat*. In the first passage Varro makes a contrast between the city of Rome, where *haedus* was current, and rural Latium, where *hedus* was the corresponding form. To a city dweller in the late first century BC the monophthong was rustic. The other passage belongs to the second century BC. A certain Caecilius is ridiculed as rustic, and his rusticity is brought out by the use of the monophthongal spelling in reference to him. The two pieces of evidence suggest that the lack of definite inscriptional evidence for the monophthong at Rome in the last two centuries of the Republic does not give a false impression. The monophthongisation started outside the city but was retarded within, and was stigmatised by the urban upper classes. Dating the change at Rome itself is impossible, as evidence is not available. Since there was always movement of people from the countryside to Rome, the monophthongal pronunciation might have been heard at some social levels in the city, but Ferri and Probert (2010: 21) are rightly cautious in stating that it ‘is not very clear . . . whether *-e-* for *-ae-* . . . already belongs to a low sociolect in the first century BC’. When it caught on among the educated is anyone’s guess (see below).

The next evidence to turn up, a good deal of it new, belongs to scattered places, mainly outside Italy, dated to the first and the early second century.

⁴ For *aisos* ‘god’ see Untermann (2000: 68–9).

⁵ This is a female divine name (Untermann 2000: 701).

There are also some problematic statements in later grammarians, which raise the question whether the educated attempted to preserve the diphthong in speech over several centuries; they certainly preserved the digraph in writing.

In what follows these two categories of evidence are discussed in that order.

2.2 *Non-literary texts of the early Empire*

The earliest evidence in the first category raises again the question of usage in provincial Italy compared with that at Rome. In a coherent part of the archive of the Sulpicii from Pompeii, that is the documents written in the hand of the freedman C. Novius Eunus and dated to the first half of the first century AD (*TPSulp.* 51, 52, 67, 68), *e* is already the norm (see Adams 1990a: 230). The *e*-spelling occurs seventeen times in what is only a small corpus, against just one case of *ae*, and that hypercorrect (51 *petiaerit*). The name *Caesar* is constantly spelt *Cessar*, and that is striking because a particular effort was made to get the spelling of personal names right; signs of this effort will be seen below (this section) in the ostraca from Bu Njem. It is possible that Eunus was taking the texts down from, or with the aid of, dictation. The correct versions of the same tablets (written on the exterior by scribes) always have *ae*. Here is a sign of the distinction between speech and writing. In the speech that Eunus heard around him the monophthongal pronunciation was well established, but well-trained scribes wrote the digraph.

It has been stated on the evidence of this archive (Adams 1990a: 230) that '*ae* had been monophthongised in ordinary speech by the early first century AD', but this is a misleading way of describing the situation revealed by the tablets. It is likely that the spelling reflects not a recent change but a long-standing feature of the speech of this Campanian region, distinguishing Campanian Latin still at this date from the speech of the city. The evidence of the archive is supported by a literary *testimonium*. According to Varro (*Ling.* 7.96) rustics (in Atellan farce) called the character Pappus/pappus *Mesius* not *Maesius* (see Adams 2007: 154–5 with n. 100 on the passage and its difficulties), and these rustic characters can only have been Campanians. Since Oscan, unlike Umbrian, seems to have preserved the diphthong *ai* (see above, 2.1), such a monophthong in Campania cannot with any confidence be put down to the influence of the substrate (Adams 2007: 154–5). The Pompeian graffiti, also of the first century, show up the same characteristic as the archive of Eunus. In these the *e*-spelling abounds (Väänänen 1966: 23–4 for the evidence).

The non-literary evidence that next turns up is about a century later, and from places well beyond Italy.

In the Vindolanda tablets of the early second century AD the digraph is usually used correctly, but there are several documents with clusters of *e*-spellings, which hint at developments in speech that have been obscured by the literacy of the military scribes. In a letter by an entrepreneur Octavius (*Tab. Vindol.* 343) there are four cases of *e* and a hypercorrect case of *ae* for long *e* (see Adams 1995a: 87). There is only one correct instance of *ae* in this text. In the account 186 there are three instances of *e* and none of *ae*. Fragmentary letters by a certain Florus in the third volume (643) contain one case of *e* and one of *ae*, and an abundance of errors of other types (Adams 2003b: 534). These various texts might not have been written by the usual scribes. The material is not extensive, but extensive enough to suggest that in the Latin speech of the camp the monophthong was the norm. There were Batavians and Tungrians at Vindolanda, but nothing is known about the background to their acquisition and use of Latin.

In the letters of Terentianus from Egypt of much the same date *e* and *ae* occur with about the same frequency (see Adams 1977a: 12), but there are variations from letter to letter that must reflect the practices of different scribes (on this phenomenon see Halla-aho 2003), or the influence of different lexical items. In letters 467 and 468 only *ae* is written, fourteen times. By contrast in 469 *e* occurs seven times, and the only instance of *ae* is hypercorrect, for short *e* (*reſçreibae*). In letter 471 *ae* occurs seven times and *e* eight. Here the influence of particular word forms is apparent. *Aes* is three times spelt correctly, presumably because the phonetic spelling *es* would have lacked distinctiveness,⁶ and twice the prefix *prae-* has the correct digraph; evidence will be seen below (2.5) from a later period suggesting that writers were taught to use *ae* after *pr-*. On the other hand the locative-directional *Alexandrie* is six times spelt with *e* (never *ae*). Syntactically the locative expressing the goal of a verb of motion must have been slangy and idiomatic (see xv.4), and the scribe for that reason was happy with the non-standard spelling.⁷ The only example of the correct *Alexandriae* in the archive is in a letter of Tiberianus (472), the 'father' of Terentianus. In the circles in which Terentianus moved monophthongisation had taken place. The origin of Terentianus and of his scribes is obscure.

Somewhat later the Bu Njem ostraca from Africa (dated to the middle of the third century) show a marked predominance of *e* over the digraph

⁶ *Aes* is also found in a letter of Rustius Barbarus (*O. Faw.* 1).

⁷ Another recurrent form is the substandard feminine dative *illei* (< *illaei*) (see xx.3), which occurs five times in letter 469. For the *ae*-spelling see Pirson (1901: 20).

(see Adams 1994b: 103; the figures given here are corrected slightly). *E* is written about fifty-five times, compared with sixteen examples of *ae*. One of the latter is hypercorrect (*O. Bu Njem* 133 *aegregia*), and twelve of the others are in proper names (*Caecilius* twice, *Aemilius* four times, *Aemilianus* five times, *Aelius* once). It is possible that even bad spellers made an effort to use the 'correct' form of personal names (see also x.1 for this point; contrast the remarks above about Eunus' spelling of *Caesar*). The remaining three correct cases of *ae* are in *praepositus* (*O. Bu Njem* 13, 15, 34); on the significance of this form see the last paragraph and below, 2.5.

These various corpora show provincials in the first three centuries of the Empire writing *e* for *ae* with such regularity that monophthongisation must have been widespread across the Empire. Evidence of the same (non-literary) type is lacking for Rome for this period.⁸ Some remarks by grammarians must now be considered. It may be assumed that at Rome at the social and educational levels represented in the above corpora from outside the city monophthongisation was also the norm,⁹ but the question arises whether careful or educated speakers under the influence of grammarians tried to maintain not only the digraph but the diphthong.

2.3 Grammarians on *ae*

Bakkum (2009: 1.110) includes Quint. 1.7.18 among imperial *testimonia* suggesting that *ae* was still (?) a diphthong in Roman or upper-class Roman Latin (see too Lindsay 1894: 43): *ae syllabam, cuius secundam nunc e litteram ponimus, uarie per a et i efferebant* ('[t]he syllable *ae*, which now has *e* as second letter, was formerly expressed by *a* and *i*', Russell, Loeb). The passage is carelessly expressed, with *ponimus* suggestive of writing and *efferebant* more suggestive of speech, but overall the impression given is that Quintilian is commenting on varieties of spelling, and he certainly tells us nothing specific about speech at his time.

Next, there is Terentius Scaurus *De orthographia* GL VII.16.6–10 *a igitur littera praeposita est u et e litteris, ae au . . . et apud antiquos i littera pro ea (e littera) scribebatur, ut testantur μεταπλάσμοι, in quibus est eius modi*

⁸ Gaeng's survey (1968: 240–51) of *ae* versus *e* in inscriptions deals only with the fifth to seventh centuries, and the Roman material used, which does show orthographic confusions, is not very extensive anyway.

⁹ Many cases of *e* for *ae* from the inscriptions of Rome (*CIL* vi) are listed by Gordon *et al.* (2006: 257–8), but these are not classified by date. It would be worthwhile to undertake such a classification.

syllabarum diductio, ut 'pictai uestis' et 'aulai medio' pro pictae et aulae. sed magis in illis e nouissima sonat, 'well then, the letter *a* is prefixed to *u* and *e*, as in *ae* and *au* . . . and among the ancients *i* was written for *e*, as is shown by alterations of sound, among them the separation of syllables as *pictai uestis* and *aulai medio* for *pictae* and *aulae*. But in those words it is rather an *e* that sounds in final position' (translation of Sturtevant 1940: 124 n. 55 with modifications). Terentius (attributed to the second century AD, if the *De orthographia* is genuinely his) seems to be saying that in *pictae* and *aulae* a diphthong was heard, with *e* as its second element. The passage is taken thus by Sturtevant (1940: 124).

Another passage that might be read in the same way, though its interpretation is problematic, is Diom. *GL* 1.452.17–19 (*detractio*) *litterae, ut si detracta a littera pretor dicamus, ut Lucilius 'pretor ne rusticus fiat', cum debeat ae pronuntiari, praetor* ('(by the omission) of a letter, for example if we were to say *pretor* with the *a* omitted, as Lucilius (wrote) *pretor ne rusticus fiat*, when *ae* should be pronounced, i.e. *praetor*'). Diomedes may be dated loosely to the late fourth/early fifth century (Kaster 1988: 270–1). He does not make it clear whether he is distinguishing satisfactorily between writing and speech. He illustrates the *detractio* of the *a* in *pretor* from a written text, but then says that the word should be 'pronounced' *praetor*. If the latter remark could be taken at its face value it would constitute evidence that grammarians were trying to preserve the diphthong, but it is possible that he was using *pronuntiari* loosely.

Marius Victorinus *GL* VI.32.4–6 also on the face of it refers to the pronunciation of the sound represented by *ae* as a diphthong: *rursus duae inter se uocales iugatae ac sub unius uocis enuntiatione prolatae syllabam faciunt natura longam, quam Graeci diphthongon uocant, ueluti geminae uocis unum sonum, ut ae oe au*.

Servius *GL* IV.421.19–21 is not in line with the (possible) interpretation of the above three passages: *e quando producitur, uicinum est ad sonum i litterae, ut meta; quando autem correptum, uicinum est ad sonum diphthongi, ut equus* (see Kramer 1976: 22), 'when *e* is long, it is near the sound of the "letter" *i*, as in the word *meta*; but when it is short, it is near the sound of the diphthong, as in *equus*'. This sentence means that long *e* was closer than short *e*. The openness of the short *e* in *equus* is likened to that of the 'diphthong', presumably in this context that of *aequus*. By 'diphthong' Servius must mean in modern terminology 'digraph'. It would appear that *aequus* had an open vowel, not a diphthong, in the first syllable, represented in traditional orthography by the digraph *ae*. It is hard to believe that Servius would have compared the vowel sound in the first syllable of *equus* with a

genuine diphthong (or just the second part of a diphthong), but since in the passage to the Romance languages the original *ae* diphthong merged with original short *e*, it is plausible that in the late Empire the sound of *equus* should have been likened to that of *aequus*. Servius might even have been suggesting that the pronunciation of the two words was identical, which would have been the case if the long open *e* that may be assumed to have been an intermediate stage in the monophthongisation of original *ai/ae* had by now been shortened (on this question see below, 2.4). An alternative possibility is that *aequus* still had a long open *e*, which could be likened to the *e* of *equus* in its degree of aperture if not its length.

This second possibility is perhaps supported by Pompeius *GL* v.285.8–9 *si uelit dicere aequus pro eo quod est equus, in pronuntiatione hoc fit* ('if [anyone] were to say *aequus* instead of *equus*, this represents [a barbarism] of pronunciation'). The passage is about barbarisms of vowel length, consisting either of the lengthening of a short vowel or the shortening of a long. The example given represents the first type. Pompeius must be saying that, though the two words sounded much the same, the vowels in the first syllable should differ in length.

The evidence of these two passages suggests that in the fourth and fifth centuries grammarians felt that a monophthongal pronunciation of the *ae* was the norm and correct, though (in the eyes of Pompeius) the *e* of *aequus* was long.

'Sergius' *Explan. in Don.* (*GL* iv.520.28–9) is much the same as the passage of Servius above.

The evidence of the seven passages from grammatical works (including that of 'Sergius') is a mixed bag. Terentius Scaurus seems to be referring to a diphthongal pronunciation, as does Marius Victorinus. Diomedes possibly is, but there is another way of taking his remarks. Quintilian seems to be talking about writing. The last three passages show grammarians accepting the monophthongal pronunciation. It may tentatively be concluded that grammarians for a while tried to keep the diphthong going in educated speech, but that by the fourth century they had given up the attempt. There is, finally, a slight disagreement between Servius and Pompeius, as the passages have been interpreted here. Pompeius, who possibly was writing anachronistically, found a difference of length between the vowels of *equus* and *aequus*, whereas there is no hint of a distinction in Servius.

For some further *testimonia* from grammarians, which do not affect the conclusions above, see Lindsay (1894: 42–3).

Another piece of evidence has been brought to bear on the question whether the diphthong lasted into the Empire in educated speech. Flobert

(1990: 105) notes cases of the digraph *ae* marked with an apex in the *Laudatio Turiae* (*praëferam, patriâe*), *Res Gestae*, and particularly in inscriptions from Vienne and Lyons. There are no errors in the last two corpora. Flobert concludes: 'Cette instance sans faute montre que *ae*, comme *au*, est encore une diphthongue sous le Haut-Empire.' The evidence is not decisive. The apex might have been an artificial appendage of the digraph, acknowledging the original length of the diphthong, whatever the pronunciation that lay behind it. The absence of errors is interesting but might reflect not pronunciation but the practice of good spellers.

2.4 Long versus short open *e*

When *ae* was monophthongised it is assumed that there was a stage during which the resultant vowel was long, given that diphthongs regularly developed to long vowels in the history of Latin. It is also assumed that this long *e* was open, rather than a closer *e* equivalent to the inherited long *e* of Classical Latin. The reasoning behind the second assumption is that the Romance reflex (in most words)¹⁰ of original *ae* was the same as that of CL short (i.e. open) *e* rather than of CL long (i.e. close) *e*. The hypothetical long open *e* (< *ae*) must have disturbed the vowel system, in that there would for a time have been a long close *e*, a long open *e* and a short open *e*, contrasting with the usual long/short pairs. Symmetry was restored by the shortening of the new long open *e*, such that it merged with the CL short *e*.

The (temporary) existence of the new long (open) *e* seems to be confirmed by the hypercorrect use of the digraph to represent original long *e* (see R. Coleman 1971b: 186–90; also e.g. Pirson 1901: 19, Gaeng 1968: 251–2). The hypercorrect use of *ae* for short *e* for its part is a sign that the long open *e* had undergone shortening. This second hypercorrection turns up quite early. *Petiaerit* for *petierit* is attested as early as June AD 37, in the part of the archive of the Sulpicii bearing the name of C. Novius Eunus (*TPSulp.* 51) (see above, 2.2, p. 73). There is a similar example elsewhere in the archive, in a document of a certain Diognetus, slave of C. Novius Cypaerus (*TPSulp.* 45 *aeodem* = *eodem*). The same, short monophthongal, outcome of *ae* is also attested to by Greek transliterations of Latin employing epsilon to represent the sound of the original *ae*. There is a case in the second century in a document of Aeschines Flavianus of Miletus

¹⁰ See Adams (2007: 79–80) with bibliography on a small group of words in which the original *ae* is reflected in Romance as a close *e* (deriving therefore from CL long *e*).

(*SB* III.1.6304 = *CPL* 193), who writes $\beta\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ for the genitive of *ueteranae*, a spelling that is phonetic in three different ways (see the discussion of the text at Adams 2003a: 53–62). The witness to this same document, Domitius Theophilus, writing Latin in Latin script, has *aeadem* for *eadem*; cf. e.g. *aeorum* for *eorum* at *O. Faw.* 1.12. The earliest inverse spelling (*ae* for short *e*) in the Spanish inscriptions according to Carnoy (1906: 77) is *Naerua* in an inscription from the end of the first century AD. He notes (75, 76) that inverse spellings in Spain both in inscriptions before the fifth century and in Christian inscriptions always show *ae* for short rather than long *e*, and seeks to set up a regional distinction between Spain and other provinces in this respect, arguing that material in Schuchardt (1866–8: 1.223–460) from elsewhere in the Empire shows a large number of cases of *ae* for long *e*. The argument is unsafe. R. Coleman (1971b: 186) offers examples of *ae* for short *e* from various regions, and we saw early inverse spellings from Italy above; see also above, 2.2, p. 74 on the letters of Terentianus. The Spanish attestations are not many, and it will not do to argue for regional variations from limited evidence.

2.5 Spelling

For centuries most writers aspiring to correctness attempted to go on using the digraph *ae*, long after it had ceased to be representative of speech. In the manuscripts of Gregory of Tours the hypercorrect substitution of *ae* for *e* is more common than the phonetic spelling *e* for *ae* (Bonnet 1890: 97), and that betrays the importance still attached to correct spelling at a time by which the *ae*-spelling had no basis in pronunciation. In the late period in Italy (in the *Edictus Rothari*, *Ravenna papyri* and *Jordanes*) there are signs that writers resorted to mechanical rules to get the digraph right at least some of the time. In these texts *ae* predominates over *e* in case endings (feminine) and in the prefix *prae-*, whereas in other positions in the word *e* outnumbers *ae* (Adams 1976a: 43–4). A writer could be taught to write *ae* in case endings and after *pr-*, but no rule could instruct him when to use the digraph in other positions. A mechanical rule offered some help but might sometimes lead a writer astray. Bonnet (1890: 97–9) notes that in the manuscripts of Gregory of Tours after *pr-* *ae* is often written instead of the correct *e* (e.g. in *praece*, *praecor*, *praemo*, *praetium* and *praesbiter*). See too Adams (1976a: 44) on *praetium*. Vielliard (1927: 38) observed that in the Merovingian documents which she examined *ae* was most often preserved in the prefix *prae-*. Jeanneret (1918: 26) notes in curse tablets several inverse examples (for short *e*) after *pr-* (*repraecensionem*, *praecatio*). The latter is

at Audollent (1904) no. 222.B.9, from Carthage. On the spelling *prae-* for *pre-* see also B. Löfstedt (1961: 103). The confusion that had set in is revealed by a fifth-century grammatical passage cited by Löfstedt: Agroeicius *GL* VII.114.21–115.1 *praemium cum diphthongo scribendum; pretium, precor sine diphthongo*.

There are by contrast other late texts in which all attempts to preserve the digraph had been abandoned, such as the *Tablettes Albertini* (Väänänen 1965: 27–8, Adams 1976a: 43).

2.6 Conclusions

The writing of *e* for *ae* was probably considered a vulgarism of spelling for many centuries. ‘Correct’ texts, such as the exterior versions of legal documents written by professional scribes (so the documents in the archive of Eunus), regularly have the digraph. In speech in the Republic the monophthong (probably representing an open *e*, long or short) was a feature of some regional varieties of Latin outside Rome, in rural Latium and further afield. It was also found in some Italic languages, such as Umbrian, Faliscan and Marsian. To urban observers in the last two centuries BC it was rustic if heard in Latin, and stigmatised, as is clear from the line of Lucilius directed at a Caecilius (above, 2.1). The Romance evidence shows that eventually the monophthong spread across the whole Latin-speaking world, including Rome. Its spread seems to be a case of a ‘wave effect’, with the wave originating in rural parts of Italy rather than in the city. What remains unclear is whether the monophthong had reached Rome from fairly early on in lower social dialects. It had rural associations, but was that all? We do not know. The spelling *pedagogus* (learned Latin *paedagogus*) in a specimen of the simple style at *Rhet. Her.* 4.14 is unrevealing, because in Koine Greek the *ai-* diphthong had long since turned into a monophthong represented by epsilon (in anticipation of Modern Greek), and the interchange of the two is common in the papyri (Gignac 1976: 191–3, Biville 1995: 40–2). Popular Latin, in contrast to the learned language, might have borrowed the koine form.

What little evidence there is in grammarians suggests that in the early centuries of the Empire there was an attempt to maintain the diphthong, but that by about the fourth century the monophthong was so established that it was acceptable even to grammarians. Attitudes had changed since the Republic, when it was stigmatised in the eyes of educated Romans. *e* for *ae* was more a mark of poor literacy than of substandard speech by the later imperial period. If there were genuinely efforts to preserve the diphthong

earlier in the Empire in educated speech, the consequence might have been similar to that seen above (III.14) in the vowel system: inconsistent use of *ae* in careful speech.

3 AV

The diphthongal spelling *au* persisted throughout Latin, though there are certain words in which it was often changed to *o* from an early date (e.g. *olla*, *coda*, *plostrum*, *sodes*, *oricula*).¹¹ This long *o* must have been the long (close) *o* of the CL vowel system rather than a more open variant. There is a good reason for this view. A number of words that occur already with an *o*-spelling in Latin are reflected in Romance with a close not an open *o* (see e.g. Sommer and Pfister 1977: 68, citing *coda*, *codex*, *foces* and *olla* as surviving in Romance with the reflex of Latin long close *o* [ō]).¹² The usual outcomes of original *au* in Romance were different (see further below), and these few lexical items must reflect in Romance the form that they had already achieved in early Latin.

It is no surprise that the *au* spelling in most words was very persistent throughout Latin,¹³ as the diphthong lived on extensively in Romance. It survived in Romanian, the south of Italy and Sicily with some variations, to the east and west of Raetia, and in southern Gaul (see e.g. Bourciez 1946: 155, Weiss 2009: 511; on its developments in Italo-Romance dialects see Rohlfs 1966: 65–8, Maiden 1995: 41, Ledgeway 2009: 52–3). Note e.g. *aurum* > Rom. *aur*, OProv. *aur*, but Fr. *or*, It., Sp. *oro* (for the *o* of which see the next paragraph). Portuguese retained a diphthong but with narrowing. On *au* > *ou* in Portuguese see Williams (1962: 30); Parkinson (1988: 136): ‘A conservative feature of Portuguese is its preservation of Lat. /au/ as a diphthong /ou/. (In Standard European Portuguese this has monophthongised to /o/ in tonic syllables, but betrays its diphthongal origin by being exempt, like the diphthongs, from reduction in atonic syllables.)’

¹¹ For collections of material see e.g. Lindsay (1894: 40–1), Ernout (1928: 139–41, 161–2, 206–8), Brück (1938) and below, 3.1.

¹² See further Brück (1938: 171–2), listing nine Latin terms with Romance reflexes deriving from the long *o* of Latin; also Richter (1934: 39), Battisti (1949: 106), B. Löfstedt (1961: 106), Leumann (1977: 72). See also e.g. FEW II.1.532 (*cauda/coda*), III.439 (*fāux/fōx*, i.e. CL *fāuces*), VII.350 (*aul(l)a/ol(l)a*) for Romance reflexes going back to Latin forms with *ō*.

¹³ The language also picked up some secondary *au*-diphthongs from phonetic developments. Note the form *cauculus* for *calculus* (see e.g. Oder 1901: 335 for examples in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*), which originated from the conversion of dark *l* into the high back vowel *u*.

In those regions where *au* was monophthongised to *o*, the *o* was usually open (Richter 1934: 211–14, Bourciez 1946: 155, Rohlfs 1966: 64–5 on Italian, citing from the standard language *tqro*, *pqco*, *qro*, Maiden 1995: 41 on Italian; cf. too B. Löfstedt 1961: 106). This monophthongisation was therefore not the same as that found in the lexical items in Latin showing an *o*-spelling (see above), some of which survived not with an open but a close *o*. The distinction is important, as it shows that the monophthongisation that turns up quite early in Latin in a small set of words has nothing to do with the later monophthongisation that shows up in Romance. On the chronological independence of the monophthongisation in standard Italian from that in ancient Latin see e.g. Rohlfs (1966: 64), and on its relative lateness in Italian see Maiden (1995: 41). Hence it is not correct to say (see Meiser 1998: 62) that (e.g.) It. *oro* (CL *aurum*) shows the Vulgar Latin form, since the Italian reflex has an open *o*. It is true that a ‘rustic’ form *orum* for *aurum* is attested in Latin (Festus p. 196.27–8 Lindsay; see Adams 2007: 181), but the *o* of that form would have differed in quality (being close) from that of (e.g.) the Italian word. The Latin form *orum* and the Italian *oro* derive from independent monophthongisations.

There is a general point that arises from the history of *au*. Sometimes a superficial similarity between a Latin and a Romance feature may reflect not continuity but two separate developments (see further xxxiii.4).

The lexical items in which the *o*-spelling tends to occur throughout much of the Latin period usually have a slangy or rustic feel, and are in texts or contexts with a conversational tone (see below).¹⁴ There are no texts extant in which *o* for *au* is general or commonplace; by contrast, *e* for *ae* is often widespread in texts not containing *o*. Various new corpora of non-literary texts show the different treatment of the two diphthongs, and bring out the persistence of *au*. In the Bu Njem ostraca there are twenty instances of *au* but none of *o* < *au*. On the other hand there are fifty-five instances of *e* < *ae* but only sixteen of *ae*, one of them hypercorrect (above, 2.2). In the letters of Terentianus there are twenty-six cases of *au* but none of *o* < *au* (Adams 1977a: 11). For the frequency of the spelling *e* < *ae* in this corpus see above, 2.2. In the legal documents of C. Novius Eunus *au* is always written correctly (Adams 1990a: 231) but the displacement of *ae* by *e* is almost total (see 2.2). At Vindolanda there are instances of *e* < *ae* but none of *o* < *au* (2.2). In inscriptions on stone too there is the same distinction. From the vast corpus of Roman inscriptions Gordon *et al.* (2006: 281) list just a dozen cases of *o* for *au*, most of them in names

¹⁴ See also Väänänen (1966: 30–2), (1981a: 39).

or familiar lexical items. They cite (257–8) more than two columns of examples of *e* for *ae* (see above, 2.2 n. 9).

au developed to a long *o* in Umbrian but was retained in Oscan (Buck 1904: 46, Väänänen 1966: 30). The monophthongisation also seems to have occurred in Faliscan, though the only clear instance of the spelling *o* for *au* is in late Faliscan *pola*, the feminine praenomen (for the interpretation of the Faliscan evidence, such as it is, see Bakkum 2009: 1.106). In Latin the earliest instance of *o* for *au* in an inscription seems to be *Pola* at *CIL* 1².379 (Pisaurum), of the first half of the second century (see Bakkum 2009: 1.106), but there are also signs of the *o*-spelling in Plautus (see below, 3.1.1). The limited cases of *o* for *au*, which as noted above tend to be in rustic words, may reflect contact in some sense between Latin speakers and speakers of Italic languages in which the change had occurred (see e.g. Väänänen 1966: 30). But since the *o*-spelling is so tied to particular lexical items it would not do to suggest that in rural Latin a general monophthongisation had occurred. A few of these special cases are discussed below.

3.1 Special Cases

3.1.1 *sodes*

Sodes ‘please’, a modifier of requests (< *si* + **odes*), is a term restricted to conversational contexts. By definition it must have been used mainly in speech, or if in writing in texts of conversational type. The original form of the expression, *si audes* ‘if you please’ (showing *audeo* in its original meaning; cf. *avidus*), still occurs sometimes in Plautus, in solemn or pathetic style (e.g. *Mil.* 799, *Poen.* 757: see Hofmann 1951: 133, Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 289), whereas by the time of Cicero *si audes* shows the later meaning of the verb (‘if you dare’: *Cic. Pis.* 37 and Hofmann loc. cit.), and *sodes* is the only form used as the modifier. *Sodes* is found in comedy (e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* 562, Ter. *Heaut.* 459) and Cicero’s letters and several other texts that admit low-register items.

3.1.2 *oricula*

Festus p. 196.27–8 Lindsay, as was seen above, notes *orum* = *aurum* as a form once used by rustics,¹⁵ and adds *oricula* as a parallel: *orata genus piscis appellatur a colore auri, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas, oriculas*. *Oricula* also occurs at *Rhet. Her.* 4.14, in a specimen of ‘low everyday

¹⁵ The same passage (28–31) refers to a very rich man who was nicknamed *Orata* because he wore two huge gold rings.

language' (*infimus et cotidianus sermo*): *nec mirum, cui etiam nunc pedagogi lites ad oriculas uersarentur inperito huiusmodi conuiciorum* (note too the spelling *pedagogi*, on which see above, 2.6). Cicero admits the form *oricula* in a proverbial expression in a letter, *oricula infima molliorem* (*Q. fr.* 2.14(13).4); cf. too Catull. 25.2 (*mollior... | ... imula oricilla*). In the last two passages the reference is to the lobe of the ear (the diminutive designates part of the whole, a familiar function of diminutives,¹⁶ though here with a defining epithet that makes the specialisation clear), whereas in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*, Avonia 24 *oricula[s]*, Vesonica 25 *oriclas*, the reference is to the ears as a whole. The case of *oricula* (and of *sodes*) shows that monophthongised forms tended not only to recur in certain lexemes but also to be admitted by the educated in casual style. For the close *o* of *orecchia* in Italian see Maiden (1995: 41). He puts down this aberrant treatment of the original diphthong (compared with the Italian norm) to the fact that it is in an unstressed syllable (the outcomes of unstressed *o* in Italian, whether deriving from *au*, long *o* or short *o* or *u*, are realised as close), but it is possible in this case that the Italian form continues the early Latin *oricula*, with long *o*.

3.1.3 *coda*

This spelling is well attested in manuscripts (of writers such as Varro, Petronius and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*), glosses and grammarians; also *P. Amb.* II.26 (for details see *TLL* III.624.82ff.).

3.1.4 *pollulus*

Found in a republican letter, of Cassius (*Cic. Fam.* 12.12.2 *habui pollulum morae*). The form also occurs at Cato *Agr.* 10.2, 21.3 (see *TLL* X.1.827.12).

3.1.5 *colis, coliculus*

Caulis 'stem, stalk of a plant such as a cabbage', then 'cabbage', and its diminutive *cauliculus* are cases of 'rustic' terms. The *o*-spellings are established already in early republican literature, if manuscripts are to be trusted (for *colis* see *TLL* III.652.20ff., and for *coliculus*, 651.27ff.). They occur particularly in agricultural writers. Both Cato (*Agr.*) and Varro (*Rust.*) prefer *coliculus* to *cauliculus* (by 2:0 in both cases). Cato has *caulis* four times and *colis* once, whereas Varro has only *colis* (four times). Columella also has only *coliculus* as the diminutive form (ten times), but prefers *caulis* to *colis*

¹⁶ See e.g. Adams (1995b: 544 with n. 322, 550–1), with further bibliography and details about the semantics of *auricula*.

by 25:7. If the figures may be taken at face value there is a distinction in the three agricultural writers between the base form and its diminutive. All three have only the *o*-form of the diminutive, but *caulis* outnumbers *colis* in two of the three. It was not only the semantics of the terms that influenced their spellings; the slanginess of the diminutive seems particularly to have favoured the *o*-form.¹⁷ Several of the terms discussed above are also diminutives (see also below).

In the medical work of Celsus, a noted linguistic purist, *caulis* is used metaphorically of the penis, apparently in imitation of the Greek *καυλός* (Adams 1982a: 26–7). The manuscripts in every case have *colis* (TLL III.652.25f., Adams 1982a: 27). If Celsus himself wrote *colis* he might have been giving the metaphor an overtly rustic flavour instead of associating it with the Greek term. Alternatively, if the usage were taken from ordinary speech rather than based on Greek (it is used earlier by Lucilius, 281, but with the form *caulis*), it might have originated or become established in a social/regional dialect in which the monophthongised form was the norm.

3.1.6 *plostrum*, *plostellum*

Plostrum occurs in a republican inscription (CIL I².593.57). In texts there is a pattern to the distribution of the *o*- versus *au*-forms. In the literary language *plaustrum* is preferred. In poetry it occurs four times in Horace, seven times in Virgil (six times in the *Georgics*) and twelve times in Ovid. None of these has *plostrum*. In prose Cicero has *plaustrum* four times, Livy seventeen times and Tacitus twice (no examples of *plostrum* in any of the three). In the Caesarian corpus there are three examples of *plaustrum* (none of *plostrum*), all in the *Bellum Africum*. More mundane, practical texts on the other hand provide cases of *plostrum*. Cato (*De agricultura*) prefers *plostrum* by 9:2, and also has the adjective *plostrarius* twice. Vitruvius prefers *plostrum* by 2:0. Varro and Columella both have *plaustrum* twice and *plostrum* once. It was not only the rustic character of the object denoted that motivated the *o*-spelling; again the context – in this case the literary genre – is an influence. In the terms of Labov the *o*-form was at home in more casual style.

The diminutive is not common (two examples only, one in Varro (*Rust.* I.52.1) and one in Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.247), in the period covered by the OLD), but both cases have the form *plostellum*. Here is a further sign of the appropriateness of the monophthongised form in diminutives.

¹⁷ For the diminutive (with *o*) in a non-literary text see *O. Faw.* 2.11.

Plostrum is the subject of an anecdote at Suet. *Vesp.* 22: *Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo plaustra potius quam plostra dicenda, postero die Flaurum salutavit*. Vespasian, having been picked up by Mestrius Florus for saying *plostra* rather than *plaustra*, on the next day greeted Florus as Flaurus. Vespasian made the point that Florus was a pedant. But the anecdote also shows that *plaustra* had not been ousted by *plostra*: there were those who advocated the diphthongal pronunciation, and that provides a background to the preference for the digraph in high literary texts. The anecdote is interesting because it is about speech and not simply spelling: *plostrum* was to be expected in casual conversation.

3.1.7 *olla*

Found at Cic. *Fam.* 9.18.4 in a proverbial-type expression, and at Catull. 94.2 in a proverb, where a play on words confirms the *o*-spelling (*hoc est quod dicunt, ipsa olera olla legit*). The OLD records the word under *olla* not *aul(l)a*, listing some early instances (Plautus, Naevius, Cato) where the diphthong seems to have been preserved (so always in Plautus).

3.1.8 Names

Leumann (1977: 72) shows that in personal names *o*-forms from original *au* are particularly common: e.g. *Olus*, *Clodius*, *Pol(l)a*, *Plotus*, *Plotia* (see also above, 3.1.2, n. 15 on the nickname *Orata*). Names (and titles) belong loosely in the category of address terms, and such terms may be susceptible to popular phonetic developments (see v.2.4 on *domnus/-a*), though we saw above (2.2) signs of a tendency to preserve *ae* in the written form of names. Campanile ([1971] 2008: 1.357–8) draws attention to two interesting cases of oscillation in the forms of the name of single persons. In the verse text of the funerary inscription *CIL* 1².1210 (= *CLE* 53, *ILLRP* 808) the deceased is named *Oli Grani*, whereas in the prose *subscriptio* he becomes *A. Granius M. l. Stabilio* (i.e. *Aulus*). And at *CIL* 1².2055 on the lid of an urn there is the naming formula *L. Pomponius L. f. Arsniae gnatus Plautus*, whereas the side of the urn has *L. Pomponius L. f. Plotus*. Both forms of a name could be used of the same person, with the monophthongal form probably suited to casual speech (see Campanile 358).

3.2 Dissimilation

Forms such as *Agustus* for *Augustus* (e.g. *CIL* IV.2124 *Agusto*) display a dissimilatory loss of part of the diphthong before *u* in the next syllable (see Schuchardt 1866–8: II.308–13, 316 for numerous examples, Lindsay 1894:

41–2, Väänänen 1966: 32, 1981a: 39–40, Leumann 1977: 73), which continued in most Romance reflexes (It., Sp. *agosto*, OFr. *aost*; the diphthong was retained in Romanian). The dissimilation is seen too in *ausculto* > *asculto*, a process resisted by at least one grammarian: Caper *GL* VII.108.6 *auscultat non ascolta*. The dissimilated form lies behind e.g. It. *ascoltare*. The start of the word was reinterpreted as a prefix, and a change of prefix occurred (**excultare*), which lies behind Fr. *écouter*.

3.3 Conclusions

The anecdote from Suetonius shows that there were speakers who attempted to preserve the diphthongal pronunciation *au* even in the lexical items in which the monophthong was widely established. Note too Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 2.30: '*quin et caudicibus sectis*' *pro codicibus, sicut caulem pro colem, sauricem pro soricem dicimus*;¹⁸ clearly the commentator was struck by the abnormality of *au* for *o* in this term, but *dicimus* suggests that some used the *au*-form even in this special set of words. Such evidence, along with that of the Romance languages, shows that *au* was no mere grapheme concealing a monophthongal pronunciation. Even in non-literary texts such as writing tablets, ostraca and papyri, texts in which every type of phonetic spelling recurs, *au* is well preserved, except in significant lexical items. There could not have been a submerged variety of Latin in which long *o* < *au* was a general feature. The *o*-variant (whether in speech or in writing) was associated with certain words, but attitudes to the *o*-forms were complex, as the anecdote in Suetonius and generic variations in written texts show. There were purists who thought that they should be avoided even in the terms with which they were associated, and others clearly allowed them only in appropriate contexts. These might include letters, proverbs and practical as distinct from high literary genres. The *o*-forms must have had a conversational flavour suited to casual style. They had a limited acceptability even among the educated classes, but only in the appropriate style or context.

4 Final conclusions: diphthongs and social variation

A question that will often come up in this book is whether there are non-standard usages attested in early Latin that surface a millennium or so later in the Romance languages (see 1.4, XXXIII.4). If so there might have

¹⁸ Kramer (1976: 18–20) cites this passage and others from grammarians commenting on *au/o*.

been a continuity in the spoken language, such that certain usages, though rejected by purists, persisted at a subliterate level for centuries. The history of the term for 'gold' discussed above provides a salutary warning against jumping to the conclusion that two superficially similar forms, one found in republican Latin the other in a Romance language, must be connected. We are told by a source that rustics (in the Republic) gave *aurum* the form *orum*, which seems to resemble Romance reflexes such as It. *oro*. But the quality of the vowel of *orum* differed from that of *oro*, and the two terms reflect two different monophthongisations, one of them early and the other late. There are undoubtedly some continuities between early Latin and Romance, but caution is needed in assessing the evidence.

A point often neglected is that a misspelling and the pronunciation that lies behind it must be distinguished (see 1.6). A misspelling does not constitute evidence for a non-standard variety of spoken Latin unless the pronunciation that it represents can itself be established as restricted to a low social dialect. Under the Empire there is evidence that writers with stylistic aspirations tried to use the digraph *ae* correctly whereas the less well educated constantly wrote *e*. It is however likely that during the Empire the monophthongised pronunciation became the norm across all classes. We have seen evidence for grammarians coming to treat it as acceptable. *e* written for *ae* therefore may be termed a vulgarism of spelling, but the open *e* pronunciation of the original diphthong had become widespread socially. A monophthongal pronunciation of the CL diphthong *ae* was stigmatised for a time during the Republic, but it was considered regional (rustic), not, it seems, lower-class urban.

The history of *au* in the earlier period shows that a phonetic change (in this case > *ō*) may be restricted to certain lexical items rather than operating generally (see e.g. Janson 1979: 55–6, and below, v.2.7, ix.7.1, xi.4). At least some of the terms in which *o* is attested in the Republic or early Empire might have been borrowed in that form from early non-city Latin (e.g. *plostrum*, *olla*, *coda*, *coliculus*), and on that assumption the phonetic change need not have been operative at all in city Latin. If such forms were stigmatised in some quarters, it is nevertheless clear that the educated were happy to admit them in special contexts, as for example proverbial expressions (notably *oricula*), or casual style.

Any purist movement that there might have been to preserve *au* concerned its preservation in the lexical items referred to above (see above on *plostrum/plaustrum*), and tells us nothing about the existence of a more widespread monophthongisation against which purists were contending. The humiliation of Vespasian's critic in the anecdote also implies that such

purism was considered pretentious. We should not therefore try to set up a dual linguistic system even in the matter of these special lexical items, with purists/the educated sticking consistently to the *au*-forms and lower sociolects favouring the *o*-forms. The fact is that the latter were admitted, perhaps inconsistently, even at the top of the educational scale. We have no evidence in the sphere of diphthongs for any clear-cut social variation, unless we take the sketchy remarks of grammarians on *ae* as an indication that there was a period during which the diphthong was preserved by the upper classes.

Syncope

1 Introduction

Syncope is the loss of short unaccented vowels in a language with a stress accent. Syncope is a feature of Latin throughout its history, affecting, with hardly any exceptions, only short vowels in open syllables before a single consonant (on this point see Rix 1966: 156–7). There are accounts of the phenomenon in Latin by, most notably, Leumann (1977: 95–9, with additional bibliography at 99), and also e.g. Lindsay (1894: 170–85), Niedermann (1931: 47–53), Kieckers (1960: 59–61), Rix (1966), Kiss (1972: 99–102) (on syncope in relation to epenthesis), Monteil (1974: 99–101), Meiser (1998: 66–7), Weiss (2009: 122–4), Loporcaro (2011a: 61–3) and, for the later period, Baehrens (1922: 12–24), Väänänen (1981a: 40–4) and particularly Stotz (1996: 109–18); on the problematic evidence of early loan-words from Greek into Latin see Biville (1995: 141–54), who also deals (155–9) briefly with imperial loan-words, on which see Binder (2000), cited below, 2.7. Syncope of short vowels in medial syllables is very extensive in Oscan and Umbrian (Buck 1904: 57 and particularly Benediktsson 1960).¹ It is also more marked in final syllables in these two languages than in Latin (Buck 1904: 59, Benediktsson 1960, who suggests (see 280) that syncope in final syllables was of a different type and older than that in medial syllables). On syncope in Paelignian inscriptions see Zamudio (1986: 139–43), and on Faliscan see Bakkum (2009: 1.102–3).

In Latin the vowels most commonly affected are the close vowels *i* and *u* and the mid front vowel *e*; *a* and *o* are far less commonly lost (Baehrens 1922: 13, Väänänen 1981a: 40). Certain phonetic environments favour syncope, notably the contiguity of the unstressed short vowel to *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* (Baehrens 1922: 13, Leumann 1977: 96–7, Väänänen 1981a: 40–1).

¹ Note Benediktsson (1960: 279–80): 'In medial syllables any short vowel was syncopated, beginning with the second syllable of the word, provided that the syllable in question was open or the vowel followed by *s* + consonant, and provided, further, that the vowel was not immediately preceded by another vowel.'

In the Romance languages the effects of syncope, particularly in original proparoxytones, are widespread, but there is a distinction between the West and the East, with the phenomenon far more frequent in the former (particularly Gallo-Romance: see Loporcaro 2011a: 64); Italy and Sardinia are in between the two extremes (see e.g. Cross 1937: 625, Väänänen 1981a: 41, Harris-Northall 1990, Weiss 2009: 511, Loporcaro 2011a: 59; on the complexities of Italian see Rohlfs 1966: 169–75, Maiden 1995: 45–6; on supposed stages in the transition from Latin to French see Richter 1934: 34–6, 89–93, 96–7, 137, 144–8, 171–5, 201–5).² On the whole question of syncope in Romance see now Loporcaro (2011a: 58–70).

There is a widespread view that syncope was particularly a feature of Vulgar Latin. This is nowhere clearer than in Anderson's paper (1965), entitled 'A study of syncope in Vulgar Latin' and containing a section (75–85) headed 'Vulgar Latin', which begins with the sentence 'The application of these theoretical concepts is now demonstrated with regard to VL.' Cross (1937: 625) twice uses the expression 'popular Latin speech' of the location of syncope. Väänänen's account of syncope (1981a: 40–4) is wide-ranging, but does contain the following statement (41): 'La syncope est un phénomène d'aspect éminemment populaire ou familial.' Grandgent's discussion of unaccented vowels and their loss is full of allusions to Vulgar Latin and the 'Vulgar Latin period' (1907: 91, 92, 98, 99, 99–100, 102). Harris-Northall's survey (1990: 138) of earlier literature on the subject cites three Romance scholars who ascribe syncope specifically to Vulgar Latin. Harris-Northall himself (1990: 140–1) is more circumspect, and his remarks are worth quoting:

[S]yncope has often been looked upon as a phenomenon that took place, or at least began, in Vulgar Latin, but this is only one aspect of the widespread though rarely explicit practice of designating Latin as a sort of fixed chronological starting-point from which the Romance languages, often in their standard form, derive. The term 'Vulgar Latin' cannot be taken to denote any chronologically defined period, and thus it is difficult to accept statements such as the following: 'Although cases of syncope are recorded earlier [than in Vulgar Latin], they alternate with the unreduced form, and are therefore not treated as a general occurrence until the period when syncope occurred as a regular event' (Anderson 1965: 75–6) . . . *Surely it is the case that all syncopated forms initially go through a period of variability, according to style and speaker* (emphasis of the last sentence added; see further below).

² Lindsay (1894: 170) unconvincingly saw Celtic influence at work in the frequency of the phenomenon in the West: 'in countries under Celtic influence, such as France or the northern parts of Italy . . . Latin words have been curtailed much more than in other parts of the Romance-speaking world'.

In many words a syncope was so ancient that the unsyncopated form is unattested, as in *pergo* < **per-rego*, *pono* < **posno* < **posino*, *cautus* < **cauitus*, *audeo* < **audeo* (with the accent originally on the first syllable; cf. for absence of syncope *avidus*), *sestertius* < **semistertius*, *miscellus* < **minuscellus*, *mens*, *mors* < **mentis*, **mortis* (for details see the works cited in the first paragraph above, particularly Leumann). A determining factor in many of these cases must have been the strong initial accent of the early period (see Meiser 1998: 66). In other words syncope was resisted much longer. The loss of a vowel is a phenomenon of which some speakers may be conscious, and an effort made to resist the loss, until eventually the resistance ends. Speakers may be more successful in monitoring (and resisting) syncope in some lexical items than in others, and views about the acceptability of a syncopated form may vary, and that is why the language presents such a confused picture. There was a tendency to syncope in certain environments from the beginning, but awareness of that tendency impeded its working in many lexemes for many centuries, and even in the Romance languages there are some phonetic environments which display syncope in some lexemes but not others.

The variability of the operation of syncope can be illustrated from *dexter*, *-(e)ra*, *-(e)rum*. Greek has δεξιτερός, whereas Oscan (**dextrst**, nominative feminine singular + *íst*) and Umbrian (e.g. **testru**) have syncope (see Untermann 2000: 169–70 for attested forms). Throughout the history of literary Latin, by contrast, the syncopated and unsyncopated forms alternate. There is a very full treatment of the forms, with tables, at *TLL* v.1.916–17. On the variations in Plautus and Terence see Questa (2007: 51, 53–4). The tendency to syncope must have been countered on the one hand by the analogy of the nominative masculine *dexter*, and on the other hand by the influence of the Greek equivalent, without syncope.

Syncope was thus a feature of the Latin language in general, not specifically of a variety Vulgar Latin. It is well attested, for example, in high poetry (on Virgil see Bonaria 1988, though not all of the phenomena listed strictly constitute syncope, and on poetry in general see R. Coleman 1999b: 38–40; on early Latin verse see Lindsay 1922: 145–6, Questa 2007: 51–4). Nevertheless, some syncopated forms might have been stigmatised for a time. No attempt will be made here to give a comprehensive account of syncope and its types, of the phonetic environments in which it occurs or of the chronology of its attestations, but instead we will keep the theme of the book to the fore. In the selective case studies that follow several issues will come up. Is there ever evidence that a syncopated form was a feature of non-standard varieties of the language or lower sociolects, rather than of the language as a whole? How obvious is the conflict between the

tendency of the language to lose unstressed short close vowels, and the desire of careful speakers to maintain features that they saw as correct? In the case of lexemes that had both a syncopated and unsyncopated form current at much the same time, is it possible to identify factors that might have caused a speaker to select one form rather than the other? The data discussed below are in random order.

2 Case studies

2.1 *Some perfect verb forms*

Between /w/ and /t/ a post-tonic short *i* tended to be lost. Thus the past participle of *caueo* is *cautus* < **cauitus*. The types of words most frequently producing this phonetic environment (though not following word-initial stress) are perfect verb forms such as *amauit*, *exiuit* (see also VI.6 (iv)). Since *-it* was a morpheme and the *u* here is a marker of the perfect, syncope was resisted, at least in the educated language or by careful speakers. But in badly spelt texts of the Empire syncope turns up even in this position. For *exiut* see *O. Faw.* 2.9. In first-conjugation verbs note *CIL* III.12700 *curaut*, IV.2047 *pedicaud*, VI.24481 *donaut* (Väänänen 1966: 45, 1981a: 44, Cugusi 1981: 744). The question arises whether the persistence of the correct spelling in literary Latin masks a development that had occurred in educated speech. This, however, is not a type of syncope that shows up in classical versification (for cases of syncope determined by metre see e.g. some of the material collected by Kramer 1976: 38–40), and it may tentatively be interpreted as substandard in speech, at least for a period. It is reasonable to suggest that the *-it* perfect ending was long preserved as correct by many speakers, supported by the analogy of the *-i-* in other parts of the paradigm. But there were clearly varieties of the language, such as those represented in the graffiti at Pompeii, in which the ending was not kept intact, and here we see some evidence for social variation.

The syncopated form did eventually catch on in an extensive part of the Romance world. See Väänänen (1981a: 143) on *cantau(i)t* > OIt. *cantao* (mod. *cantò*), Sp. *cantó*, Pg. *cantou*.

One of the factors inhibiting syncope must have been the morphological system: there was pressure to preserve a functional morpheme.

2.2 *cal(i)dus*

Quintilian has a note on *cal(i)dus*: I.6.19 *sed Augustus quoque in epistulis ad C. Caesarem scriptis emendat quod is 'calidam' dicere quam 'caldam' malit,*

non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia sit odiosum ('Augustus also, in his letter to Gaius Caesar [his grandson], corrects him for saying *calidam* rather than *caldam*, not on the ground that it is not Latin, but as being repulsive', Russell, Loeb).³ On this passage see now Ax (2011: 259–61).

Caldam and *calidam* are emendations (Keil) for the transmitted *caldum* and *calidum*, and are not accepted by all editors. The point is that syncope is particularly common in the feminine *calda*, which means 'hot water' (sc. *aqua*) (see e.g. Baehrens 1922: 14–15). For a list of examples of *calda* see *TLL* III.151.82ff. In this sense *calida* is not invariably syncopated, common as the syncopated form is; there are as many examples of *calida* quoted by *TLL* III.151.75ff. as of *calda*. In other applications *calidus* is rarely syncopated in manuscripts (see the material collected at *TLL* III.151.44ff., with Baehrens 1922: 14–15). As Colson (1924: 81) puts it, the emendation to *cal(i)dam* is therefore tempting, but not necessarily right, 'in view of the possibility that A.'s view on these words may not have been the normal view'.

Whichever text is adopted, some general points emerge from the case of *calda*. Syncope might have become acceptable, even to the educated, in an idiomatic or specialised use of a term without being acceptable in other uses of that same term. The idiomatic/specialised usage might have been so familiar that the original form was considered pedantic or pretentious. The adjective 'hot' is perhaps applied more often to water than to anything else, and frequent usage favours phonetic reduction. The alternation between *calda* and *calidus* also suggests that speakers must have been conscious of the coexistence of the syncopated and unsyncopated forms, and as long as there was such consciousness different speakers would have had different views about the acceptability of the syncopated versus the unsyncopated. Debate was possible, and a 'sound change' could not be said to have fully occurred while it was being monitored by speakers.

Two further observations may be based on the data provided by the *TLL* about *calidus* versus *caldus* (see Baehrens 1922: 14 for these points). First, the syncopated form is rare in poetry (twelve examples, according to *TLL* lines 32–4), but there is a significance to the genres in which it does turn up (mainly satire and epigram: Lucilius, Horace, and particularly Martial, who prefers *caldus* by 7:3). Second, in the manuscripts of prose writers it is mainly in mundane or technical genres that *caldus* occurs. There is a hint here (particularly in the evidence from metrical texts) that in the Republic and early Empire *caldus* was still considered non-standard or at least casual in tone. But *caldus* eventually became the norm, because

³ *Odiusum* is perhaps rather 'tasteless, in bad taste': see Fraenkel (1957: 263).

it is the form surviving in the Romance languages: any purist movement, such as it was, eventually failed.

2.3 audac(i)ter

A similar case is the syncopated adverb *audacter* alongside *audaciter*. Quintilian tells us (1.6.17) that there were certain pedants (he makes his views clear on this point) who insisted on saying the full form, whereas the orators all use the syncopated form: *inhaerent tamen ei quidam molestissima diligentiae peruersitate, ut 'audaciter' potius dicant quam 'audacter', licet omnes oratores aliud sequantur* ('some however cling to it [analogy] with such perverse and irritating pedantry that they say *audaciter* rather than *audacter*, even though all the orators follow another course'). A few cases of *audaciter* appear in the manuscripts of Cicero (see Landgraf 1914: 203 on *S. Rosc.* 104). Niedermann (1931: 48) points out that in an adverb of parallel structure (*tenaciter* < *tenax*) the unsyncopated form is the norm, and there are many other words of the same type without syncope (see Gradenwitz 1904: 418, citing e.g. *contumaciter*, *efficaciter*, *fallaciter*, *mendicaciter*, *minaciter*, *mordaciter*, *procaciter*).⁴ Clearly syncope was up to a point lexically determined: it caught on in some words but not others. We would not hear of anyone accused of *molestissima diligentiae peruersitas* for using *tenaciter*. Quintilian's testimony shows that syncope in some lexical items might be something of a battle ground among the educated, with some insisting on preservation of the old form but others regarding it as pretentious. A distinction between educated and Vulgar Latin is simply not an issue in this case.

2.4 dom(i)nus

The influence of idiom on syncope (see above), and the ability of speakers to monitor the phenomenon and either resist or accept its working, are also shown by the case of *dominus/domina*, as discussed by Väänänen (1981a: 42; cf. 1966: 43), following the treatment of the word in *TLL* and some other works. In inscriptions the syncopated form *domnus/domna* is found mainly as a title (*TLL* v.1.1907.34ff.; cf. Carnoy 1906: 114, Väänänen 1966: 43, the last citing a number of examples in the Pompeian inscriptions). The

⁴ Weiss (2009: 123) says that syncope 'between *k* and a dental stop seems to have been regular', citing *audacter*, but this is to impose regularity without regard to lexical diffusion. He also cites **doketos* > *docrus*, but on the other hand we may note a new substandard form *uiciturum* for *uicturum* in a letter of Terentianus (468.37; cf. Adams 1977a: 49–50).

referents include emperors (*TLL* v.1.1907.49ff.) and also clerics and saints (40ff.). By contrast in reference to the Christian God the syncopated form is rarely used (*TLL* v.1.1907.76ff.). The full form must have been felt to have a particular dignity; Christians had a habit of reviving archaic usages in creating a technical terminology.⁵ The fact that as a title *domnus/domna* was respectful did not inhibit its syncopation.⁶ We cannot conclude that the syncopated form had a substandard flavour, even if the full form was felt to be on a higher plane. On this evidence *dominus* and *domnus* coexisted for a while, though it was the syncopated form only that survived into Romance languages (Väänänen 1981a: 42). The material provided by literary manuscripts cannot be trusted (*TLL* v.1.1907.68f.), and is not dealt with systematically by the *TLL*.

2.5 ualde

Also revealing is the case of *ualde* (< *ualide*), alongside *ualidus*, which remains unsyncopated. *Validus* in Classical Latin was a high-register word, a synonym often of the more mundane *firmus* (see Adams 1974: 59–60). It possibly had little place in speech. *Valde* on the other hand was a familiar term, used particularly in Cicero's letters (about 250 times) but much more sparingly in the speeches (about twenty-five times: see Pinkster 2010: 192 for statistics; cf. Wölfflin 1933: 134–5, Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 202–3). In Plautus the unsyncopated form *ualide* is still preferred (by 10:4) but thereafter *ualde* is the norm. On the other hand *ualidius* and *ualidissime* had some currency as the comparative and superlative forms of *ualde*, to judge from the material assembled by Pinkster (2010: 192–3). This then is a complex case. Syncopation was avoided in the high literary term *ualidus* but was the norm in the intensifier *ualde*, which is ten times more numerous in Cicero's letters than his speeches; but there seems to have been some resistance to the forms *ualdus* and *ualdissime*. The latter pair do occur (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 11.759), and it would be interesting to have full statistics for the reduced versus unsyncopated comparative and superlative forms of the adverb.

2.6 New evidence

The frequency of syncope in speech is confirmed by new subliterate texts, which were in at least some cases taken down from dictation. For examples

⁵ See E. Löfstedt (1959: 72–4, especially 74) on the revival of *oro* in the sense 'pray'.

⁶ Indeed in some Romance languages drastically reduced forms have become honorific titles: e.g. Sp. *Don/Doña* used before forenames of the monarchy and religious figureheads (cf. also Fr. *Dom Perignon*) (information from Adam Ledgeway).

in the letters of Terentianus see Adams (1977a: 21), adding now 468.11 *str[a]glum* and the same form *straglum* in the fragment of the same letter (Rodgers 1970 = *CEL* 143). For the numerous examples in the legal documents in the name of C. Novius Eunus (*TPSulp.* 51, 52, 67, 68; see Camodeca 1999) of the first half of the first century AD, texts that have a version in the hand of Eunus himself, probably written from dictation, see Adams (1990a: 231–2). In the exterior, scribal, versions of the same documents these syncopes do not occur. There is a distinction hinted at between writing and speech. The scribes knew how to spell, but they might well have dictated the texts to Eunus, and if so he was presumably recording their pronunciation as he heard it. For syncope in the ostraca of Wādī Fawākhir (including the unusual and surely substandard type *exiut*) see Cugusi (1981: 744). Syncope is now well attested in Vindolanda tablets (Adams 2003b: 536–7, 539–40; also 1995a: 92), most notably in the form *pestlus* for *pessulus* (597b), which not only shows omission of *u* but also the insertion of *t* to render acceptable the non-Latin consonant cluster *-sl-* (Adams 2003b: 539–40). *Pestlus* is transitional between the form of CL (*pessulus*) and that reflected in Romance (*pesclus*, with a further change *tl* > *kl*, for which phenomenon see e.g. Adams 1977a: 33–4, 2003b: 540, Cuzzolin 2010, and below, 2.7). A high proportion of the syncopations in the Vindolanda tablets (nine of the fifteen) show loss of *u* between *c/g* and *l* (such as *euericulum* for *euerriculum* at *Tab. Vindol.* 593), which was clearly a favoured environment for syncope (Väänänen 1981a: 42–3); in some cases the full form was itself secondary, an original cluster *-tl-* having been modified by an epenthetic vowel as well as by change of the first consonant to *k*. In the Bu Njem ostraca there are ten occurrences of *speclis* (Adams 1994b: 106). This type of syncope is so banal in written texts that it must be doubtful whether there were many speakers who resisted it.

The same (sometimes unusual) syncopated form turning up in different corpora may suggest that the syncopation had become standard in ordinary speech. A pewter tablet from London (Hassall and Tomlin 1999: 375) with (accusative) list of valuables has the form *Alxadri* (*pastellos auri viii sabanum Alxadri | mappam . . .*). Whether this is an abbreviation remains unclear (see the editors ad loc.; the text has many uncertainties). But the form of the second syllable can be paralleled, in the Pompeian tablets associated with Eunus. Twice the form *Alxadrini* occurs (*TPSulp.* 51, 52). The loss of the nasal before a stop (*-ad-* for *-and-*) is commonplace, and can be paralleled in this name (see Adams 1990a: 241). One might be tempted to treat the syncope in the second syllable as a slip, but the pair of examples suggests that the spelling does reflect a common pronunciation.

A new Vindolanda text (*Tab. Vindol.* 596) has *uirdem* for *uiridem*, a form (= ‘green’) that was to pass into Romance (see Baehrens 1922: 14, 16, discussing the term in the *Appendix Probi*). Three times the same syncopated form has turned up in military contexts from the eastern desert of Egypt, as a neuter plural noun *uirdia* ‘greens’ = CL *holera*: *O. Max.* inv. 80, *O. Faw.* 2, text published by Bülow-Jacobsen *et al.* (1994: 35; with discussion of the meaning). The second vowel of *uirdia* is under the accent and would not usually be subject to syncope, but syncope must have occurred in the base form *uīridis* and then spread to other forms.

Vetranus for *ueteranus* occurs in a letter of Terentianus (468.6; see Adams 1978: 21). Similarly a transliterated text (in Greek letters) in the hand of a slave trader Aeschines Flavianus of Miletus (*SB* III.1.6304 = *CPL* 193) has the phonetic spelling βετρωνε (feminine genitive singular). There are signs that an element of dictation went into the composing of this text (see Adams 2003a: 60).

Two other spellings in Terentianus are *postae* (467.23) and *singlare* (468.14–15). Both can be paralleled in classical verse (*Lucr.* 1.1059, 6.1067, *Sil.* 13.553),⁷ and must have been widespread.

2.7 Latin loan-words in Greek

Some idea of the extent of syncopated forms in imperial Latin may be obtained from Binder’s account (2000: 153–214) of syncope in Latin loan-words into Greek, in which the phenomena are classified according to the phonetic environment (e.g. on *cul-/cl-* see 156–172; a notable section (176–84) concerns *-tul-/tl-/cl-*, for which see above, 2.6). In many cases it is only the syncopated form of a word that turns up in Greek, as Binder’s classifications make clear: there are separate sections for terms attested only in a syncopated form, and for those that are attested in both a syncopated and unsyncopated form. Of particular interest here is Binder’s observation (210) that sometimes an official title is found in unsyncopated form whereas the base term has a syncopated form, as in the pairs τᾱβλα but τᾱβουλᾱριος, κουβούκλιον but κουβικουλᾱριος, κορνίκλιον but κορνικουλᾱριος. Official titles occur mainly in writing and retain their original form whereas the base terms are part of everyday speech and the syncopated form becomes established even in the written language. There is manifested in the distinction a sense that there was a greater formality to the unsyncopated forms, and that sense may sometimes have had consequences in the spoken

⁷ See Kramer (1976: 40); also Baehrens (1922: 17–18) on *singlariter*.

language, with speakers aspiring to use the full form when they thought that formality was required. The contrasting case of *dominus* above (2.4), however, which even as a respectful title was often syncopated (except in its Christian use), shows the impossibility of generalising about the status of syncopated versus unsyncopated forms. An individual lexical item may have its own distinctive history (on change tied to particular lexical items, referred to here as 'lexical restriction', see XI.4).

3 Conclusions: social variation and other factors

Syncope was deep rooted in Latin (and other Italic languages), and had left its mark before written texts started to appear, in that there are syncopated forms already established as standard in the first texts. It was not confined to a lower social variety of the language. Because of the ability of speakers, up to a point, to resist the process, it took many centuries to work its influence extensively, and then unevenly in different parts of the Romance world. During this long intermediate period some unsyncopated forms were maintained as correct, and as a consequence their syncopated equivalents might sometimes acquire the status of being substandard (e.g. *exiut* and the like) or acceptable only in certain idioms. However, generalisations along the lines, say, that a full form was always the educated norm and the syncopated form substandard cannot be upheld. There was, for example, an element of variability related not to sociolect but to the degree of formality aspired to, as in the case of *dom(i)nus/-a*, applied on the one hand to intimates and on the other to the Christian God. Syncope caught on unpredictably in some words in high social levels of the language but not in others (*audacter* versus *tenaciter*), and that is a manifestation of lexical restriction (see 2.7). Sometimes meaning comes into it, as in the cases of *calidus/calda* and *ualidus/ualde/ualidissime*. The educated could not always agree about the form that was preferable (see on *plostrum* (IV.3.1.6), *audac(i)ter*). There must have been particular forms that were considered unacceptable (see 2.1), but what emerges from the (admittedly highly selective) data considered here is that syncopated forms should be seen as a mass of individual cases of variable standing and not as uniformly belonging to a single social level of the language. The determinants of syncope or its avoidance in the historical period were thus several and competing: lexical restrictions, meaning, function and idiom, and style, casual or formal. Class variations are occasionally found, but are a small part of the story.

Lloyd (1987: 199–200) summarises the history of syncope thus:

Syncope can . . . be conceived of as a variable rule of Latin which gradually expanded to more and more words and to more and more phonological conditions until finally it became a categorical rule of the language . . . With the increasing separation of the various parts of the Empire, resistance to syncope seems to have weakened in western Romance, most notably in Gallo-Romance. In most of Ibero-Romance the result was the elimination of all pre- and posttonic vowels which were neither initial nor final, with the exception of /a/. . . The force of syncope was weaker the farther west one goes, so that the results in Galician-Portuguese differ notably from those in central and eastern Ibero-Romance.

CHAPTER VI

Hiatus

I Definition

Classical Latin had many vowels in hiatus, but most of these were lost in Romance.¹ Badly spelt Latin texts such as some inscriptions of the imperial period provide some information about the stages of that loss.² *i* in hiatus after certain consonants shifted to yod and then often effected palatalisation of the preceding consonant (particularly certain stops). Yodisation is reflected in the written language in several ways. The incidence of *i* in hiatus (and yod) was increased by a tendency for short *e* to close to *i*. Yod itself in other environments (at the start of words and between vowels) was not stable. Passing attempts were made to preserve vowels in hiatus by the insertion of glides. These developments will be described below.

A vowel is in hiatus if it is followed by another vowel but belongs to a different syllable, as for example the *i* in *fō-li-um*. The vowel in hiatus may be in initial position (*eo*) or after a consonant within the word. The adjacent vowels may be of the same quality (*petiit*) or differ in their position of articulation (*deus*, *cloaca*). The developments that took place were dependent on such factors as the character of the consonant preceding the vowel in hiatus, and the relative positions of articulation of the adjacent vowels. Speakers might be conscious of phonetic tendencies (such as the contraction of two vowels of the same or similar quality) and adopt strategies to counter them. There were not necessarily therefore regular sound changes, which, once they had occurred, affected the shape of the language permanently. Changes that were in progress were sometimes reversed, at least by some speakers, and the language came full circle. An early form of *suus*, for example, was *souos* (Walde and Hofmann 1938–54:

¹ On this point see Lloyd (1987: 190–1). It was only in a few words in which the first of the vowels was a high vowel and was accented that that vowel persisted in hiatus in Romance (Lloyd 1987: 191).

² There is a summary of developments affecting vowels in hiatus by Lloyd (1987: 132–4). On Latin developments see the account of Kiss (1972: 93–9); also Väänänen (1981a: 44–7), and particularly Väänänen and Limentani (2003: 94–9), with additional bibliography.

II.626, de Vaan 2008: 549, *OLD* s.v. *suus*; cf. Osc. *suveís* genitive singular: Untermann 2000: 724). When [w] was lost before the back vowel (see below, 5.1) the first *u* was now in hiatus (*suus*). The possibility of contraction or reduction to *sus* (see 5.1) was at a later period sometimes countered by the insertion of a glide (*suuus*) (see below, 6(ii)), an insertion which re-established the early form of the word. But there was no uniformity: the contracted form *sus* and that with glide coexisted.

Departures from correct spelling, such as *lintium* for *lintheum*, *des* for *dies* or *Zodorus* for *Diodorus*, should not be assumed to represent pronunciations that were considered substandard. The status of the pronunciations, as distinct from the spellings, will come up below.

Syllables in the interior of a word that do not have a consonant as their initial element comprise only about five per cent of all syllables in classical Latin (Kiss 1972: 93). The elimination of these syllables, which resulted from changes affecting vowels in hiatus, may be seen as part of a movement towards a preferred syllable type CV(C) (see Kiss 1972: 96–7). Thus *fo-li-um* might have become *fol-jum*, but with the possibility of a further development showing lengthening of the internal consonant (*fol-ljum*), described by Maiden (1995: 69), with examples from the history of Italian, as ‘projection (lengthening) of the preceding consonant into the onset of the following syllable’.

2 *i* for *e* in hiatus

The most obvious development in hiatus to be seen in Latin texts consists in the writing of *i* where an *e* was original. The development is usually described as ‘closing’ in hiatus. But although *e* might first have closed to a high front vowel,³ that was only the start of a series of developments.

It must be mentioned in passing that in a small group of inscriptions from outside Rome there is evidence for a trend that goes against the normal development of Latin, that is the opening of *i* to *e* in hiatus, as for example in *filea* at Praeneste (*CIL* I².60) (see Adams 2007: 68–72 on this material). Such forms must represent a non-urban regional feature. There are two significant literary manifestations of the phenomenon, *conea* for *ciconia*, attributed by a speaker in Plautus (*Truc.* 691) to Praenestines (Adams 2007:

³ There is some evidence from certain types of words in Romance (those such as *pious* and *dies* in which in Latin the vowel was under the accent) that *i* in hiatus would have been particularly close, i.e. equivalent in position of articulation to CL long rather than short *i* (see Meadows 1946: 227–8, and below n. 17).

71), and *labeae* 'lips', which also has dialect associations in that it is found mainly in Atellan farce (see XIX.4.1 (12)).

An early example of closing is in the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* 10 *pariat* = *pareat*.⁴ The text is dated to some time towards the end of the second century BC (see Crawford 1996: 197, and for the text 200). It has been suggested that the form may be an Oscanism (see Sommer and Pfister 1977: 92, Väänänen 1981a: 45); for Oscan see Buck (1904: 32). There is also a Latin coin legend *Tiano*, from Teanum Sidicinum (see *CIL* 1², p. 744 and particularly Rutter 2001: 61, no. 453). Other issues have the legend in Oscan characters, *tíanud* = *Teano* (see Rutter 2001 nos. 451, 454, 455, 456).⁵ Another possible republican case (first century BC?) is in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* (*pollicarius*).⁶ For *nocias* (= *noceas*) see *CIL* 1².1589, from near Capua. Three of these possible or certain early cases are in verb forms.⁷ Several are from Oscan areas. See also *CIL* 1².1680 = *ILLRP* 1122 *aenia* (for *aenea*), a painted inscription from Pompeii. A republican topographical inscription from Amiternum (*CIL* 1².1853, *ILS* 5792, *ILLRP* 487) has *uinias* and *afuinieis*. Its date seems to be uncertain.

Two slightly later, precisely dated, examples (July AD 37) are in the scriptura interior of a tablet from the archive of the Sulpicii (*TPSulp.* 45 *Putiolanorum*, *Putiolis*) (see Adams 1990a: 233); the scriptura exterior (by a professional scribe) has the usual *e*-spelling for the first (and an abbreviation for the second). But whereas the earliest example above may represent a close vowel, in the archive of the Sulpicii the spelling probably represents yod. That is suggested by an alternative spelling found in the same environment (and indeed in the same words: see below, 4).

Spellings showing *i* for *e* in hiatus proliferate in the first and second centuries AD.⁸ Väänänen (1966: 36–8) cites numerous examples from Pompeian inscriptions of the first century AD. In the early second century there are cases in Vindolanda tablets (Adams 1995a: 93, listing seven examples), and at much the same date there are five examples in the letters of Terentianus (Adams 1977a: 18–19). Another example from Britain is *adpertiniat* at *RIB* 659, on an altar from York, before AD 120 (see C. Smith 1983: 904). The *i*-spelling is particularly well represented in the small corpus of second-century letters on ostraca from Wādi Fawākhir bearing the name of

⁴ For a collection of early attestations see Leumann (1977: 46), Campanile ([1971] 2008: 1.365).

⁵ See Buck (1904: 32), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 92).

⁶ For these see Sherwood Fox (1912), *CIL* 1².2520, and below, XII.5.2 n. 28. For views about the date see Petersmann (1973a: 79 with notes).

⁷ Such verb forms are common at Pompeii: see Väänänen (1981a: 45), (1966: 37–8 with 38 n. 2).

⁸ See Sturtevant (1940: 112–13), with a good discussion. For some examples, mainly from inscriptions, see Kiss (1972: 52–3).

Rustius Barbarus: 1 *Thiadicem*, 2 *debio*, *habio*, *casium*, *lintiolo*, 3 *betacium*, *oliarium* (see Cugusi 1981: 743). In the next century the Bu Njem ostraca are heavily marked by developments affecting vowels in hiatus (see Adams 1994b: 105), among them that manifested by the spelling *i* for *e* after a stop (99 *ualias*).

3 Yod in hiatus: the significance of *I longa*

It cannot be assumed that an *i*-spelling in hiatus by the imperial period represents a short vowel, though that must have been its value originally (see above). It is becoming clear in some corpora of non-literary texts, such as the archive of the Sulpicii (Camodeca 1999) and particularly the graffiti of La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988), that the use of *I longa* is relevant to the phonetic value of the *i* that turns up in hiatus. *I longa* is perhaps generally seen as a correspondent to the apex and as used to mark a long vowel. An examination of certain corpora shows that the use of the form is more varied and complicated. There is a comprehensive discussion of eight corpora by Marichal (1988: 60–5), with special reference to the graffiti of La Graufesenque. Since then the archive of the Sulpicii has been fully published. That archive makes a useful starting point. The use of *I longa* there corresponds to that in Marichal's corpora IV–VI.

The most striking pattern in the archive is the frequency with which *I longa* is used for long *i* in final syllables, usually as the last letter of the word. Here is a selection of examples (Camodeca's method of marking *I longa* is used here):⁹

- 1 Hermerotì
- 2 dari (5 etc.)
- 4 Zenobì
- 5 Augustì
- 14 Sentì Saturninì
- 18 stetit (originally long)
- 23 Marcì
- 24 Castricì
- 25 Flaccì
- Celadì
- Herennì
- Antonì Faustì
- nonìs

⁹ Camodeca (1999: 1.412–20) gives a complete alphabetical list of words in the archive containing *I longa*.

26 uti
 27 ei (several times)
 solui
 spopondi
 mihi (originally long).

This might seem to be a conventional use of the letter to mark the length of the vowel,¹⁰ but there is another way of explaining it. In Latin almost every *i* in final position in a word is long, and there is no need to mark its length. Therefore the symbol may be merely decorative at the ends of words. Similarly in the Vindolanda tablets an apex is placed with particular frequency over a long *o* and *a* at the ends of words (see Adams 2003b: 531).

There is a reason to opt for this second possibility. *I longa* is also frequently used in the archive as the first letter of words, even when the vowel is short. For example, *in* is constantly given an *I longa*. It seems to be the position of the letter, not the length of the vowel, that determines the use of *I longa*. If it were considered appropriate at the beginning of words as a decorative device, so it might have been appropriate in final position. In initial position it often, but not exclusively, marks the semi-vowel yod rather than a vowel, long or short. Here is a selection of examples of the three types, representing short *i* (i), long *i* (ii) and yod (iii):

- (i) 1 in (frequent, e.g. 8, 10, 11, 13)
 22 inter (twice)
 24 interrog(atio)
 25 ibique
 27 id
 27 ideó
- (ii) 4 idus (frequent: e.g. 22)
- (iii) 2 ìul(ias)
 3 iudicium
 4 ìunias
 22 iudex
 23 ìure
 25 ìulio
 27 iudicatum
 36 iussit.

Far less often there are cases of *I longa* in different parts of the word, sometimes standing for a long vowel, but sometimes too for a short. The

¹⁰ There are certainly some cases where that is so. Sometimes in final syllables *I longa* is used alongside the conventional *i* marking the short vowel where the long and the short vowels are juxtaposed: e.g. 45 *iisdem*, *sestertiis*, 51 *iis sestertiis*.

inconsistency must reflect carelessness. A few examples are given below, the first group marking long *i*, the other short:

- 4 *p̄rimas*
- 14 *Alexandr̄in[us]*
- 26 *[Va?]lent̄ino*
- 27 *scri[psi]*
- 2 *Sulpi[cius]* (cf. 18)
- 25 *[ho]m̄ines*
- cognitionem* (note too the case in hiatus)
- pert̄inere*
- exhiberet*
- Germanico*.

There remains one category of examples, which are considerably more numerous than the last, that is those representing yod or standing in hiatus (after a consonant and before a vowel). Some examples representing yod came up above (*i* at the start of words, as in *iudex*). These could be explained as the decorative use marking the beginning of a word, but *I longa* for yod also occurs elsewhere in the word, as e.g. in *maior* (see the list that follows). The question arises whether scribes did indeed feel that the distinctive letter-form was suitable for marking the secondary phonetic value of the letter, or whether such examples, like those in the list immediately above, should be explained as haphazard orthography rather than as phonetically significant. The question is an important one, because, if we could be sure that the not infrequent use of *I longa* in hiatus (as in e.g. *Clodium*) was intentional and reflected the identity of the sound rendered to that in *iudex* or *maior*, then we would have orthographic evidence that an original short *i* in hiatus had been converted in speech to yod, and that a misspelling such as *lintium* for *linteum* reflected a stage that might be represented as *lintjum*. The question must be left open for the moment. Examples (mainly in hiatus) are found in the following list:

- 3 *maioris*
- 22 *actionibus*
- maior(em)*
- maior*
- 23 *Maias*
- 25 *Iulio*
- eius* (cf. 48, 51)
- denuntiauit*
- Putiolis*
- Clodium*

- 27 uadimonium
- 32 Cocceius
- 33 die (cf. 63, 68, 71)
- 36 audiendum
- 40 Pactumeia (twice)
- Attiolenus
- 45 D̄iognetus
- 48 cuius (twice)
- 51 Pontio
- 66 Plotio
- 68 peiurio
- Genium
- 70 Pompeius
- 77 Quártiõnis
- 80 accipies
- 87 mulierem
- 91 Petroni[o].

The evidence from La Graufesenque throws further light on the matter. From a detailed analysis of *I longa* in the corpus Marichal (1988: 63) concludes that its use at La Graufesenque is ‘sensiblement différente’ from that in the other corpora that he has assessed. In particular (1988: 64), with very few exceptions (as in *idus*, a form which also occurs in the archive of the Sulpicii above), *I longa* is no longer used to represent a vowel (long or short), but it either stands unequivocally for yod, as at the start of words such as *Iucundus* and *Iulianus*, or is inserted as a glide between vowels in hiatus, as in *Pontiūs* and *atramentariii*, or can be taken to stand for yod, namely in hiatus after a stop, as in *Diomedes* (full details in Marichal 1988: 64). The letter-form is so consistently used in these ways, to the exclusion of its usual functions of either marking a long vowel or decoratively demarcating the beginning or end of a word, that it may be concluded that in a word such as *Diomedes* the *i* was not pronounced as a vowel but represented the semi-vowel. It becomes likely that in the archive of the Sulpicii too scribes were sometimes consciously employing *I longa* to mark yod.¹¹ The spelling *mulierem* above (*TPSulp.* 87) interpreted in this way fits in with Romance evidence. The Romance outcomes of CL *mulier* reflect *muljére*, with yodisation of the original accented *i* and a shift

¹¹ In the Pompeian graffiti there are numerous cases of *I longa* in the same environments as in the archive of the Sulpicii: see Väänänen (1966: 35). For example *GENJO* at *CIL* x.861 (Väänänen’s orthography) is paralleled in the archive (*TPSulp.* 68), and there are examples in nomina (*CIL* iv.3995 *JVLJVS*), as too in the archive. Väänänen asks whether it is legitimate to deduce from such spellings that *i* in hiatus was pronounced as a semi-vowel, and concludes: ‘Nous pensons que oui.’

of accent to the following syllable (here the acute is used to indicate accent position).¹² Traces of yod in some environments persisted until quite late and survive in some Romance forms (see e.g. Väänänen 1981a: 46, Lloyd 1987: 134).

In hexameter verse from Ennius onwards original short *i* after a consonant is sometimes treated as yod (see Leumann 1977: 129–30). For details of Ennian usage see Skutsch (1985: 587); for example, at *Ann.* 286 Skutsch *Seruilius* may be scanned as *Seruiljūs*,¹³ a scansion which falls into line with the frequent use of *I longa* in this position in the archive of the Sulpicii. There are several examples in epigraphic verses from Pompeii of *i* in hiatus that may be scanned with the phonetic value [j] (e.g. *otiosis* at *CLE* 333) (see Väänänen 1966: 34).

The spelling *Cocceiūs* above (in the archive of the Sulpicii) may be compared with *Cocceiio* at Vindolanda (*Tab. Vindol.* 645 back), where the doubling of the letter indicates the presence of the glide (or its gemination).

4 Omission of *i* in hiatus

Frequently after a stop, liquid (*l*, *r*) or labiovelar the letter is omitted in non-literary texts.¹⁴ The omission in any one case is open to at least two explanations. Either the original vowel had been lost entirely, or it had combined with the preceding consonant in such a way that the resultant sound could not be readily represented in writing and the letter was simply left out.¹⁵ It is usually difficult or impossible to determine which was the case, though in several environments omission probably occurred (see below on *tra*).

The fullest evidence in a single Latin corpus is from the archive of the Sulpicii (particularly the documents in the name of the freedman C. Novius Eunus) (see Adams 1990a: 233–5). A feature of the examples

¹² See *REW* 5730.2; also Baehrens (1922: 10–12), Svennung (1936: 59), Leumann (1977: 242, 130), Stotz (1996: 125); the same is true of *pariēte* (see also Svennung 1936: 19) and *filiōlu* (see Stotz 1996: 125, who also cites *linetolum*). Cf. too *abiete* > *abēte* in the *Compositiones Lucenses* (Svennung 1936: 17). On *mulierem* see also the material collected from grammarians by Kramer (1976: 36; also 37 with footnotes), which acknowledges the accent shift.

¹³ See Skutsch (1985: 462) for this example and parallels in Ennius and elsewhere, though literary scholars prefer to talk of synizesis rather than of yodisation (see also Skutsch 1985: 587). See the comprehensive account of synizesis in Virgil by Timpanaro (1988), especially 881 on yodisation (e.g. *Aen.* 9.674 *abietibus*).

¹⁴ The fullest collection of material is by Svennung (1936: 9–29). Examples of omission may also be found in Väänänen (1965: 27), (1966: 40), Kiss (1972: 53–4), Leumann (1977: 130), Adams (1977a: 19–20), (1990a: 233–5), (1994b: 105). Many of the examples cited by Mihaescu (1978: 187–92) show such omissions, but Mihaescu has imposed some odd classifications on the material.

¹⁵ The distinction is well made by Svennung (1936: 7–8).

there is that they sometimes occur in words cited above from the same corpus as showing not omission but either *I longa* or the spelling *i* instead of an original *e* (or both).

It was noted above (2) that in *TPSulp.* 45 *Putiolanorum* and *Putiolis* are written in the scriptura interior for *Pute-*, whereas the scribe of the exterior version used the correct spelling. By contrast the interior versions of 51 and 52 (both in the hand of Novius Eunus) have *Putolanorum* and *Putolis*. The exterior versions do not survive in their entirety, but that of 51 has the correct *Puteolis*. The interior versions of tablets 67 and 68, again in the hand of Eunus, also have *Putolis*, and again in one case (68) the extant exterior has *Puteolis*.

It seems unlikely that (e.g.) *Putiolis* and *Putolis* represent different pronunciations. The vowel in hiatus had probably turned into yod, with a shift of accent to the *o* (*Putjōlis*), and the letter left out in reflection of the loss of a syllable.¹⁶ This explanation is supported by the alternative spelling *Putiolis* in tablet 25, showing the *I longa* that may represent yod (see above).

In tablet 68 (Eunus) *de* is written for *dies* (with the final -s omitted before another s). It was seen above (3) that *dies* is also often written with an *I longa* in the same corpus (Camodeca 1999: 1.413 cites seven such spellings), and the explanation of *de(s)* (= *djēs*) may be the same as that for *Putolis*.¹⁷ On *de(s)* for *die(s)* see Svennung (1936: 10), with further examples and bibliography; also B. Löfstedt (1962: 90), Adams (1990a: 234).

Also in the hand of Eunus there are examples of *debo* (*TPSulp.* 52), *fātor* (52), *mila* (52) and *tra* = *tria* (52, twice). The omissions in the two verbs in -*eo* may be compared with the early *i*-spellings in verbs of the same conjugation seen above, 2. An earlier closing of the vowel in hiatus

¹⁶ For explanations of such examples along these lines see Kiss (1972: 53 n. 108), Adams (1977a: 19–20), (1990a: 233), (1994b: 105).

¹⁷ However, in the Romance languages the outcomes of *dies* (e.g. It. *di*, Sp. *dia*, Fr. *di*, as in *midi*, *lundi* etc., Rom. *zi*: see further *REW* 2632) reflect a close variety of *i*, equivalent to the normal reflex of CL long *i* (Lindsay 1894: 133, Sturtevant 1940: 113, Meadows 1946: 228, B. Löfstedt 1962: 83), and the treatment of the word may have been variable. Lindsay commented on the pronunciation of *die(s)* in different ways at different times. Referring to the presence of *I longa* in inscriptions in words such as *die* and to the Romance reflexes he states (1894: 133): 'it is unlikely that a short vowel was lengthened in this position; all that the Romance forms and the spelling with tall *I* need imply is that the *i* had the quality (not necessarily the quantity) of long *i*, in other words, had the close and not the open sound'. The term would thus be disyllabic but with a very close first vowel. The same view may be found in B. Löfstedt (1962: 83). On the other hand, commenting on the monosyllabic scansion of *die* in early Latin verse ('synizesis'), Lindsay (1922: 141) says that this form of *die* 'seems . . . to represent *dje* (pronounced "dye" as in our "d'ye hear?")'. It might be said that *dIe* in inscriptions could be explained in exactly the same way. However, variability of treatment at different times and in different idiolects is highly likely, given the general lack of uniformity of the outcomes of original short vowels in hiatus that emerges from the Latin evidence.

had presumably given way to yodisation. On the other hand it is possible that no yod was heard in *tra* as it was pronounced by Eunus but the vowel dropped.¹⁸ The same spelling seems to occur in one of the Bu Njem ostraca (*O. Bu Njem* 83 *uiginti tra*), but the text is fragmentary. Again, variability of treatment is likely. There is evidence, both from inscriptional spellings and from the Romance languages, that in *tria* the first vowel tended to open to *e*, giving the spelling *trea* (see B. Löfstedt 1962: 83–4 for inscriptional evidence, citing also OFr. *treie*); in some Romance forms on the other hand the original *i* was maintained (e.g. Calabrian *tria*). Since *tra* is an unlikely spelling for *trea* Eunus must be attesting an alternative treatment.

Another of the Bu Njem ostraca (*O. Bu Njem* 81) has *facent* for *facient*.

5 Contraction in hiatus

When two vowels of the same or similar quality stand together in hiatus they contract into a long vowel, as in the Vindolanda examples *gladis* (*Tab. Vindol.* 164), *petit* = *petiit* (250) and *propiti* (349) (see Niedermann 1931: 100–4, Leumann 1977: 119–20, and also below n. 31). Some idea of how commonplace this development must have been can be gained from the Vindolanda tablets, which are in many ways correctly spelt. In the second volume, if the special case of *mi/mihi* (where the traditional *h* in the written form often reminded scribes to write two vowel graphemes) is left aside, contracted forms outnumber uncontracted by 22: 2 (see Adams 1995a: 92). Earlier, in the archive of the Sulpicii, such contractions are common (see Adams 1990a: 235), and they are found too in the contemporary Pompeian inscriptions (see Väänänen 1966: 40). There are numerous cases in the Bu Njem ostraca (Adams 1994b: 105). For examples in poetry see Niedermann (1931: 101–2).

5.1 u before u in final syllable

Already in Pompeian graffiti forms such as *fatus* for *fatuus*, *ingenus* for *ingenuus* and *mortus* for *mortuus* are common (Väänänen 1966: 41; cf. *TPSulp.* 68 (dated 15 Sept. AD 39) *mutos* = *mutuos*; for later examples see e.g. Niedermann [1944] 1954b: 100, Stotz 1996: 71), and these anticipate Romance forms (It. *morto*, Sp. *muerto* etc.). Caesar in his *De analogia*

¹⁸ Svennung (1936: 17–23) deals at length with the omission of the vowel after *r*, an omission he takes to reflect loss of the vowel in pronunciation (see also Leumann 1977: 130). However, his material is not strictly comparable, because the vowel that is omitted is not under the accent.

(frg. 27 Funaioli) argued that the form *mortus* not *mortuus* was correct for the past participle, because forms with *-uu-* were *nomina* (adjectives) not participles: *mortuus ex qua parte orationis declinetur incertum est. nam sicut ait Caesar, ab eo quod est morior, in participio praeteriti temporis in tuxire debuit, per unum scilicet u, non per duo. nam ubi geminata est littera, nomen est, non participium, ut fatuus arduus*. Here is possibly a sign that the reduced form was already current in educated speech at the time of Caesar (cf. Willi 2010: 232, 242 with n. 26), and that an attempt was made to draw a distinction between the functions of two competing forms, *-uu-* and *-u-*. However, the tense of *debuit* stands against such an interpretation. If the citation is correct, Caesar must have meant that the participle should have had (in theory) the form *-tus* (but did not).

Note too *battunt* for *battuunt*, attributed by Fronto to Marcus, p. 50.6–7 van den Hout, on which see Holford-Strevens (2010: 337–8). Väänänen refers to the loss (*chute*) of *u* before *u* or *o* (i.e. another back vowel: cf. *quattor* at e.g. *TPSulp.* 51, 52, *CIL* vi.13302), and adds in brackets with a question mark ‘ou contraction des deux voyelles’. His hesitancy in speaking about contraction is understandable, as the contraction of two identical vowels would normally produce a long vowel (see e.g. Leumann 1977: 119–20, Väänänen 1981a: 44). But if a contraction parallel to that of *ii* did occur the vowel in a morphologically significant ending would have been shortened to bring the ending into line with the nominative *-us*. The mechanism of the ‘loss’ in this case is thus problematic,¹⁹ but the loss itself was well established early.

Superficially different are spellings such as *tus* and *sus* for *tuus* and *suus*, because here the loss is under the accent, and Romance scholars have tended to give the forms special significance. Such reduced forms are reflected in the modern period, above all in Gallo-Romance (*mon, ma, son, ton* etc.), and there is sometimes found in the Romance literature a view that they derive from an atonic use of the possessives, as if some sort of ‘clitic reduction’²⁰ had taken place in the Latin period in unstressed uses of the possessives (see e.g. Elcock 1960: 84, C. Lyons 1986). Certainly, in the semantic sense, in Classical Latin there was both an emphatic and an unemphatic use of possessive adjectives, marked to some extent by their placement in relation to that of the nouns qualified: when the possessive

¹⁹ For another possibility, at least as an early stage of the process, see Adams (1990a: 235 n. 36).

²⁰ By this is meant the sort of phonetic reduction that occurs in a language such as English when (e.g.) a personal pronoun is unemphatic (e.g. in a sentence such as ‘let him do it’, in contexts in which ‘him’ is not contrastive, the aspirate is dropped, whereas a contrastive case would retain the aspirate).

was emphatic, contrastive or the like it tended to be placed before the noun, but its unmarked position was after.²¹ If, therefore, in the phonetic sense as well, there was an unstressed (clitic) use, obviously the unstressed forms would be expected to be located after the nouns qualified. In an unpublished ostrakon from Carthage²² containing a number of possessive adjectives the one reduced form (*tus* (*benefic[iu]*)) is placed in the emphatic position, and it is emphatic in the context, in that there is a contrast between the favour conferred by the addressee on the writer, and the failure of a 'father' to be of any assistance. By contrast three of the five full forms (*tua*, *meu*, *tuo*, *meus*, *tuis*) of the possessives in the letter are found in the unemphatic, postponed position. On the evidence of this letter clitic reduction in unstressed possessives should not be invoked as the determinant of reduction in the early (Latin) period.

Similarly in a letter of Terentianus (471), while there is one case of *tus* in the supposed 'clitic' position (17 *quo pater tus mi mandauit*), there is also an example of *sus* which is both preposed and emphatic in the context (30 *non magis qurauit me pro xylesphongium sed sum negotium et circa res suas*). Notable in this second passage is the fact that in the next phrase *suas*, apparently in the unemphatic position, is given the full form.

A different determinant from a vague clitic reduction must be sought, and it is obvious what that determinant was. In the letters referred to the reduced forms are found when *u* is followed by another *u*, whether or not the possessive is emphatic and regardless of its position in relation to the noun. 'Reduction' thus seems to have had its starting point (at least in the imperial period: early Latin is possibly another matter)²³ as a form of loss or contraction (see above for these categories) when the *u* in hiatus was followed by another *u*. In the African ostrakon when *u* is followed by a vowel of different quality the original form of the word is retained. Once *sus* and *tus* were established in this way analogy might have caused the emergence of *sa*, *ta* etc.; there is already an example of *ma* in Terentianus (471.34) and another, possibly, at Vindolanda (Adams 1995b: 120). It is not clear whether the reduced forms of *meus* (see e.g. *CIL* XI.746 and Svennung 1936: 16) had a different origin from those of *tuus* and *suus* (on 'synizesis' in forms of *meus* in Plautus see Lindsay 1922: 61, Questa 2007: 175).

²¹ The definitive treatment of this subject is now De Melo (2010). He shows with detailed statistics from Plautus that the marked and unmarked placements are merely tendencies. See further Marouzeau (1922: 133) and the whole of his chapter that follows.

²² This is a sherd from the Musée National de Carthage (introductory gallery on the first floor, vitrine B-5, no. 1). It was read by Roger Tomlin and Benet Salway, but remains unpublished.

²³ See Skutsch (1985: 293-4) on Enn. *Ann.* 137 on the problem of *sis* = *suus*.

The above conclusion is confirmed by practice in another African corpus, the *Tablettes Albertini* of the late fifth century (493–6). *Suus* retains its full form when the second vowel is other than *u*, but *suum* and *suus* are regularly contracted. *Sum* occurs seventeen times²⁴ and *sus* once (x.4); *suum* is found just once (vii.20) and *suus* not at all. By contrast *suis* (forty-six times), *sui* (four times), *suoru(m)* (six times), *suo* (three times), *suam* (eleven times), *sue* (once), *sua* (twice) and *suos* (four times) regularly have the full form and are never reduced. Compare, for example, xxxi.5 *emtozem sum* with xxxii.4 *emtoze suo*, and xxxi.7 *sum esse dixerit* with xxxii.5 *suam esse dixerit*. The variable spelling of the forms of *suus* is exactly paralleled by that of the forms of *perpetuus* in the same corpus. *uu* is regularly contracted (in the expression *in perpetum*),²⁵ whereas the *u* is retained in the form *perpetuo* (see xii.12, xv.24).²⁶

The reduction of the possessives *tuus*, *suus* noted above as showing up particularly in Gallo-Romance was not universal in the Romance languages. Note for example OSp. *súe*, *túe* (feminine), which fall into the class described by Lloyd (1987: 191; see above, n. 1) as showing a high vowel under the accent which remained in hiatus.

6 Glides in hiatus

When two vowels in hiatus are articulated separately there is likely to be a trace of a glide between them. The presence of the glide may be more marked in some idiolects, social dialects or regional forms of a language than in others, or in different styles of speech. In Latin glides are sometimes represented in written texts, usually of non-standard character. Two letters are used, *i* representing [j] and *u* representing [w]. The first occurs after a front vowel, usually *i* but occasionally *e*, the second mainly after a back vowel (*o* or *u*).²⁷ When the glide is written it may be assumed that the writer was in the habit of articulating it markedly enough in the particular environment to hear its presence. Other, more careful, speakers might have avoided giving it prominence as far as they could (see the next paragraph). Careful writers would not have written it even if they sometimes articulated it, and the absence of a glide from a written text is not a reliable guide to

²⁴ Usually in the expression *signum sum* (e.g. iii.45, iv.34, v.41 etc.). Cf. xxxi.5 *emtozem sum*, xxxii.7 *sum esse dixerit*. The figures given by Väänänen (1965: 27) are not complete.

²⁵ See Väänänen (1965: 27).

²⁶ According to B. Löfstedt (1962: 89) spellings such as *sus* and *mus* imply an accent shift, *suús* for *síuus* etc., but that there was more to it than that is shown by the loss of *u* in *suus* only when *u* follows, and by the fact that in *perpetuus* the same loss occurs in a post-tonic syllable.

²⁷ A few examples of the two types were long ago listed by Schuchardt (1866–8: ii.520–1).

the pronunciation of the writer. Glides in Latin had two clear functions. First, they were used between vowels of different positions of articulation to facilitate pronunciation (so *clouaca* for *cloaca*; articulating *cloaca* without any trace of a glide might have been artificial). Second, they were inserted between vowels of the same quality to counter the tendency to contraction. There must have been considerable variation from speaker to speaker. Some might have uttered two identical vowels in hiatus carefully such that the glide was not heard. Some might have contracted the vowels. Others might have inserted a noticeable glide. The practice of individual speakers would almost certainly have varied according to the style of speech that they were adopting, casual or careful.

A notable *testimonium* concerning variability of practice and attitudes to glides is at Aug. *Serm.* 37.14 (CC 41, 459):²⁸

uidete quemadmodum neat, immo uidete quemadmodum neiat – dum omnes instruantur, grammatici non timeantur.

See how she spins (*neat*), or rather see how she spins (*neiat*) – as long as everyone is being instructed, grammarians should not be feared.

The *dum*-clause alludes to a common theme of Augustine's, that when addressing 'everyone', i.e. the masses, ordinary people, one should adapt one's speech to that of the addressees (see 1.7 (ii)). There is an implication that such people would have inserted a glide between the two vowels of different degrees of aperture, and that grammarians would have disapproved of the insertion. In the text of a sermon Augustine must have been referring to pronunciation not spelling. This is a rare piece of evidence about attitudes to developments in hiatus. There must have been grammarians who advocated the careful articulation of two different vowels in hiatus without a glide, and there were probably at least some careful speakers who attempted to follow their recommendation. Augustine was indifferent to it, and there is unlikely to have been a clear-cut sociolectal division, between the practice of the masses on the one hand and that of the educated classes trained by grammarians on the other.

The distinction stated above between the environments determining the different glides [j] and [w] admits of a few exceptions. One of these is morphologically determined (for a second see below, (v)). A glide inserted in a verb form such as *petiit* might have been expected from what was said above to be [j]. It is possible that *petijit* was heard in speech, but that

²⁸ Cited by B. Löfstedt (1972: 321). On the text and interpretation of Augustine's gloss see Lambot (1955: 215–17).

would be unlikely to become clear in writing because most writers would have been resistant to writing *i* three times in succession. There is reason to think that forms such as *petiuit* represented a late morphological revival, in which the [w] had the same function as an inserted [j] might have had: that is, the [w] preserved the *-īt* ending intact. But in this case [w] was not merely a phonetically motivated glide. *-i-uit* was an old perfect ending, and that ending seems to have been brought back into use (by grammarians?) to counter the usual contraction (see below, (iv)).

Some evidence for glides is set out below according to the glide inserted.

(i) after a front vowel (*i* or *e*)

RIB 326 *Salienus* (for *Salienus*: see Smith 1983: 904).

1498 *Aeliani* (genitive) (C. Smith 1983: 904).

Tab. Vindol. 646 *braciario*.

O. Bu Njem 7 *balneii*.

CIL III.7702 *piientissimae* (for *pientissimae*).

ILCV 604 *diies*.

Further examples of this type may be found at *ILS* III.2, p. 822 and Mihăescu (1978: 188).

(ii) after a back vowel (*o* or *u*)

Varro *Men.* 290 *clouaca* (= *cloaca*).

See *TLL* III.1358.37ff. for inscriptional examples of this form.²⁹ Sommer and Pfister (1977: 91) describe *clouaca* as the older form, on the basis of *CIL* I².590.39 and 1537. But the former is the *Lex Tarentina*, which ‘presumably belongs to the decade or so after the Social War’ (Crawford 1996: 1.302), i.e. towards the middle of the first century BC, whereas *cloaca* is Plautine, and there is no clear etymological argument to establish the original form (see Ernout and Meillet 1959: 128, de Vaan 2008: 122 with bibliography). The other inscription (1537) may not be much older than the Ciceronian period; it names a member of a family from Arpinum several times mentioned by Cicero (see *ILLRP* 546).

O. Bu Njem 86 *tuuos, duua* (for *dua*, at 79, 81).

Petron. 44.18 *plouebat* (= *pluebat*).

CGL III.347.39 *pluuīt* βρέχει.

P. Strasb. Inv. g 1175 (Kramer 2001: 45–9) line 31 βρέχεις πλοοῦες (see Kramer 2001: 51).

²⁹ See also Kohlstedt (1917: 57–8) on *couacla* = *cloaca* in Consentius.

Tab. Vindol. 186 Februar- (three examples, for *Februar*:- see Adams 1995a: 93).

197.1 a Gauuone (alongside *ratio Gauonis* later in the same document; the same alternation is found at 207).

CIL III.8719 = Diehl (1910), 453 posuuerunt.

IV.3730 poueri (= *pueri*).

XI.6289 = *ILCV* 531 puuer (= *puer*).

Tab. Herc. XXIII.pag.2.5–6 (Carratelli 1948: 177) fuuisse (= *fuisse*).

Tab. Sulis 31.5 suua (= *sua*: see Adams 1992: 10).

AE 1963, 182 (Sacidava) cum filibus suuos (see Brennan 1979).

The forms *puuer* and *puuella* both occur in a curse tablet from the Hamble Estuary (see Tomlin 1997: 455–7, no. 1), and *tuui* for *tui* is in a curse tablet from Uley (see Hassall and Tomlin 1992: 311, no. 5).

A copper-alloy finger-ring found in 2006 at Broomfield, Essex has the inscription *ueni futuue* (for *futue*) (see Tomlin and Hassall 2007: 351, no. 8).

One of the Rhineland ‘motto beakers’ (*CIL* XIII.10018.95) has *futuui* (*h*)*ospita(m)*. There might have been influence from the perfect ending *-ui* in this case.

**struuu* > Welsh *ystrw* and **destruuu* > Welsh *distryw* (see Jackson 1953: 365, C. Smith 1983: 940). There are a few other such cases of loan-words in Welsh with the glide (see Jackson 1953: 366).

At *Edictus Rothari* 317 an accusative form *groua(m)* is written for *gruem* ‘crane’. The form with the glide is reflected in an Italian dialect (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 93).

Boa, a word of uncertain etymology (see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: 1.110), designating either a type of snake or a skin condition, occurs in that form relatively early (Lucil. 1195, from Festus p. 494.33 Lindsay) but frequently thereafter with a glide (*boua*).³⁰ The form with glide is reflected in northern Italian dialects and Franco-Provençal = ‘snake’ (*REW* 1243, *FEW* 1.473, *LEI* VI.347). The word was in use, according to Jerome (*Vita Hilarionis* 28.3 *siquidem draco mirae magnitudinis, quos gentili sermone boas uocant, eo quod tam grandes sint ut boues glutire soleant, omnem late uastabat prouinciam*), in Dalmatia. Despite the manuscripts and editors, who print *boas*, the etymology offered by Jerome (the creatures were so big that they could swallow *boues*) makes it attractive to suggest that in his pronunciation a glide was inserted, even if he wrote *boas*.

³⁰ Examples with this spelling are listed at *TLL* II.2055.46ff.

(iii) after *a*

Longao, originally designating a kind of sausage but transferred to the *intestinum rectum*, particularly in veterinary texts, is attested in the form *longauo* in Varro (*Ling.* 5.111). But the origin of the term is unclear and its earliest form uncertain (on the variants and their distribution see *TLL* VII.2.1622.33ff., André 1991: 146–7). It was probably a loan-word or a hybrid formation.

(iv) Verbs in *-iui*

Between vowels of the same or similar quality an original [w] tended to be lost (e.g. *lauatrina* > *latrina*, *diuinus* > *dinus*, *obliuiscor* > *obliscor*), though speakers were capable of resisting such loss; *dinus*, for example, never became the standard form. This tendency affected the verb system: the ending *-iui* was reduced to *-ii*, and contraction then was prone to occur.³¹ But contractions introduced uncertainties of meaning. In verse *petit* before a consonant might be either present or perfect. *Peti* might be either first person perfect or a passive infinitive, and *audi* either first person perfect or imperative. There is evidence in late substandard documents for the restoration of the intervocalic *u*. The evidence is of two types. There are spellings with *u*, and also reduced forms which show that the *u* had been restored.

For the first type see *P. Amh.* II.26.5 *rediuuit*, Terentianus 471.13 *ibi = iui*, 471.34 *abiui*, 472.3 (Tiberianus) *exiuerim*, *O. Bu Njem* 67 *exiuimus*.

These forms are out of line with the literary language (but for some instances in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and their possible motivation see Callebat 1968: 127). A search of the full Pandora corpus turned up 347 cases of *rediit* but only one of *rediuuit*, and (leaving aside the Vulgate), twenty-three of *exiit* and three of *exiuuit*. In the Vulgate both forms are common, with that in *-iuit* mainly in the OT and Apocr. and the other mainly in the NT (see *TLL* v.2.1352.27). In the same Pandora corpus there are only five cases of *iui*. It has to be assumed that grammarians or instructors in literacy at a fairly humble level were advocating the insertion of *u*.

The success of this advocacy shows up in the second type of evidence. Substandard verb forms in *-iut* (*-iuit*, with syncope in the final syllable) imply the recreation in popular Latin of the full forms (see further v.2.1). See *O. Faw.* 2 *exiut* (also *ILCV* 3053A), *CIL* XI.3541 *seruiut* (Väänänen 1981a: 142). Cf. *CIL* III.12700 *curaut*; *-aut* > OIt. *-ao* (mod. Italian *ò*); also forms in Spanish and Portuguese: see Väänänen (1981a: 143).

³¹ For an extensive collection of evidence see Neue and Wäger (1892–1905: III.434, 446–7).

After *i* a glide pure and simple would have been *j*; the *w* is morphologically motivated, but it had the same function as a conventional glide.

(v) *euum* and related forms

Welsh *pydew*, a borrowing from Lat. *puteus*, derives from a form **puteuus* (Jackson 1953: 87, 367). In **puteuus* the glide is inserted after a front not a back vowel. Usually if the first vowel in hiatus is a front vowel the glide inserted is not *u* but *i* ([j]), as for example in *braciiario* for *bracia-rio* at Vindolanda and *balneii* (see above (i)). The well-attested spelling *Pompeus* for *Pompeius*, found for example at Pompeii and in Africa (see Adams 1994b: 105, with bibliography), appears to be an inverse one in reaction against the presence of a [j] in the environment in which Jackson reports [w].

There is now a parallel for **puteuus*, in a British Latin curse tablet with Celtic associations from Leicester (see Tomlin 2008, 2009: 327, no. 21). This document has several Celtic names and also the form *euum* for *eum*, which seems to be unique.³² Two examples of *deuo* for *deo* in British texts (*RIB* 306, curse tablet from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, Notts: Hassall and Tomlin 1993: 312, no. 2) look like parallels, but the Celtic word for ‘god’ was *deuos*, and both British texts have Celtic associations (Adams 2007: 302–3).

It is possible that there was something distinctively British about [w] in this position (see Adams 2007: 590), but the evidence is not extensive enough to justify firm conclusions.

7 Palatalisation

Evidence has been seen above (3) for the emergence of yod ([j]) in positions in which there had originally been a vowel (short *i* or *e*, the latter of which in hiatus closed to *i̯*), notably after consonants of various types. But this was only the first stage in developments that affected the consonant structure of the Romance languages. Yod, whether original or secondary, participated with consonants that preceded it in palatalisations. Various spelling confusions in inscriptions of the imperial period hint at changes in progress that were to leave their mark in the Romance languages (see Lloyd 1987: 132–4, Herman 2000: 42–5, Loporcaro 2011b: 143–50 for Latin to Romance, Weiss 2009: 512–13, and particularly Mras 1948 for a full collection of relevant Latin misspellings and grammatical *testimonia*; for the very late period see Stotz 1996: 183–90, 204–8, 219–23). But the level

³² For misspellings of *eum* see *TLL* VII.2.457.77ff.

of spelling variation in Latin is such that it is impossible to reduce early developments to any system, or to relate the data to social or regional variations.

Palatal consonants 'are those articulated by making contact between the body of the tongue and the hard palate; affricate consonants are those produced by completely blocking the flow of air through the mouth, then gradually releasing the air, so that friction, or "turbulence" is produced' (Maiden 1995: 32). 'Palatal' refers to a position of articulation and 'affricate' to a manner of articulation. Classical Latin had neither type of consonant, but Romance languages have a variety of palatal and affricate consonants.

It was primarily Latin yod (a palatal glide [j]) that triggered an assimilatory palatalisation of immediately preceding consonants, and 'thereby gave rise to a series of new, palatally articulated, consonants' (Maiden 1995: 48). Yod also 'produced an *affricate* articulation of preceding [t], and sometimes also [d]' (Maiden 1995: 48). Yod was not the only palatalising segment, but its effects were the most far-reaching (Vincent 1988a: 40). Among the stops, *t*, *d*, *k* and *g* were affected widely across the Romance world by a following yod (Vincent 1988a: 40), though developments were variable in different Romance regions and in some ways remain problematic.³³ Other types of palatalisation are not dealt with here.

Spelling is a poor guide to pronunciation, and spelling is all that we have to go on for Latin. There are misspellings that are suggestive of palatal and affricate consonants, but the precise phonetic details for Latin itself cannot be established. Some idea of the complexities may be obtained from a few remarks about the reflexes in Italian of certain stops originally followed by yod.³⁴

The outcomes of Latin *kj*, *tj* and *dj* in Italian are set out in a table by Vincent (1988b: 287). It is a problem that there are frequent dual outcomes (see Vincent 1988b: 288, Maiden 1995: 52). Aberrant forms are usually put down to 'interdialectal borrowing and/or hypercorrection' (Vincent 1988b: 288). There is a discussion of Italian by Maiden (1995: 32–3, 48–54). The consonants ultimately produced in Italian by the effects of yod on a preceding stop are divided into the alveolar affricates [ts] and [dz], and the palato-(or dental-)alveolar affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ].³⁵ Latin *tj* gave [ts] in

³³ As an example of the oddities that have to be contended with by anyone attempting to reduce Romance developments to a system it is worth mentioning the outcome of *dj* in a group of words in Spanish (*ardeo*, *audio*, *hordeolum*, *uiridia*). The problem is discussed by Malkiel (1984), with earlier bibliography.

³⁴ For developments in Spanish see Lloyd (1987: 247–55, 259–63).

³⁵ For the terminology see Vincent (1988b: 280), Maiden (1995: 33) (with minor discrepancies).

fortia > *forza* and [tts] in *puteus* > *pozzo* (these and the following examples may be found at Maiden 1995: 49). Latin *dj* gave [dz] in *hordeum* > *orzo* and [ddz] in *medium* > *mezzo*. On the other hand in initial position Latin *dj* gave [dʒ] in *diurnum* > *giorno*, and intervocalic *dj* gave [dʒ] in *hodie* > *oggi*. Latin *kj* gave [tʃ] in *lancea* > *lancia* and [ttʃ] in *facio* > *faccio*. The problems are discussed by Maiden (1995: 50–4). On the dual development of [dj] see Maiden (1995: 53): '[T]he result is *always* [dz] after a consonant... *always* [dʒ] in word-initial position, and *usually* [dʒ] intervocalically, beside a number of cases of intervocalic [dz].' But '[n]o such differentiation exists in northern Italian dialects' (Maiden 1995: 54).

Some Latin misspellings anticipatory of these developments are set out below. First it is necessary to say something about yod itself, which seems to have been subject to change even at the start of a word before a vowel, or between vowels.

7.1 *Yod in initial position before a vowel or in intervocalic position*

The yod of Classical Latin found at the start of words before vowels or intervocalically within words seems to have developed, at least in some varieties of the language, to an affricate that might be tentatively represented *dz*. The posited development was *j* > *dj* > *dz*.³⁶ The suggested final stage is represented by spellings of the type *Zanuuario* (CIL x.2466), *Zouiano* (xiv.1033), *huzus* (vi.37200) and *Zerax* = ἱέραξ (x.3699.16), the intermediate stage by *Diaulenus* = *Iauolenus* (cited by Leumann 1977: 130 without a reference).

7.2 *Yod after certain stops*

The first signs of palatalisations are to be seen in misspellings showing *s(i)* or *z(i)* for *di* or *ti*, e.g.:

CIL viii.8424 oze (= *hodie*, Africa).

Isid. *Etym.* 20.9.4 sicut solent Itali dicere 'ozie' pro 'hodie'.

CIL xiv.2325 Zodorus (= *Diodorus*).

xiv.1137 zebus (= *diebus*; cf. v.1667 z. = *zes*).

ILCV 3738A Cuncorsie (= *Concordiae*, Rome).

³⁶ See Leumann (1977: 130); also Bonioli (1962: 44), Väänänen (1981a: 52). Lloyd (1987: 132) puts it thus: 'The palatal semiconsonant [j] ... strengthened its articulation ... so that it ... became clearly consonantal and developed a strongly fricative pronunciation in word- and syllable-initial position.' He suggests that in the form *Zanuarius* the *z* may represent 'something like' a palatal fricative or an affricate.

875B Gazosa (= *Gaudiosa*, Rome).
 Ravenna Papyri 24.13, 17 Γαυζιουσο (= *Gaudioso*).
CIL VIII.9927 Terensus (= *Terentius*).
 VIII.21751 Inocensa (= *Innocentia*).
 XII.5250 Tersia (= *Tertia*).
 Audolent (1904) no. 253 ampižatru (= *amphitheatro*).
Tabl. Alb. VII.24 Monsius (= *Montius*).

Further examples may be found in Svennung (1936: 9), Sturtevant (1940: 172),³⁷ Mras (1948: 92–5), Battisti (1949: 147), Bonioli (1962: 116, 119), Kiss (1972: 55–6), Väänänen (1981a: 53–4), Biville (1990: 277–8). These developments were so entrenched by the time of the African grammarian Pompeius (fifth century) that he presents the palatalised pronunciations of *Titius*, *Auentius*, *Amantius*, *meridies* and *dies* as correct (*GL* v.286.6–33; see the text as it is printed by Kramer 1976: 70); the spelling pronunciations were by then considered a *uitium*.³⁸ Nor was Pompeius the only grammarian who alluded to the changes and was tolerant of them (see too Servius *GL* IV.445.8–12, Papirianus ap. Cassiod. *GL* VII.216.8–9, Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 2.126, and Mras 1948: 87–9).

The combination [dj] seems to show varying treatments in the same words in texts and inscriptions. For example, the frequentative *adiuto* appears in Terentianus in the form *aiuto* (468.41, 471.28) (cf. *CIL* VI.37748 *aiutori*), but at (e.g.) *CIL* VIII.18224 there is a spelling *azutoribus* for *adiutoribus*. A parallel for *aiuto* is the form *ios(s)um* for *deorsum* (found e.g. in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*: *TLL* v.1.559.27ff.). Likewise on the one hand there are spellings such as *zebus* = *diebus* (*CIL* XIV.1137) and on the other *ies* = *dies* (III.2225).³⁹

There are various ways of explaining the variation. First, *dj* might have had two phonetic outcomes current in different social or regional dialects, which we might represent loosely as *j* and *dz*. As a variant on this view Grandgent (1907: 114–15) favoured a chronological explanation. In the ‘latter part of the Empire’ *dy* was reduced to *y*, but ‘towards the end of the Empire’ it ‘had another – doubtless more elegant – pronunciation, which was probably *dz*’. This is mere guesswork. A second possibility is to interpret

³⁷ Citing as the earliest example of the phenomenon *CIL* xv.2612 *Marsia(nenses)*, said to be of the third century. Two examples in curse tablets from Carthage may belong to the second or third century (Jeanneret 1918: 48–9, B. Löfstedt 1961: 170). According to Loporcaro (2011b: 144) the earliest example is *CIL* XIV.246 *Crescentsianus*, dated to AD 140, but the stone has been lost and the reading is uncertain (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 170).

³⁸ This point has often been made. See e.g. Carnoy (1916: 145–6), Sturtevant (1940: 171–2), Wright (1982: 60–1).

³⁹ See Leumann (1977: 130); also B. Löfstedt (1962: 90), with bibliography.

the different symbols as representing the same sound, perhaps some sort of affricate (*dz* or the like). It was seen above (7.1) that the original intervocalic (and initial) yod developed (sometimes) to such an affricate, represented in texts as *z*. The letter *i* (originally representing *j*) when correctly written intervocalically in the traditional manner might have been seen by some to stand for (*d*)*z* in speech, and thus might sometimes have been used to represent the *dz* that developed from original *dj*: thus *aiuto* might simply be a spelling for *a(d)zuto*.

This second explanation does not ring true for the form *aiuto* in Terentianus, in the early second century AD. It was noted above (see n. 37) that assimilated misspellings do not seem to occur before the third century, and it is hard to believe in the absence of explicit evidence that the affricate had emerged by the time of Terentianus. It seems likely that an early outcome of *dj* was *j*. Its relationship to *dz* is uncertain.⁴⁰

According to Bonfante (1999: 29) the 'assibilation of the cluster *-dy-* in intervocalic position . . . is observed only in the inscriptions of the imperial period of Italy and Africa'. Certainly most of the evidence comes from those places, but it is problematic on this basis to set up a regional variation in the Latin period. Even Bonfante's presentation of the matter raises doubts. The inverse spelling *di* for *z* is cited by Bonfante (1999: 30) as further evidence of the development, but (among other sources) from the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (*baptidio* for *baptizo*, five times), and that is a north-western text (from Spain or southern Gaul: Adams 2007: 342–53). Correct spellings do not tell us what was happening in speech, and it may merely be the lower cultural level of a good deal of the writing that survives from Africa and parts of Italy that betrays the developments in speech there. The Romance outcomes of the cluster in areas other than Italy (Gallo-Romance, Ibero-Romance) can be derived from later evolutions of the same type of change as that attested by Italian and African misspellings (see Herman 2000: 44).

Spellings of the type *terciae* for *tertia* (*CIL* xv.4376, a fragmentary text; see the material in Mras 1948: 91–2, Bonioli 1962: 113–14, Stotz 1996: 220–1) suggest that the combinations *kj* and *tj* were approaching each other in pronunciation, without necessarily becoming identical,⁴¹ though the interpretation of the evidence is problematic (see Carnoy 1916: 146–7 and B. Löfstedt 1961: 172 for attempts to explain the significance of the misspellings). Indeed in parts of Romance original *kj* and *tj* were kept apart

⁴⁰ For some speculations see Carnoy (1916: 149–50). Lloyd (1987: 133) suggests that intervocalically the realisation of [dj] could be either fricative [j:] or affricate [dʲ], 'depending both on the position of the sound in the spoken chain and on the general force of the articulation'.

⁴¹ See Lloyd (1987: 133, 259).

(B. Löfstedt 1961: 170, Väänänen 1981a: 54, Lloyd 1987: 259). The spelling *ti* for *ci* is rarer and later than the reverse spelling (B. Löfstedt 1961: 171, Stotz 1996: 188), and some cases (and indeed some cases of *ci* for *ti*) reflect not phonetic developments but popular etymologies or changes of suffix (B. Löfstedt 1961: 171).

8 Hiatus and social variation

Developments in hiatus by tradition have found a place in books and papers on Vulgar Latin (see e.g. Pensado 1988, who often uses 'Vulgar' or 'Vulgar Latin' in reference to yodisation in hiatus and the resultant syllabification), but in reality there is little sign of clear-cut distinctions between the practice of the educated classes and that of the rest. The main elements of the evidence presented in this chapter that might be labelled substandard are not pronunciations, but misspellings reflecting the changes that were in progress in speech or had already taken place. Correct spellers retained the classical forms of the written language, but the pronunciation changes lying behind the misspellings became standard in the language. For example, yodisation of *i* after stops is permitted in versification from the earliest times. The writing of *I longa* in hiatus by competent scribes in some corpora must reflect the instruction that they had received, and suggests that yod in that position was now regarded as standard. By the time of the grammarians of the fourth and fifth centuries palatalised pronunciations were accepted as correct, and spelling pronunciations considered a vice.

We did see interesting evidence (6) for resistance by grammarians to the insertion of glides between vowels of different quality, but it is hard to believe that in such cases the different articulations correlated precisely with educational level. Some spellings reflecting glide insertion became accepted in literary or official Latin, such as *clouaca*, and there is also the evidence that Jerome pronounced *boa* with a glide [w]. Augustine is disparaging of the grammarians who insisted on avoidance of the glide, and that implies that the educated would not have taken much notice of such recommendations. Rather than strict social differentiation marked by presence versus absence of the glide there are more likely to have been inconsistencies from speaker to speaker and in the performance of individuals, with some in careful speech attempting to avoid glides when they remembered to do so and others, of whatever social class, not bothering to make the attempt. Grammarians must have been promoting glide avoidance as a prestige

pronunciation, but the attitude of Augustine suggests that the prestige of the practice was not particularly high.

The evidence of this chapter has brought out very variable treatment of vowels in hiatus in the same environments, for example a tendency to contraction of like vowels on the one hand versus a desire to maintain the vowel in hiatus. There must have been considerable differences between careful and casual speech, and that is to say nothing of chronological change.

CHAPTER VII

The aspirate

Incorrect use of the aspirate, whether by dropping or adding it hypercorrectly (see Catull. 84), was stigmatised in the classical period, to judge from a fragment of Nigidius Figulus' *Commentarii grammatici* cited by Gellius 13.6.3: *rusticus fit sermo, si adspires perperam* (for an interpretation see e.g. Adams 2007: 174, and for further details of the history of aspiration in Latin see Leumann 1977: 173–4). The aspirate leaves no trace in the Romance languages, and is already constantly omitted or written where it does not belong in Pompeian graffiti (see Väänänen 1966: 57–8), but Augustine provides evidence that at his time centuries later there were still some purists and grammarians attempting to maintain it in initial position:

Serm. 1.18.29 uide quomodo diligenter obseruent filii hominum pacta litterarum et syllabarum accepta a prioribus locutoribus et a te accepta aeterna pacta perpetuae salutis neglegant, ut qui illa sonorum uetera placita teneat aut doceat, si contra disciplinam grammaticam sine adspiratione primae syllabae 'hominem' dixerit, magis displiceat hominibus, quam si contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, cum sit homo.

See how carefully the sons of men observe the rules of letters and syllables received from former speakers, and neglect the eternal rules of everlasting salvation received from you, with the result that he who holds to or teaches the ancient observances governing the sounds of the language may displease men more if, contrary to grammatical teaching, he should say *hominem* without aspiration of the first syllable, than if, contrary to your teaching, he should hate a man though he is a man.

Väänänen (1981a: 55) speaks reasonably of 'an affectation of rhetors and pedants'. Augustine is referring here exclusively to the educated class, and more specifically those members of it who had an obsession with maintaining the aspirate. They will cause displeasure (among the

like-minded) if they make a mistake of aspiration. The passage is unusually revealing. It tells us not only that there were such pedants, but also that they were not consistently successful in their use of the aspirate. Not only that, but Augustine was disapproving of this pedantry. He states clearly that these persons were following the practice of 'former speakers', a remark which shows that they were trying to reproduce the speech of a bygone era, and implies that Augustine himself would not have gone to such lengths to preserve the aspirate in his own speech. What emerges from the passage is an implication of variable usage among the educated class. Some but not all tried to aspirate in initial position, but even these were prone to mistakes. Given that further down the social scale it is unlikely that there would have been any such effort to use the aspirate, we have confirmation of the model of social variation presented earlier from Chambers (2002) (see above, 1.2): the omission of the original initial aspirate was a feature of speech across the social spectrum, but not as markedly at higher levels.

An item of evidence for educated usage has turned up in a new source. In a Vindolanda tablet (*Tab. Vindol.* 234) in a letter dictated by the commanding officer Cerialis (a man of some education, to judge from the Latin of the corpus of letters bearing his name) to a scribe there is a dictation error (the scribe first wrote *et hiem* and then corrected himself to the intended *etiam*) of the type which implies that Cerialis would not have pronounced *h* in initial position, at least in *hiems* (see Adams 2007: 634–5).

Between vowels of like quality there had been a tendency for *h* to be lost since the prehistoric period (e.g. *nemo* < *ne hemo*: see particularly Leumann 1977: 174; also Sturtevant 1940: 156), but a few doublets such as *nihil/nil* (see Catull. 64.146 for both in the same line) and *cohors/chors* (both are found in verse and confirmed by the metre: *TLL* III.1549.81ff.) testify to some attempt to preserve it. Velius Longus (*GL* VII.68.15–17) refers to the 'insertion' of *h* in *uehemens* and *reprehendit*, but he meant in the written forms, because he adds (though with textual variants): *cum elegantiores et uementem dicant et reprehendit*, 'though more elegant speakers say both *uementem* and *reprehendit*'. There thus seems to have been a distinction between educated writing and educated speech. Of note here is the comparative *elegantiores*, which might imply that there were 'less elegant' speakers (in the eyes of Velius) who inserted the aspirate (in speech) in these words, presumably as a sort of spelling pronunciation. There is a suggestion here again that sound changes if they can be monitored by speakers will be resisted by some for centuries, and also that an older, historically 'correct' spoken form (*uehemens*) will not

necessarily be granted higher status than an evolved form by all educated speakers (cf. v.2.2, 2.3). There is a hint of conflicting attitudes to the insertion of *h* between vowels in speech, and that is why there can never be a clear-cut distinction between an educated (Classical) and a lower (Vulgar) variety of the language.

CHAPTER VIII

Final consonants

I -M

In this chapter final *-m* is first dealt with, and then *-s* and *-t/d*. In inscriptions and other documents omissions of these letters in final position, particularly of *-m*, are attested, and the three phenomena are well entrenched in handbooks of Vulgar Latin. We will have to determine among other things whether omissions in a poorly spelt text reflect non-standard pronunciations or the state of the spoken language across all social/educational classes. If the latter, an omission will merely be a vulgarism of spelling. Another question that will come up concerns possible continuity in the loss of one or other of these phonemes in final position between earlier Latin and the Romance languages.

1.1 'Omission' of final *-m* and Vulgar Latin

According to Quintilian final *-m* before a following vowel was 'observed' rather than dropped without trace, such that it became a sound that would need a 'new letter' to represent it. It is a reasonable guess that the vowel was nasalised, and possibly lengthened as well (see Allen 1978: 30–1):

Quint. 9.4.40 *atqui eadem illa littera [m], quotiens ultima est et uocalem uerbi sequentis ita contingit ut in eam transire possit, etiam si scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur, ut 'multum ille' et 'quantum erat', adeo ut paene cuiusdam nouae litterae sonum reddat. neque enim eximitur, sed obscuratur.*

Yet the same letter *m*, when it is in final position and is in close contact with the initial vowel of the following word in such a way that it can pass over into it, is not pronounced, even if it is written: thus *multum ille* and *quantum erat*. It comes almost to produce the sound of a new letter, for it is not elided, but muffled (Russell, Loeb).

Quintilian was speaking of standard educated pronunciation, not that of the uneducated. So in classical verse elision occurs when a final syllable ending with *-m* precedes a vowel at the start of the next word.

See too Velius Longus *GL* vii.54.2–6, and particularly 54.13–15 (on the interpretation of which see Allen 1978: 30 with 96):

54.13–15 nam quibusdam litteris deficiamus, quas tamen sonus enuntiationis arcessit, ut cum dicimus ‘uirtutem’ et ‘uirum fortem consulem Scipionem’, peruenisse fere ad aures peregrinam litteram inuenies.

For we lack certain letters, which are demanded by the pronunciation. For example, when we say *uirtutem* and *uirum fortem consulem Scipionem* you will generally find that an alien sound has reached your ears.

The *peregrina littera* corresponds to Quintilian’s *noua littera*. Velius likewise was not talking of lower-class speech. There is a new element in this passage. The examples show that Velius thought that final *-m* had been reduced not only before vowels but also before consonants. A feature of pronunciation that first emerged before vowels must have spread to pre-consonantal position.

Quintilian’s ‘muffled’ articulation can be traced well back into the Republic, because the letter is sometimes left out in early inscriptions, as in two of the Scipionic *elogia* (*CIL* 1².7, 9) (see Leumann 1977: 223–6). In the first of these there are four omissions, none of them before a following vowel. In the second there are eight omissions, only two of them before a vowel.

The omission of *-m* in writing is not to be classified as a feature of lower sociolects, because it is a reflection of educated (indeed all) speech. Nevertheless the phenomenon is given a prominent place in handbooks of Vulgar Latin.¹ Omissions reflect rather poor literacy, at least in the imperial period; in earlier Latin there was a more relaxed attitude to spelling, and the phonetic spelling might not yet have been stigmatised. There is a certain interest to the mechanisms of omission in written texts, though this is a subject to do with literacy practices not language use.

1.2 Final *-m* in monosyllables and ‘grammatical’ words

A distinction must be made between final *-m* in general and that in monosyllables or ‘grammatical’ words. In the latter it was assimilated to a following consonant.² Cicero twice (*Orat.* 154, *Fam.* 9.22.2) says that the combination *cum nobis* should be avoided because it is open to an obscene

¹ Grandgent (1907: 127) refers reasonably to final *-m* as being ‘obscure and weak in Classic Latin’, but adds (128) that in the ‘vulgar speech of the Empire’ the sound was indistinct in certain environments.

² For such phenomena see Lindsay (1894: 121).

interpretation (*cunno* . . .). The *m* of *cum* was assimilated to the following *n* (and in educated speech). At *Fam.* 9.22.2 he also suggests that the combination *illam dicam* once uttered in the senate (probably by Cicero himself) might have been taken as obscene (= *landicam* 'clitoris'). Misspellings in inscriptions and writing tablets imply assimilations, such as *tan durum* (*CIL* IV.1895), where the nasal was presumably alveolar under the influence of the alveolar stop. Cf. *O. Faw.* 2.3, 6 *tan leuem*, *tan leuis*. In *tan cito* at *O. Faw.* 2.4 the final consonant of *tan* must represent a velar nasal before the following velar consonant. There are traces of the nasal in a few monosyllables of the Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *rien* and *mon* before vowels, but with change to *n*: see Väänänen 1981a: 67).

Like final *-m*, final *-n* was also assimilated thus in proclitic monosyllables. Terentianus writes *im mensem* (468.26), *im perpetuo* (468.65) and *im bia* (470.26). At Pompeii *im balneum* (*CIL* IV.2410) showing *n* > *m* before *b* contrasts with *tan durum* (see Väänänen 1966: 66). Assimilation affected not only nasals at the end of monosyllables, but stops such as *t* and *d* (see below, 3.5).

Spelling was not consistent. Once assimilation had undermined spelling regularity a scribe might sometimes mechanically write *tan* or *con* even when the *-n* was not determined by a following consonant.

The Ciceronian evidence shows that this phenomenon too was a feature of the language in general, not of a lower sociolect.

1.3 Orthographic tendencies

B. Löfstedt (1961: 226–8) showed that in the *Sangallensis* of the *Edictus Rothari* (seventh century) *-a* was far more often written for *-am* than were *-u/-o* for *-um* and *-e* for *-em*. This orthographic tendency shows up in other late texts as well, such as the *Anonymus Valesianus* II (Adams 1976: 51–2). It can now be confirmed for a much earlier period, from the Bu Njem ostraca of the mid third century AD (see Adams 1994b: 106–7). There the *-a* ending predominates over *-am* by 18:3, whereas the *-em* ending is preferred to *-e* by 19:2. These latter figures may be misleading, because eighteen of the examples of *-em* are in the greeting *salutem*, but the abnormal frequency of *-a* for *-am* is nevertheless upheld by the figures for *-u* versus *-um*: these two forms are equally common (22 against 19). In the letters of Terentianus in accusative singular endings *-m* is omitted about once in every five instances (of 149 accusatives, including those in participles, twenty-nine are written without *-m*: see Adams 1977a: 22), but there are variations of frequency according to the declension. *-a* is outnumbered by *-am* by about 2:1, *-e* by

-em by 3:1 but *-u* by *-um* by more than 7:1 (see Adams 1977a: 23). Scribes were more likely to drop the *-m* in first declension feminines than in the second and third declension accusative singular, and from quite an early period.

It is unlikely that there is a phonetic significance to this tendency. Löfstedt (1961: 228) relates the frequency of *-a* to the passage of neuter plurals into the feminine singular. Those conscious of this development were perhaps more tolerant of *-a* in the accusative because of a sense that it might be an original neuter. The relative rarity of *-u* may have something to do with the fact that it did not look like a second declension form.

There is a full account of omissions in inscriptions by Diehl (1899). He deals with non-linguistic determinants (190–242), such as abbreviation (211–20), lack of space at the edge of a stone (220–31), a following *-m* (231–2) and slips by stonemasons (232–5), but once these are allowed for there remain large numbers of omissions that cannot be explained away (243–86). Apart from inscriptions, in those documentary texts on materials other than stone in which omissions are common there seems to be little or no sign of such mechanical determinants. In later sections (2.5.1–4) it will be seen, for example, that the omission of *-s* in inscriptions is predominantly due to lack of space at the end of a line, and other factors come into it too (such as abbreviation), but *-m* by contrast is often left out in sentence-internal or phrase-internal positions where extraneous factors cannot be invoked as the cause. Nor are there restrictions on the phonetic environments in which omission is found or on the lexical classes. Letter 468 of Terentianus is revealing in these respects. The degree of spelling error in this corpus varies from letter to letter in reflection of the practices of the different scribes (see Halla-aho 2003). Letter 468, in contrast to 467, is full of mistakes (Halla-aho 2003: 248), and here omissions occur not only in accusatives but also in particles (*aute*) and verbs (*iacuisse*, *speraba*). Phrase-internal omissions in accusatives occur freely before consonants (e.g. in 22, 51, 52, 59, 60–1) as well as vowels, and it could not be convincingly argued that the weakness (whatever its phonetic details) of the phoneme in final position was conditioned by the phoneme that followed.

1.4 Conclusions

The evidence concerning the treatment of *m* in final position is clear-cut, the one uncertainty being the phonetic character of the ‘new’ or ‘foreign letter’ that replaced it. There is one point on which grammarians are unequivocal. Developments affecting *-m* were a feature of the speech of the

class to which the grammarians themselves belonged and not restricted to uneducated varieties. There was no advocating of spelling pronunciations. The occasional omission of *-m* goes well back in the Republic and is found in high-style inscriptions, and that hints at the state of elite speech at an early period. The omission of final *m* has found its way into handbooks of Vulgar Latin because of a tendency to confuse writing with speech. It was by the classical period merely a vulgarism of writing.

2 -S

2.1 *The Romance languages*

In the Romance languages there is a split between the West and the East in the treatment of final *-s* (see e.g. Rohlfs 1966: 431; cf. Bourciez 1946: 51, B. Löfstedt 1961: 129, Väänänen 1981a: 68, Weiss 2009: 514). In the West (France, Spain, Sardinia and part of Raetia) *-s* was retained up to a point (Fr. *le fils*, Sp. *tres libros*), though with a good deal of regional and diachronic variation. In the East (Romanian, Italian and dialects) it was lost (e.g. It. *meno, peggio, meglio, credi, lodiamo, foste, fuori* < *minus, peius, melius, credis, laudamus, fuistis, foris*; on the other hand after an original long vowel in the monosyllables *nos* and *uos* it was vocalised as [j], *noi, voi*). There are signs that in parts of Italy it was retained into the medieval period, and in some northern dialects it was retained under certain circumstances, but the general tendency was towards loss (details in Rohlfs 1966: 431–4).

2.2 *Early Latin*

In early Latin inscriptions final *-s* after a short vowel is often omitted, and in early verse it often does not make position after a short vowel and before a consonant, a feature that points to its omission in speech in a restricted phonetic environment (for details with bibliography see Adams 2007: 51–2, 74–5, 104 n. 319, 140–1 with n. 74; add Niedermann 1931: 131–2, E. P. Hamp 1959).³ In twenty plays of Plautus 1,058 cases of omission have

³ The frequency of omission of *-s* in early Latin is matched or outdone by that in Faliscan (for details of which see Bakum 2009: 1.93–4). In Early Faliscan *-s* is always written. In Middle Faliscan on the other hand there are 107 inscriptions with omissions after a short vowel, yielding a total of 175 instances in all, most of them (164) in the second declension nominative singular ending *-o(s)*. Against this Bakum notes just three to six instances from two to five inscriptions of *-s* written. He also lists (2009: 94) a few cases of omission after a long vowel. Whether Faliscan was a form of Latin or a separate language, there is a phonetic tendency at work here in a part of Italy where Latin was spoken. On the frequency of omission in Ennius see below, 4.

been identified, compared with 770 cases where the *s* is present, a rate of deletion of 57.9 per cent (see Wallace 1984a: 217; also 1982), though the *-s* was retained in orthography (see Questa 2007: 32–5). By the end of the Republic the evidence of verse suggests that its restoration was widespread, though a passage of Quintilian (9.4.38), which cites various republican authorities, shows that there was some controversy in the late Republic about whether and under what circumstances *-s* should be articulated in final position (for this passage see below, 2.5.5). On the relatively low number of omissions in Lucretius (forty-four cases in 7,400 verses, or one every 169 lines, compared with one every five lines in Ennius) and the limited environments in which they occur (mostly in the fifth foot, with exceptions found mainly before forms of *esse* beginning with *s*) see Butterfield (2008: e.g. 194, 198 with n. 36). The sole instance in Catullus (116.8 *dabi' supplicium*) precedes an *s* at the start of the next word (a phenomenon that will be seen repeatedly in this chapter: see also above, previous sentence, and below, 2.4), and may contain an allusion to a passage of Ennius (see Timpanaro 1978: 179 n. 45). In late republican and Augustan poetry there are a number of verses in which every word ends with an *s* (see Housman 1937b: 106 on Manil. 4.780, Courtney 1980: 305 on Juv. 6.O3), and that is an effect that may depend on the articulation of the sound in final position. Further investigation is needed, as there may be many more lines of this type, and if so cases would have to be classified according to the length of the preceding vowel and the phoneme following.

It is in theory possible that by the late Republic deletion of *-s* before a consonant was still taking place in speech, but that poets had come to eliminate from verse any sign of this tendency. There is, however, further evidence suggesting that *-s* was now articulated, both *testimonia* in literary sources (see the next paragraph) and the constant writing of the letter in otherwise badly spelt non-literary documents (see 2.4). Late republican poetic practice is likely to reflect the restoration of *-s* in all environments in speech.

This restoration of final *-s* between the time of early republican literature and the late Republic looks like the product of a standardisation movement.⁴ Indeed Messala wrote a book on the letter *s* (Quint. 1.7.23), and the other passage of Quintilian (9.4.38: see above) shows that the 'letter' in this position was actively discussed. According to Cicero (*Orat.* 161) the omission of *-s* was by his time 'rather rustic' (*subrusticum*). Did he

⁴ It has usually, but not always, been taken that way. Kiss (1972: 86) thought that the re-establishment of *-s* was not due to 'une influence savante' but was motivated by the morphological confusion that would have been caused by the loss.

mean that he had noticed the phoneme dropped in rural dialects, or was he simply disparaging those educated late republican scholars who went on omitting *-s*? It would be going too far to attach a regional significance to his remark. He probably meant that the omission was now out of keeping with educated practice (see Adams 2007: 140–I, 146).

In Plautus some evidence has been found that deletion is less common in *cantica* than in spoken metres and recitative (see Wallace 1982: 123, 1984a: 221–3). Since the sung parts of Plautine comedy are considered to be more formal in style than the other parts it is possible that in careful speech there was some effort made to maintain *-s*, and the later restoration of the consonant in final position would represent a movement to impose the prestige variant across all stylistic levels (as distinct from a movement to reintroduce a phoneme that had been completely lost in a particular environment). Statistically, however, the distinction between *cantica* and the other parts is not striking (Wallace 1982: 123 notes a deletion rate of 60.2 per cent in spoken verses and recitative, and 43.9 per cent in *cantica*), and it would not do to place too much reliance on it in making generalisations about the nature of the later change. The scansion of *cantica* is notoriously problematic, and any figures to do with deletion of *-s* must be subject to considerable scepticism. Ideally the evidence should have been set out in detail and not in the form of raw figures.

Drexler (1973: 132) observed in early inscriptions a similar stylistic distinction between presence and absence of *-s* to that argued for Plautus by Wallace. He undertook a rough survey of the sacral and funerary inscriptions in Diehl's (1930) selection of early inscriptions and found that 119 sacral inscriptions had complete preservation of *-s* and only twenty-three showed some omissions. By contrast of the funerary inscriptions considered only seven had complete preservation but thirty-two had some omissions. Funerary inscriptions often aspire to an intimate tone. Drexler also noted that in the laws and decrees assembled by Diehl he had found just one case of an omission. These figures are suggestive of a different treatment of *-s* in formal versus informal discourse, though one would like to see an exhaustive survey of all the inscriptions down to about 150 BC. There is also the question whether the variations of spelling are relevant to the spoken language. Drexler's evidence would be consistent with a conclusion that there was widespread loss of *-s* in speech, which was obscured more carefully in formal writing than in less formal.

A finding of Wallace's second paper on Plautus is that deletion was to a considerable extent lexically determined, i.e. that it is far more common in some lexical items than others (Wallace 1984a: 218, 223–5). This is the

phenomenon again of lexical restriction (see above, IV.4): a sound change will not suddenly occur in all terms in which it is possible but will begin in some words and spread gradually (see Wallace 1984a: 223–5 for discussion). The change may stop and fail to affect all lexical items. In our case it seems to have been reversed.

2.3 Questions

Was there any continuity between usage in the earlier Republic, when *-s* was often left out in inscriptions from Italy, and Romance, where it was lost in Italy? If *-s* was restored in educated speech by the late Republic (except perhaps in that of eccentrics who preferred to follow the *auctoritas* of the ancients), was the restoration also widespread in non-educated usage, as revealed perhaps by imperial documents that are otherwise badly spelt? Or was Cicero right in the strict sense to say that the omission was ‘rather rustic’? Was there a distinction between educated and non-educated practice?

The case can be made that there is only one conclusion fully justified by the evidence. Final *-s* was restored right across the social spectrum and in all areas by the early Empire, and it was maintained for centuries. The loss that shows up in Italian and some other Romance languages must have occurred very late, and was not a direct continuation of the situation obtaining in the archaic period.

In the following sections we will consider, first (2.4), non-literary documents (some of them of relatively recent publication) excluding inscriptions on stone, which raise special problems of interpretation; then inscriptions themselves (2.5), drawing on discussions of *-s* that go back more than a hundred years; and finally (2.5.5, 2.7.2) the view that there was indeed a direct link between the early period and late Latin/Romance.

2.4 The evidence of non-literary documents other than epigraphic

The stability of *-s* during the Empire is suggested by the rarity of its omission in non-literary texts that by contrast omit *-m* constantly (for this methodological point see Väänänen 1966: 81: it is the contrast that is important), and display many other phonetically inspired spelling errors.⁵ These texts are spread over about four centuries, and all present the same

⁵ On the necessity of examining misspellings in inscriptions comparatively see Adams (2007: 635–6 and the whole of Chapter x); also above, II.2 (iv).

picture. They have tended to be disregarded by those discussing *-s* even in recent times.

In the Bu Njem ostraca there are about 363 cases of *-s* written against no cases of its omission. By contrast *-m* is in effect more often omitted than written (Adams 1994b: 106–7, and above, 1.3). It is left out forty-four times and written fifty-four, but eighteen of the latter cases are accounted for by the formulaic greeting *salutem*, which scribes knew how to spell. It may be left aside.

In a much later African corpus, the *Tablettes Albertini* (of the 490s), the contrast is similar. The omission of *-m* is ‘très fréquente’ (Väänänen 1965: 29; cf. Courtois *et al.* 1952: 68), but Väänänen (1965: 30) lists only four cases of the omission of *-s* in the nominative masculine ending *-us*, all of them in names, three in a long list of names (*Tabl. Alb.* xxx.9) of which most have the correct spelling. The omissions must be slips. A few other apparent omissions, such as *eiusdem gemioni* (xv.17) and *ponderi plenum* (vii.16), reflect confusions of case or declension rather than a phonetic development (*ponderi* is obviously an ablative: see further Väänänen 1965: 30, 35).

In the letters of Terentianus, in which *-m* is constantly omitted (see above, 1.3), there are forty cases of *-s* written after a short vowel (it is written correctly even more often after long vowels: see further below) against just one omission. That is a special case (Terentianus 471.21 *pater meu sopra*), with an *s* following; for this type of omission see above, 2.2 and Carnoy (1906: 183), Proskauer (1910: 108), Väänänen (1966: 77, 79), Adams (1977a: 30 with n. 112), Butterfield (2008: 194), and particularly Quint. 9.4.37 (below, 2.5.5). There is a second omission at 468.25 *subtalare ed udones*. Here the preceding vowel is long, and in that position final *-s* is preserved to an overwhelming extent throughout Latin (see e.g. Väänänen 1966: 77, Adams 2003b: 538). It is not clear what lies behind occasional omissions after a long vowel: a regional variety of Latin, a social dialect or a mere slip? The last possibility is not unlikely, given the infrequency of the phenomenon. Also worth noting is the use of *si qui* for the expected *si quis* at 468.41, before *sibi*. This is not a mere omission, because *qui*, with a long vowel, is a different word from *quis*, with a short, but the switch from the one word to the other was from the early period (Plautus) often motivated by a feeling against *s* + *s* at a word boundary (see E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.82–3 on *si quis* versus *si qui*).

In the ostraca of Wādi Fawākhir (letters bearing the name of Rustius Barbarus) of about the second century *-s* is written fifteen times after a short vowel and thirty-one times after a long vowel, and never omitted (see

however Cugusi 1981: 743 on the interpretation of *fasco coliclos* at 2.11). On the omission of *-m* in this small corpus see Cugusi (1981: 743).

In the Vindonissa tablets there are fifty-six cases of *-s* correctly written after a short vowel (often in personal names in *-us*), with no omissions.

In the Bath curse tablets there are about 123 instances of *-s* correctly written after a short vowel. These are often in personal names in *-us*. Tomlin (1988: 76) notes two omissions, *Suli* for *Sulis* alongside *deae* at 94.5 (but here there is probably confusion with the dative), and *sua* alongside *mentes* at 5.5 (but here the omission is after a long vowel).

In the Vindolanda tablets there is just one omission found to date (*Tab. Vindol.* 643 (ii) *habea*), and that too is after a long vowel (Adams 2003b: 538).

In the Carlisle writing tablets (see Tomlin 1998) there is an omission in a nominative name in *-us* (*Tab. Luguval.* 18.1 *Primu et Anoncleus*). In this small corpus there are about thirty-six instances of *-s* correctly written, and not infrequently in the nominative of personal names (as in *Anoncleus* above alongside *Primu*; cf. e.g. *Tab. Luguval.* 16, a long text with a number of such names; also 17, 38).

In the documents of C. Novius Eunus (*TPSulp.*) *-s* is written eighty-three times and omitted twice (see Adams 1990a: 237). Both omissions are after a long vowel. In one case (*TPSulp.* 68.3.3 *de singulos* for *dies singulos*) an *s* begins the next word. In the other (68.3.4 *nummo obligatum*) there might have been a confusion of case in a syntactically difficult legal formula (cf. 68.5.14 *HS xx nummos obligatum iri*). On the omission of *-m* see Adams (1990a: 236–7).

It is also worth observing the practice of the curse tablets that had been published by the second decade of the twentieth century (notably by Audollent 1904). Jeanneret (1918: 58–60) collects and discusses omissions in these tablets. Eighteen omissions are noted, compared with 650 omissions of *-m* (59), and the omissions of *-s* can mostly be explained away (60), because the letter would be at the end of a line (on the significance of this factor, see below, 2.5.1), or because *s* follows, or because the interpretation of the tablet is not certain.

The evidence of this substantial group of documents suggests that after short vowels there had been a restoration of *-s*. The stray examples after long vowels are so infrequent that no linguistic theory can be based on them.

It is, however, worthwhile to raise at this point another methodological question. It is in theory possible that a single misspelling or small cluster of misspellings in a corpus that otherwise spells the form in question correctly

may reveal the true state of the spoken language, which had otherwise been concealed by scribal correctness (on this point see Adams 1995a: 87, 2007: 44, and below, 3.4, p. 154). One might therefore suggest that (e.g.) the spelling *Primu* in the Carlisle tablet above betrays the deletion of *-s* that had taken place in speech. There is an argument that can be advanced against such a conclusion in the case of *-s*. Much depends on whether there are other texts in which the misspelling is common. A tiny handful of cases of *e* for *ae* in one or two Vindolanda tablets can with confidence be taken to represent a feature of speech intruding for once into the written language, because we know from a host of other misspelt texts that *ae* had been monophthongised. The instance of *-s* omitted at Carlisle is rather different. We do not know from a host of other texts of the period that *-s* had been deleted at all. Omissions are consistently very few or non-existent in corpus after corpus, or subject to mechanical explanations, and that despite the fact that in the same corpora phonetic spellings of other types are commonplace. To undermine the view that is being put forward here about the generalised restoration of *-s* in the imperial period one would need to find at least one text in which instances of deletion were frequent and not readily explained away.

The most remarkable evidence to do with final *-s* comes from the graffiti of La Graufesenque in southern Gaul, of the first century AD, as described by Marichal (1988: 68–70); see also Flobert (1992: 108–9). In this archive there are texts in Gaulish and texts in Latin. Personal (masculine) names either have the Celtic ending *-os* or the Latin *-us*. The incidence of reduction by omission of the final consonant varies strikingly between the two types. Marichal (1988: 69) summarises as follows. If Latin personal names or names that have been Latinised with the ending *-us*, and common nouns in Latin texts with an *s*-ending, are considered together, there are 126 occurrences of *-s*, with only a single omission. On the other hand if Gaulish personal names or names that have been Gallicised with the ending *-os*, and common nouns in Gaulish texts that ought to have an *s*-ending, are considered together, there are 349 occurrences of *-s*, with fifty-eight omissions, a proportion of 17 per cent. Marichal convincingly rules out the possibility that the omissions may reflect abbreviation. There seems to be a difference between the state of the two languages, with Gaulish showing a marked tendency to drop the final consonant but Latin showing no such tendency. However the language situation is to be interpreted in the pottery, the contrast between the two languages must be significant. There are various ways of explaining it. Final *-s* might have been so entrenched in Latin speech (ordinary speech, it should be stressed, given the humble social level of the potters) that it was

resilient even when under pressure from the tendency to omission in the other language spoken by the same potters. Alternatively Gaulish potters learning Latin and Latin literacy might have had it drummed into them that they had to write *s* in final position in that language. But it is hard to accept that a mere spelling rule could have had the effect of preserving *-s* in Latin written by such imperfect literates if they had not had Latin pronunciation to guide them.

We may mention finally the Visigothic slate tablets edited by Velázquez Soriano (2004). These are so late (sixth to eighth centuries) that arguably they might be treated as evidence for early Ibero-Romance rather than for practices of the Roman period, but they are worthy of comment because of conclusions that have been based on their apparent treatment of *-s*. Velázquez Soriano (2004: 503) notes that in this corpus *-s* is for the most part preserved, which is in line both with the survival of the consonant in this position in Ibero-Romance (see above, 2.1), and with the practice of the other non-standard Latin documents above. Herman (1995: 71) finds six 'sure cases' of omission, five of them in masculine nominative singulars supposedly written with *-u*. The number is described as remarkable, given the small size of the corpus, and Herman goes on (72) to offer a morphological explanation, arguing that there had been in Spain a neutralisation of nominative and accusative singular in the second declension, causing orthographic uncertainty. An examination of the five cases reveals that none will stand up to scrutiny. At 65.6 the editor prints *Paulus*, not Herman's *Paulu*, and at 40.III.4 *rogitus* not *rogitu*. At 48.4 *Valeriu* is taken by Velázquez Soriano (2004: 274) to show omission of *-m* not *-s*. *Vitellu* at 46.15 precedes a word beginning with *s*. Finally, at 6.7 the incomplete *-egiusnu* is certainly a personal name with *-s* omitted, but the document contains a list of twenty masculine names, nineteen of which are correctly given the *-us* ending, and it follows that the one exception can only be a careless slip. Omission of *-s* is virtually non-existent in this corpus (which is far from small), and the data do not support deductions about the case system.

It would not do to argue on the evidence of the above corpora that there was a continuing loss of *-s* throughout the Empire in rustic (the word of Cicero) or lower-class speech, as all texts are well down the educational scale and from outlying places and *-s* is regularly written. The evidence for the stability of *-s* in African Latin provided by two of the above corpora may be supported from Latin loan-words into Berber dialects (see Bonioli 1962: 109). In Tashelhiyt (the Berber dialect of southern Morocco) the word for 'donkey', *asnus*, retains the *-us* ending, which is lost in Romance reflexes

(see Adams 2007: 572 with bibliography). There is no sign of continuity between the early Republic, where the omission was after short vowels, and the above imperial corpora, in which the occasional examples are as often as not after long vowels.

It is unfortunate that all the texts extant of this type are from provincial regions, and that we have nothing to go on but inscriptions for Rome. Inscriptions raise particular problems of interpretation.

2.5 *Inscriptions*

2.5.1 **Mainly Rome**

According to Bourciez (1946: 51), from about the second century in Italy forms without *s* become dominant again (i.e. after the late republican restoration). This is a generalisation that is not supported by the evidence. The most comprehensive treatment of the inscriptional material is by Proskauer (1910), who deals with the different parts of the Empire, including Rome. The Roman evidence is also set out by Gordon *et al.* (2006: 286–7), with some classifications.

Proskauer (1910) discusses the omission of *-s* in inscriptions in an exemplary manner. She has a long chapter (50–109) in which she identifies reasons for the omission of the letter that are purely technical and nothing to do with pronunciation. Frequently *-s* is left out at the end of a line for lack of space, a factor which causes the omission of other letters as well (51–3). Of particular interest are Proskauer's collections of omissions from *CIL* VI found at the ends of lines in inscriptions that otherwise have final *-s* correctly written. There are more than fifty such cases cited at 54–5 after *u*, most of them in the masculine nominative singular ending (a few are in the form *-ibu*; Gordon *et al.* 2006: 287 section I cite about five instances of *-ibu*).

Proskauer (1910: 94–106) also discusses the abbreviation of frequently recurring words (by the omission of final *-s*). Expressions of time in funerary inscriptions (of the type *uixit annis/menses/dies* and variants, with differing cases) are particularly susceptible to such abbreviation: see Proskauer (1910: 95–103). Many instances are listed from *CIL* VI. Another formula subject to abbreviation is *dis manibus* (Proskauer 1910: 105–6, citing several examples from *CIL* VI).

On the omission of *-s* before another *s* see Proskauer (1910: 108). This phenomenon came up above (2.2, 4), and it was recognised as a euphonic practice by educated Latin speakers themselves (Quint. 9.4.37).

In the nominative of certain Greek personal names (*-a* for *-as*; category h in the list of Gordon *et al.* 2006: 287) the omission represents a morphological change, and is as old as Naevius (who has *Aenea* for *Aeneas*) and found in Cicero (see Adams 2003a: 372 with n. 138; also Quint. 1.5.61). The phenomenon in inscriptions is discussed by Proskauer (1910: 110–17), who cites a large number of examples, including many from Rome.

Probably the largest category of examples cited by Gordon *et al.* (2006: 286) from Rome (section f) consists of supposed genitive singulars of the third declension (*benemerenti* for *benemerentis*; often in names, quite a few of them Greek). These may reflect a conflation of cases or constructions, with a switch into the dative from the genitive or vice versa (see Proskauer 1910: 132–40 ('Kasuswechsel'), citing quite a few examples from Rome). Frequently the *-s* of the genitive singular of a third declension name is omitted immediately after a second declension name ending in *-i* (e.g. *CIL* xv.56 *L. Geli Prudenti*): the ending of the first influences the writing of the second (see Proskauer 1910: 120–1, with about ten examples from Rome).

For *-s* omitted at Rome where there is no obvious reason for the omission see Proskauer (1910: 162–6), listing about forty-four examples, but ten of these follow long not short vowels (165), and are thus not easy to relate to the early Latin omissions after short vowels. These examples do not amount to much, given the vast size of the corpus (some 40,000 inscriptions), and often do not look significant. For example, at 163 Proskauer cites vi.34627 *Aureliu Gaius et Esfesia Retorice Aurelio Gaio filio qui uixit anni [= ann. 1 ? Proskauer] mesibus IX*, where the next name (*Gaius*) has an *s* and the omission may be simply careless.

Proskauer offers conclusions (about the whole Empire, not merely Rome) at 187, which may be summarised. There is no evidence for a weak articulation of final *-s* in popular speech throughout the whole of Latinity. Traces of weakness turn up very late in inscriptions, and only rarely. There was a successful restoration of the *s* during the Republic, and the loss of the phoneme was very late, as the Romance languages started to emerge. There is no evidence for a loss by the fourth century. Proskauer (1910: 187–8) tests her conclusions by looking at curse tablets, which are the worst-spelt documents from the Latin period. In these she finds hardly any evidence for omission of *-s* but constant omission of *-m* (for further details see above, 2.4), and concludes that the evidence does not support the idea that there was a general vulgar loss of *s* in final position.

2.5.2 Pompeii

Väänänen (1966: 77–81) made a similar classification of the types of omissions of *-s* in the Pompeian inscriptions, which are earlier than most of the material assessed by Proskauer. He identified absences determined by material obstacles, abbreviation, a following *s*, metrical necessity and morphological factors, and also some cases of doubtful interpretation. He concluded (81) that in the first century ‘en latin vulgaire, l’*m* final était caduc en toute position et . . . l’*s* final était stable en toute position’.

2.5.3 Spain

Carnoy (1906: 179–99) has a comprehensive discussion of omissions of *-s* in Spanish inscriptions. He notes a variety of mechanical factors, such as omissions at the ends of lines, abbreviations, omissions before *s*, obvious errors by stone cutters, and an alternative genitive form *-i* for *-is*. He concludes (194) that his survey has not revealed any example from which one might argue with any probability for the loss of final *-s* in the Latin of Spain.

2.5.4 Eastern provinces

On final *-s* in the inscriptions of the eastern provinces see Galdi (2004: 79–84). In his corpus there are 125 omissions in the second declension nominative singular, of which sixty-eight are on the edge of the stone. Another twelve are in lists of names arranged in columns, and subject to abbreviation. A further six are on *instrumenta domestica*, where abbreviation again is likely. Five precede *s*. There remain (2004: 81) thirty-four cases which do not have an obvious external cause: thus three quarters of the omissions are mechanical. By contrast he found 137 cases of omission of *-m* in the second declension accusative singular (2004: 118, 123).

On the omission of *-s* in the nominative singular of third declension nouns see Galdi (2004: 176–7), citing only about a dozen cases that are not attributable to a technical cause. Apparent genitive forms without *-s* in Galdi’s material are largely special cases, which can be put down to the conflation of two overlapping formulae, the one with a genitive, the other with a dative, for example *pro salute* + genitive on the one hand and dative of the honorand on the other (see 2004: 187–92). Finally, for dative and ablative plurals in *-ibus* without the *s* see Galdi (2004: 145, 252), but citing hardly any examples.

The great majority (90.5 per cent) of the omissions (113 out of 125) in the second declension are in personal names (Galdi 2004: 84) (though, as we saw in the last paragraph but one, many second declension omissions

can be eliminated as special cases). The same tendency has been found in other corpora (see Gaeng 1984: 58, Herman 1987b: 101). There may be a significance to this fact that it is not so much the nominative singular *-us* in general that is affected, but names in *-us*. Herman (1987b), after drawing attention to the frequency of omission in the nominative of *-us* nouns (100–1) and especially names, goes on (102–3) to make some observations about this and other features of the data. He notes that the frequency of omissions is rather less than that expected when a phonetic development lies behind a misspelling (as for example the loss of final *-m*), and suggests that, rather than a phonetic motivation, the dropping of *-s* in the later period (as distinct, one might add, from early Latin, where a phonetic factor definitely comes into it) may have a morpho-syntactic background. He puts it thus (102), with an imprecision which he calls deliberate: ‘la mobilité de *-s* pouvait correspondre, éventuellement, à un trouble fonctionnel dans l’emploi des formes casuelles en *-s*, avant tout sans doute du nominatif’. More precisely he refers (102–3) to the hypothesis of Carnoy (1906: 199), ‘selon laquelle les cas de chute de *-s* doivent être reliés au remplacement du nominatif par l’accusatif dans un certain nombre de provinces’. There may be something in this idea, though we saw above (2.4, p. 139) that it is not to be applied to the Visigothic slate tablets.

Galdi (2004: 82–3) refers with approval to Proskauer’s view (1910: 187 with Galdi 2004: 82 n. 36), offered on the basis of her examination of late inscriptions, that final *-s* was re-established in pronunciation, such that any continuity between early Latin and eastern Romance may be ruled out. On the other hand there are more signs of omission in this material than in other corpora, and some might be inclined either to agree with Herman (above) or to conclude that in the very late period in the East *-s* was becoming unstable again, particularly in personal names.

2.5.5 Some further views

On final *-s* and *-t* Kiss (1972: 85) says that their tendency to disappear is not spectacular but is apparent nevertheless, and he states that it is manifested particularly at Rome and in Africa (something not borne out by the Bu Njem ostraca or the Albertini tablets). It is also said (85) to be particularly apparent in Dacia. The figures at 85 are meaningless, partly because the percentages for all areas are so low, and partly because Kiss makes no attempt to exclude special cases. His remark about Dacia is at variance with the findings of Galdi. Galdi (2004: 83–4) observes that, of the endings in *-u* in his material that cannot be put down to mechanical causes, most are in the more western of the provinces examined (Noricum, Pannonia and

Dalmatia), and hardly any in the more eastern provinces, including Dacia (for a full list of the provinces studied see Galdi's introduction, xv).

B. Löfstedt (1961: 130), while acknowledging the merits of Proskauer's study, expressed the view that she went too far in her scepticism. After special cases are left aside, he felt that there remained evidence for omission, and he refers (131) to a weak tendency for the weakening of *-s* in Vulgar Latin during the Empire. But Löfstedt did not examine any of the corpora considered in the previous section (some of which were not available to him), which undermine such a conclusion, and did not attach sufficient weight to the minuscule proportion of omissions of *-s* when compared with that of omissions of *-m*.

Wallace (1984b: 570), after referring to the restoration of *-s* in the late Republic, states: 'the reintroduction of *s* in formal styles of speech among higher status groups did not affect all varieties of Latin in Central Italy, and hence did not affect the tendency to lose final *s*. Some evidence exists to show that *s* was being deleted in Central Italy during the Classical period even though there was an overwhelming tendency for *s* to be present on inscriptions'. The evidence offered to support the first part of the last sentence is not convincing.

First, Wallace (1984: 570) says that 'there are a few examples of inscriptions in Rome with final *s* missing during this period', but does not provide the evidence. In any case it is not enough to refer to a few examples without, first, looking at them in context to see if there are special determinants of the omission (see above, 2.5.1), and, second, providing comparative statistics to show the extent of the omission.

It is also stated (1984b: 570) that 'some metrical inscriptions exist which show that although *s* is present orthographically it must be deleted in order to insure metrical regularity'. One example is cited, *CIL* 1².1603 (= *CLE* 362 = *ILLRP* 984), an inscription, according to *CLE*, of the period of Lucretius. It was seen above that in Lucretius the incidence of the phenomenon had declined to about one example every 169 lines, compared with the one example per five lines in Ennius. Since the inscription cited is contemporary with Lucretius, one may quote Butterfield's conclusions (2008: 204) about the status of the usage in Lucretius: 'We have seen that Lucretius employs sigmatic ecthipsis at most on 44 occasions, perhaps as few as 39 . . . It is primarily by force of metre that he occasionally allows the licence, secondarily in passages of a deliberately more archaic and lofty tone. He very rarely employs it outside the fifth foot, and there with very important restrictions.' In the epigraphic poem referred to above there are indeed three instances of ecthipsis in the fifth foot (*deditus fato, traditus*

morti, maioribus matrem). By this period occasional omissions in metrical texts are part of the tradition of poetic writing and are archaising. They cannot legitimately be used to argue for a continuity in speech between the archaic and Romance periods.

Wallace (1984b: 570) says that 'the statements of Cicero and Quintilian indicate that some speakers were deleting *s* during the Classical period'. Quintilian (9.4.38) tells us that Servius Sulpicius dropped final *-s* whenever it was followed by another consonant. He then says that a certain Luranus criticised Servius for his practice, but that Messala (who wrote a book about *s*) stood up for him. Quintilian was talking about a restricted phonetic environment, about which there was controversy.

The passage of Cicero is that referred to above, 2.2, in which Cicero calls the omission of *-s* *subrusticum*. It is possible that he was making an observation about rustic, dialectal or non-elite practice, but if so it remains true that provincial non-literary texts from later centuries that are otherwise badly spelt show no sign of the deletion of *-s*, and this suggests that, even if deletion had lingered on to Cicero's day in lower sociolects, *-s* must have been largely restored after that even among ordinary speakers.

Wallace (1984b: 570) is also inclined to bring in the Pompeian inscriptions, which 'show a fair number of cases of *s*-deletion', but then admits that these have been interpreted in other ways. The reference is to Väänänen, though Wallace cites an earlier edition (1937) of the work cited here as Väänänen (1966). Väänänen's painstaking account of the special factors determining omission in these inscriptions (see above, 2.5.2) cannot be dismissed. Also we now have from the same location (roughly the central Italy to which Wallace refers) and same period (first half of the first century AD) the archive of Eunus from *TPSulp.*, and the conspicuously bad speller Eunus, though often leaving out *-m*, only once definitely omits *-s*, and then before another *s* (and after a long not a short vowel) (see above, 2.4).

Finally, Wallace refers to 'the fact that cases of *s*-deletion become frequent in the second and third centuries AD' as necessitating 'the recognition of continued *s*-deletion during the Classical period in some varieties of Latin'. Evidence for this frequency is not presented. Only the antiquated books of Mohl (1899: 185) and Grandgent (1907: 126), both of whom refer to tiny handfuls of examples, are cited. The studies discussed in 2.5 have shown that when *-s* is left out in inscriptions there are more often than not mechanical determinants at work.

It is incumbent on those who would maintain that there was an ongoing tendency to loss of *-s* to produce a corpus of examples that cannot be explained in any other way. The most systematic attempts to do so are

those of Carnoy, Proskauer, Väänänen and Galdi, and all concluded from detailed studies that *-s* was stable in the period from about the first to the fourth century. The new evidence above (2.4) confirms their conclusions.

There is no evidence here for a submerged feature of what might be called Vulgar Latin in the imperial period. Early medieval manuscripts contain abundant omissions, but are by definition very late (see below, 2.6).

2.6 Manuscripts

Neither non-literary documents nor inscriptions of the Empire support the idea of continuity between the early and late periods, but it would not do to imply that there was never much evidence for the weakening of *-s* in Latin writing. Evidence is to be found in some early medieval manuscripts, particularly from Italy (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 130, 132), and if this has been correctly reported we see here the beginning (albeit very late) of the Romance development. In the *Compositiones Lucenses*, for example, a work which survives in a single manuscript copied in about 800 at Lucca, omissions are frequent, and there are also hypercorrect additions of *-s* (see Svennung 1941: 116). The argument is sometimes advanced that frequent omissions in a manuscript imply an Italian origin (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 132; cf. Josephson 1940: 82–3).

2.7 Conclusions

2.7.1 Final *-s* and social variation

The possible evidence that there might have been a social distinction at some time between the expression and omission of *-s* is threefold. First, omission is said to be less frequent in *cantica* than in other types of Plautine verse. Second, omission is said to be more common in funerary inscriptions than sacral inscriptions in the early Republic. Third, Cicero refers to the omission as *subrusticum*. These three categories of evidence are all republican. None is entirely convincing.

The distinction that has been suggested between Plautine *cantica*, and spoken and recited verses, is not striking. If the figures are accepted at face value it remains true that omission was frequent in *cantica*, with a deletion rate of 43 per cent. This rate is so high that one would not be justified in arguing that there was anything low-register or non-standard about *-s* deletion. Since the scansion of *cantica* is notoriously problematic, a proper account of the evidence would require discussion of the individual cases.

The early inscriptional evidence was not presented comprehensively by Drexler (1973). Not only would all inscriptions down to about 150 BC have

to be examined, but the instances ought to be classified, and special cases of the types that have come up so often in this chapter eliminated. Omissions in the early period are most frequent in masculine names in *-(i)os*, and that fact alone might account for the distinction found by Drexler between funerary and sacral inscriptions. Personal names are an inevitable element of funerary inscriptions, but not of sacral inscriptions.

Cicero's remark is difficult to interpret. Even if he were referring to rural varieties of Latin of which he had knowledge, any such deletion could hardly have persisted, given the later evidence. The most striking finding of this chapter is the consistent writing of *-s* during the Empire in badly spelt documents from scattered provincial places, and this feature suggests that for centuries non-standard, including regional, speech did not differ in this respect from any educated standard.

2.7.2 Archaic Latin and the Romance languages

Whatever the status of the omission of *-s* in the archaic period, *-s* was restored in the educated language by the late Republic. Any attempt to argue that there was a continuity between deletion in the early Republic, and loss in part of the Romance-speaking world a thousand years later, would have to be based on indications that in the intervening period educated varieties differed from lower sociolects in this matter. The badly spelt non-literary corpora discussed earlier are in favour of the view that in uneducated speech of the first three or four centuries AD *-s* was not deleted at all. On the lack of continuity between early Latin and Romance the paper of E. P. Hamp (1959) is worthy of note, with his conclusion at 172.

The evidence of inscriptions concerning *-s* is problematic. In writing on stone several mechanical factors often caused *-s* to be left out, and raw figures for its absence tell us nothing. It has been repeatedly shown that when special cases are put aside omission turns out to be rare in inscriptions.

It is not unusual for linguistic history to repeat itself, but the determinants may differ. It has been suggested that in the very late period apparent omissions may be related to a morphological development, i.e. the assumption by accusative forms of nominative functions.

3 -T/D

3.1 Introduction

The discussion of *t* in final position may be split into two topics. The first concerns the omission of final *-t* (or *-d* in the early period: see below, 3.2) mainly in third person verb forms, singular (*uixi* for *uixit*, *dede* for *deded*)

or plural (*curauerun*). The second concerns the replacement of *-t* by *-d* or of *-d* by *-t* in certain other types of words, particularly monosyllables and grammatical words (see 3.5). Various questions are raised by the first phenomenon. Is an omission in writing necessarily a reflection of a speech habit? Did those who wrote *-t* correctly necessarily pronounce it? Can any continuity in the dropping of *-t* be established between either the republican or the imperial period, and the Romance languages? Are there regional variations to be found either in inscriptions or manuscripts? Were omissions in speech ever socially stigmatised?

3.2 Omission of final *-t/-d* in early Latin and at Pompeii

In early Latin the original secondary ending of the third person singular, *-t*, became *-d* (see e.g. Sihler 1995: 461), and in inscriptions is sometimes omitted (though it may be unclear in a given case whether it is *-d* or *-t* that has been omitted: see Bakkum 2009: 1.93). Omissions are also found in other Italic languages. The same voiced form *-d* was retained in Oscan but lost in Umbrian (Oscan **deded** but Umbrian **dede**: Buck 1904: 80). In Early and Middle Faliscan *-d* is usual, but *-t* also occurs in both Middle and Late Faliscan (Bakkum 2009: 1.93). *-t* from earlier *-ti*, the original primary ending, is retained in Latin, Oscan and Umbrian, though sometimes left out in Umbrian, as in **habe** = *habet* (Buck 1904: 80).

In Faliscan there is sometimes omission of *-t* (the primary ending) in the third person singular of the present tense, as **cupa** = Lat. *cupat* ‘lies’ at Bakkum (2009) no. 305 (see Joseph and Wallace 1991: 166, Bakkum 2009: 1.93, 310 (on the formula in which the verb occurs)).

The early Latin examples of omissions in the secondary ending of the third person singular, with provenance, are as follows (references are to *CIL* 1² unless otherwise indicated):

- 47b dede (Tibur)
- 377 dede (Pisaurum)
- 380 dede (Pisaurum)
- 416 fece (Cales)
- 477 dede (Rome)
- 2438 dede (Minturnae, a Roman colony)
- 2659 iousi (Lacus Albanus)
- ILLRP* 321a cepi (Rome).

In the Forum inscription *CIL* 1².1 the form *kapia* may be equivalent to *CL capiat* (i.e. = *kapiad*), but the next word starts with *d* and there may have been a false word division.

-t was also sometimes omitted after *n* in the third person plural of the perfect tense:

30 dedron (Rome)
ILLRP 107a c]oirauerun (Praeneste).⁶

In the perfect third person plural the complete consonant cluster *-nt* was also sometimes dropped:

22 probaue[r]o (Rome)
 59 corauero (Praeneste)
 61 [d]edero (Praeneste)
 379 dedro (Pisaurum)
 2659 dederō (Lacus Albanus).

These last two phenomena are also a feature of Faliscan (Bakkum 2009: 1.93).

The inscriptional material from early Italy is not extensive, and the above examples represent a suggestive corpus. In the perfect tense there seems to have been some tendency in different parts of Italy for final *-t/d* not to be heard.

In the first century AD there are further Italian cases of omission, most notably in the Pompeian inscriptions, but these are not restricted to the perfect tense: the examples cited by Väänänen (1966: 70) are mainly in the present tense, singular and plural, of both the indicative and subjunctive. They include the following: *CIL* IV.1173 add. p. 204 *quisquis ama ualia, peria qui nosci ama(re)* (= *quisquis amat, ualeat, pereat qui no(n)scit amare*), 4434 *fela*, 8314 *habitan* = *habitant*.⁷ See also below, 3.4, for further possible evidence from the same place and period (the archive of the Sulpicii), and 3.5.2 for *-d* for *-t* in present tense forms at Pompeii. It must be asked whether these omissions (and others not yet mentioned) may be related to developments in the Romance languages.⁸

3.3 Romance

In most Romance languages final *-t* was lost, for example in the present tense; the loss seems at least superficially to be related to the nature of the omissions just seen at Pompeii (found also in the present tense), which,

⁶ *ILLRP* prints this example as follows: c]oirauerun[t . . .]. See Wachter (1987: 246, 252).

⁷ But on the uncertainty of the reading here see Fanciullo (1997: 192).

⁸ Fanciullo (1997: 187–9) believes that in e.g. the first example just cited there is an anticipation of the Italian phenomenon known as RS (*rafforzamento sintattico*), and he interprets the first line as: *quisquis ama [uu]alia [pp]eria [kk]ui nosci amare*. The case is unproven.

as was noted, differ from those in early Latin (found in the perfect). It was mainly in the Romance of France (also Sardinia) that *-t* was preserved, into the medieval period (see e.g. Rohlfs 1966: 434–5 (on Italy), Vincent 1988a: 37, Harris 1988: 213 (on Old French), Jones 1988: 326 (on Sardinian), Väänänen 1981a: 69, Weiss 2009: 515). Thus *cantat* > OFr. *chantet*, but It., Sp., Pg., Prov. *canta*; *cantant* > OFr. *chantent*, but Prov., Cat., Sp. *cantan*, Pg. *cantam* (see Väänänen 1981a: 69). According to Elcock (1960: 342–3) final *-t* in Old French was ‘presumably still pronounced during the ninth and tenth centuries, but the evidence of scansion confirms that it had ceased to be articulated by the end of the eleventh’ (see too B. Löfstedt 1961: 136). Opinions differ about the date of its loss in France (contrast Väänänen 1981a: 69), but there seems to be agreement that it was maintained until quite late.

Given the signs that in the Latin of Italy from quite early onwards *-t* was prone to be dropped, and given that it was lost for the most part in Italo-Romance, there has been a tendency to argue for a continuity between usage in the Vulgar Latin of the Roman period in Italy, and that in the later Romance dialects of the peninsula, and also to imply that there might have been regional differences in Latin, between Italy and France.

3.4 *The imperial Latin evidence and possible continuity*

B. Löfstedt (1961: 135) notes that the omission of *-t* in verb endings is attested very early in Italy, at least since the Pompeian inscriptions. The phenomenon goes back rather further, as was seen above (3.2), to republican inscriptions. Löfstedt says that omission is common in Italian inscriptions and in Italian manuscripts, and he relates this to later Romance developments, in that the loss of *-t* was standard in Italian. Rohlfs (1966: 434) is cited with approval as tracing the Italian feature back to Vulgar Latin.⁹ Löfstedt did not go so far as to suggest that there might have been regional variation in the Roman period. On the contrary, he stated that the weakening of *-t* must have been a general feature of Vulgar Latin, and went on to observe that omissions are found in the inscriptions of Africa and Spain,¹⁰ and also Gaul (1961: 136). Similarly Pirson (1901) lists omissions from Gallic inscriptions (101), and makes the general point (102) that in this respect (and in the omission of final *-s*, which is treated alongside that of *-t*) the

⁹ Rohlfs notes that the *-t* survives in the third person singular of verbs in more northern parts of Calabria and more southern parts of Lucania.

¹⁰ For Spanish evidence see Carnoy (1906: 175–6).

epigraphic language of Gaul is not distinguished from that of other provinces. Löfstedt also cites some evidence of omission in manuscripts from Gaul, though noting that it is rare in these (1961: 136), in contrast to those from Italy (135).¹¹ Battisti too (1949: 139) mentions examples in early medieval Gallic texts (the *Formulae Andecauenses* and Fredegar). Önnersfors (1975: 9), writing of the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*, was incautious in using omissions in a manuscript as evidence for its Italian origin (see Adams 2007: 504–5). The evidence from Italian versus Gallic texts has not been presented in statistical form, and in any case medieval manuscripts are not a good guide to the state of the language, because scribes tried to get things right, and variations in educational level, rather than the regional origins of writers and their patterns of speech, might be the determinant of the varying frequency of an error. Indeed a medical text might just as well have been written in Africa (a significant source of Latin medical works) as in Italy, and Löfstedt cites evidence from Africa for the omission of *-t* (see above). The manuscript of the *Physica* may have been written in Italy, but the case is hardly to be proved on this evidence.

There is no clear-cut inscriptional evidence from an earlier imperial period for any regional variations across Spain, Gaul, Italy and Africa in the treatment of final *-t*. In the inscriptions of Britain too, which are generally well spelt and also less numerous than those from some other parts of the Empire, omissions are found (C. Smith 1983: 926). Regional variation, if it existed, cannot be established. Something further must now be said about the possibility that there might have been continuity between republican/imperial Latin and Romance, whether in Italy or elsewhere.

What should be stressed about the omission of *-t* in inscriptions is its relative infrequency, compared again with the omission of *-m*. A list of instances cited in isolation may be misleading, given that the corpora from some areas (notably Rome) are vast. Comparative statistics are needed, or at least an indication of the size of the corpus. In inscriptions there are also extra-linguistic or special factors that could cause the letter to be left out (see below), and lists may take no account of these. The problem of interpreting omissions of *-t* is much the same as that of interpreting omissions of *-s*, though it is probably true to say that more attention has been given to *-s*.

¹¹ According to Svennung (1941: 115) omissions are found very often in the *Compositiones Lucenses*, the manuscript of which, as we saw, was copied around 800 at Lucca; cf. Geyer (1885: 42–3). That may be a reflection of a feature of the language spoken locally at that time, but need not of course represent a regional peculiarity.

Another question that must be addressed, as we will see, is whether omissions, if not due to practical causes, may sometimes be a sandhi phenomenon, in the sense of reflecting assimilation within a consonant cluster across a word boundary. There is a fundamental difference between this type of omission, and the generalised, unconditioned, loss of a phoneme in a particular position.

Documentary evidence, largely non-epigraphic, is assembled here from Rome, Africa,¹² Egypt, Gaul, Britain, Spain and Pompeii. Africa, as we saw, was mentioned by Löfstedt as a region in which omission occurs, and there is good non-literary evidence from there.

Cases of the omission of *-t* in verb forms (singular and plural) in the Roman inscriptions published in *CIL* VI are collected by Gordon *et al.* (2006: 288). A quick count turns up about eighty-eight examples. This may seem a high figure, but there are, as we have noted, about 40,000 Roman inscriptions, many of which have third person verb forms, and the eighty-eight represent a minute proportion. Many of the examples are in two verb forms, *fecerun* and *uixi*, and extra-linguistic factors (such as convention, limitations of space, syntactic confluences, stonemasons' errors, the last alluded to by Gordon *et al.*) may have played a part. By contrast the omission of final *-m* is so constant that Gordon *et al.* (2006: 279) are unable to list occurrences: they state that it occurs *passim* in the nominative singular neuter, the accusative singular and the genitive plural. A desideratum would be a contextual analysis of the Roman omissions of *-t*.

In the Bu Njem ostraca from Africa there are twenty-nine cases of the plural ending *-nt* and twenty of the singular ending *-t*, and no certain omissions of the final *-t*. At 94 the letters]*bun* occur in a line otherwise containing nothing. At 110 *accepi* is certainly first person. There are thus forty-nine cases of *-t* written and no certain case of its omission. The figures contrast with those for the omission of *-m*, which is in effect more often left out than written (see above, 2.4).

Several centuries later in the African corpus the *Tablettes Albertini* the situation is much the same. The omission of *-m* is described by Väänänen (1965: 29) as very frequent (cf. 2.4), but he cites (30) just five cases of the omission of *-t* in what is a large corpus (cf. Courtois *et al.* 1952: 70, citing three examples). Four of Väänänen's instances are in monosyllables (*au*, *es* three times; for the latter form see below), and the other in a compound

¹² A good deal of the material collected by Kiss (1972: 46) is from Africa. See also Hoffmann (1907: 23–4).

with *es* as its second part (*abes*). Final *-t* in monosyllables has its own tendencies (see below, 3.5), but what is most striking about this small group of examples is that in three of the five cases the *-t* would have been in a three- or fourfold consonant cluster across a word boundary (VII.5 *es primo*, VII.21 *au questionem*, XXVIII.6 *es Felix*). There seems to have been simplification of a consonant cluster of much the same type as that seen in Cicero's *posmeridianas* for *postmeridianas*: *Orat.* 157 *et posmeridianas quadrigas quam postmeridianas quadriiugas lubentius dixerim* (Cicero would himself rather say *posmeridianas* than *postmeridianas*). Simplification (contact assimilation) is not the same as a generalised loss of a final consonant (see further below, 3.4.1). There is hardly any evidence in this large, badly spelt corpus for the loss of final *-t*. It is obvious that in a comprehensive discussion of *-t* all examples should be quoted in context so that the possible influence of a following consonant may be assessed. Jeanneret (1918: 63), dealing with another corpus, aptly remarks that the treatment of final *-t* 'était sans doute subordonné à l'initiale du mot suivant, mais l'orthographe, dans la majorité des cas, maintenait *-t*'. See further below on his corpus.

In the letters of Terentianus there are fifty-one verb forms with final *-t* (forty-five singulars in *-t* and six plurals in *-nt*). The only example of an omission is at 469.3 *si potes<t> fieri*, but this may be a conflation of (*si*) *potest fieri* with *si potes* (which occurs later in the letter) (see however below on Audollent 1904 no. 272.A.7). Again the consistency with which *-t* is written in final position contrasts with the frequency with which *-m* is omitted (see above, 1.3). At 471.19 the *-t* of *post* is dropped before *paucos*, another simplification of a threefold consonant cluster. *Pos*, the etymon of Romance forms (see *TLL* x.2.158.25ff.), is well attested in low-register Latin texts (see Adams 1977a: 29 with n. 109), including Pompeian graffiti (see Väänänen 1966: 71, citing e.g. *CIL* iv.6820 *pos fata*, 4966 *posquam*). See now the full treatment of the form at *TLL* x.2.156.60ff., from which it emerges that the vast majority of omissions are before a word starting with a consonant (particularly *t*), though the loss must eventually have spread to the pre-vocalic position, as there are some instances of *pos obitum* and one or two other such combinations (*TLL* x.2.157.38ff.).

The above three corpora cover the period c. AD 100–496. All are badly spelt, not least in the frequency with which another final consonant is left out. Together they display no trace of a general loss of final *-t*. The few examples seen are special cases, with sandhi phenomena notable.

There are no omissions in the documents of Rustius Barbarus in *O. Faw.*, but that means nothing because *t* is rarely found in final position in the corpus.

In the curse tablets considered by Jeanneret (1918: 63–4) omission is noticeable in third person verb forms, especially in the plural. Jeanneret cites instances of *potes* for *potest*, one of which (Audollent 1904 no. 221.7) is before a vowel (*potes ilos*), and cannot be explained as reflecting consonantal simplification. In the plural he lists eleven instances, including three in a single sentence (Audollent 1904, no. 272.A.II–12 *cadan frangan disiungantur male guren palma*). The same document also has *possin* (13, at the end of a sentence), but on the other hand *cadant*, *Blandus* (9). Almost all omissions are before a consonant (indeed in the first word of *cadan frangan* before a double consonant), but at III.3 a compound of *esse* shows an omission before a vowel (*adsin ad Plutonem*).

Marichal (1988: 67–70) deals with final consonants in the graffiti of La Graufesenque. The special case of *-s* came up earlier (2.4). For the dropping of *-m* see Marichal (1988: 67). No omission of *-t* is noted.

In Vindolanda tablets no omissions have been noted.

Tomlin (1988: 76) lists five omissions in the Bath curse tablets. One (38.II *pertuleri*) is put down tentatively to lack of room at the end of the tablet, and another (97.6 *habe* apparently for *habeat*) is said to be due possibly to an oversight. It is not a straightforward omission, and may reflect a conflation of two verb forms, imperative for jussive subjunctive. The remaining three instances are all in the same tablet (5.2, 5.4, 5.9), a text which has no sure case of a verb form that keeps *-t*: at 5.6 *perd[at]* has a reconstructed ending. Two of the omissions are at the end of a line, but that is not so with *[p]erdidi mani(cilia)* at 5.2. There is, however, a doubt hanging over this example, because a first person verb would suit the context: indeed *perdidi* in the next tablet is taken by the editor to be in the first person. A cluster of omissions in a single text might in theory hint at a feature of the spoken language that is otherwise obscured by the spelling system (see above, 2.4, p. 138), but in this tablet every instance is open to a special explanation.

In the Visigothic slate tablets from Spain Velázquez Soriano (2004: 501) notes that omissions are few (and one of them, *aiute* at 103, precedes a word beginning with *t*). There is one text (104: see also Herman 1995: 70) in which they are more common than usual, but it is extremely late (ninth or tenth century).

In the final line of the scriptura interior of *TPSulp.* 51, in the hand of C. Novius Eunus, there is an odd error that might just be explicable if Eunus (perhaps taking the text down from dictation) was not accustomed to hearing a final *-t* in verb forms: *que ab omni ui periculo meo est, [[dico]] fateor*. The correct formula has *esse* not *est*. *Est* is wrong also because the

subject *que* (= *quae*) is plural. If the person assumed to be dictating tended to drop the final short vowel of *esse* or to articulate it weakly Eunus might have interpreted *ess* as = *est*, but only if the *-t* of *est* was regularly lost in pronunciation. Twice (52, 67) Eunus writes *ets* for *est* and once *et*, alongside several correct spellings of the term. He also wrote *non{t}* at 68 (see Adams 1990a: 238). Could these various misspellings indicate that *t* was not heard in *est* or after *n* (in verb forms)? If Eunus heard *est* as *es(s)* but was aware that there was a *t* in the written form he might sometimes have put *t* in the wrong place. Similarly if he habitually wrote *-t* after *n* in third person plural verb forms without hearing the *-t*, he might mechanically have added *-t* to *non*. But it would not do to base a theory on evidence as problematic as this.

Omissions in the verb 'to be' are, however, not infrequent. *Es* = *est* was seen above three times in the Albertini tablets, and it also occurs in inscriptions from Dalmatia (see Mihăescu 1978: 211 §182); on its Romance outcomes see Väänänen (1981a: 69) and Wright (2011: 67). We also saw above *potes* for *potest* in Terentianus and in curse tablets, *abes* for *abest* in the Albertini tablets, and *adsin* and *possin* in curse tablets. Kiss (1972: 46–7) cites two examples of *es* for *est* from inscriptions, another from the Ravenna papyri along with an instance of *abes* for *abest* from the same corpus, and *es* for *abest* from a bilingual Virgilian glossary (see CPL 8.945 *effata es*). His list also contains *sun* for *sunt* from an inscription. Gordon *et al.* (2006: 288) list examples both of *es* and *sun* from Roman inscriptions.

A feature of lists of omissions from corpora of inscriptions on stone (see e.g. B. Löfstedt 1961: 127 for references to the indexes of volumes of *CIL*; also Diehl 1910: 163) is just how short they usually are in relation to the size of the corpora. Pirson (1901: 101) lists from the inscriptions of Gaul instances that occupy just nine lines. Carnoy's Spanish examples (1906: 175–6) number scarcely more than a dozen. Kiss (1972: 46–7) cites about a page of examples, but they are from all over the Empire. The instances cited by Hoffmann (1907: 23–4) from African inscriptions are not extensive.

There are also special factors that have to be allowed as possible determinants of omission. Carnoy (1906: 176) notes that omissions are sometimes made on the edge of an inscription. The same goes for omissions on *instrumenta domestica*. Other 'omissions' (or additions of *-t* where it does not belong) may be due to the conflation of two interchangeable constructions. In funerary inscriptions and some legal documents the agent of the action described (the one setting up the funerary monument or, say, acknowledging a debt) may use either the third or the first person of himself, and if the two constructions are conflated a verb form that is first person may

look like a third person without final *t* (see Adams 2003a: 59, and above on *perdidi* in a Bath curse tablet). A possible case of syntactic conflation in a letter of Terentianus was noted above.

Another factor came up above in relation to the Albertini tablets. A systematic account of the omission of final *t* in inscriptions and non-literary documents would record the following word. In environments in which the *t* would follow a consonant (as in *est* or *curauerunt*) and precede another its omission might represent not an unconditioned loss but the reduction of a consonant cluster across word boundaries (cf. Battisti 1949: 140, and above). That such reductions occurred even in educated speech is confirmed by the remark of Cicero at *Orat.* 157 quoted above. For comparable omissions across a word boundary see Terentianus 471.19 quoted above, and *CIL* XIII.1791 *pos templ(um)*. Much of the material cited by Jeanneret (1918: 63–4) from curse tablets in Audollent (1904) might be explained in the same way: e.g. (in addition to the sequence of omissions in a single sentence quoted above) II2.7 *ommutuerun nec*, II2.8 *possun nec*, 273.A13 *cadan, precor*. Note too *CIL* IV.4966 *tabificanque* (Väänänen 1966: 70). In this last inscription there is also a case of *posquam* (see above), and if we take the latter as a simplification of the cluster we should take the other in the same way. Hoffmann (1907: 23) found a tendency in African inscriptions for *-t* to be omitted before a consonant, as distinct from a vowel. The reduction of consonant clusters is admittedly only a partial explanation of the omission of *-t*; not all examples can be explained thus (see the full collection offered by Kiss 1972).

3.4.1 Conclusions

The evidence concerning the omission of *-t* particularly in verb forms is difficult to interpret, perhaps more so than that to do with omissions of *-s*, because scholars have not been so systematic in identifying special factors that might have caused it. It would be unconvincing to maintain that the striking accumulation of omissions in a single curse tablet (see above, 3.4, p. 154) did not represent phonetic spellings, given that there are no obvious mechanical factors to invoke, such as lack of space. But the question must be faced in what sense these are phonetic spellings. It would not be justifiable to speak of an unconditioned or generalised loss of the final stop in third person verb forms, because omissions seem to occur mainly before consonants, and not infrequently in the third person plural, where they can be explained as reflecting assimilation within threefold or even fourfold consonant clusters. Väänänen (1966: 70–1), discussing the examples at Pompeii, states that pre-consonantal position was the

initial condition generating the loss ('La condition initiale est encore ici la position devant consonne, comme par exemple dans TABIFICANQVII'). We may perhaps see here the beginnings of the development that was to lead to a generalised loss in many Romance languages, but the Latin examples, which appear to be mainly in a particular environment (before consonants), and the Romance loss, which is unconditioned, are not strictly comparable. It is, however, possible that the persistent omissions in forms of the verb 'to be', particularly *es* for *est* (and in compounds), reflect a more widespread weakening in that lexical item. And as for the question whether this conditioned loss might be described as a characteristic of lower sociolects, loosely Vulgar Latin, we have the explicit testimony of Cicero himself that he would prefer to say *posmeridianas* rather than *postmeridianas*, and that suggests that if there is a vulgarism to be seen here it is purely one of spelling.

A definitive account of omissions in inscriptions is lacking. Scholars (e.g. Carnoy, Pirson and Gordon *et al.*) have tended to list examples out of context, without indicating what follows, whether the omission is at the end of a line,¹³ and whether it is in a formula that occurs as well in a first person variant with which it might have been conflated (the list provided by Kiss 1972: 46–7 is better in this respect). What is needed is a more systematic presentation of the evidence, with statistics as well, and a separate treatment of omissions in plural verb forms (where assimilation of a consonant cluster is more likely to be a determinant) and of those in the third person singular. In the absence of such an account we may tentatively say that direct continuity between the Latin evidence and the Romance omission is unproven, but that the first steps along a long path had been taken, in the form of loss in particular phonetic environments.

3.5 *Monosyllables and grammatical words*

A common misspelling in inscriptions and non-literary documents consists in the writing of *-d* for *-t* in final position, or conversely *-t* for *-d*. The *d*-spelling is sometimes interpreted as a form of weakening prior to loss, a view that may owe something to developments in Oscan and Umbrian. The

¹³ Battisti (1949: 140) lists quite a few inscriptional examples of third person plural verb forms of the types *-un -um* or *-u* for *-unt* without giving any context, and a quick glance at these suggests that they are often at the end of a line. Leumann (1977: 221) also cites numerous instances of such forms without context, referring to 'Vulgärlatein'. Iliescu and Slusanski (1991: 38 n. 131) by contrast are careful to note that in the phrase *posuerun paretenes* (sic), which occurs in a Spanish inscription in their anthology, *-t* is omitted before *p*. The material cited by Diehl (1899: 286–7) and also Leumann (above) might be worth further investigation.

secondary ending *-t* in the third person singular was voiced to *-d* in Oscan (**deded**) but lost in Umbrian (**dede**) (see above, 3.2). So Carnoy (1906: 175), after listing some misspellings from Spanish inscriptions showing interchange of *-d* and *-t*, cites Lindsay (1894: 123) as seeing in the use of *-d* for *-t* in final position 'un indice d'un affaiblissement de cette consonne, précurseur de sa disparition'. However, the misspelling *-d* for *-t* does not occur haphazardly but is restricted in distribution (early Latin verb forms are not relevant here). There is hardly any such alternation, for example, in verb forms (but see below, 3.5.2, and n. 14). The misspellings can be put into one or both of two overlapping categories. First, many are in monosyllables or grammatical words, or alternatively in what might be seen, rightly or wrongly, as compounds containing such monosyllables or grammatical words (e.g. *adque* for *atque* or *quoa*t for *quoad*). The final consonant of such grammatical words is regularly assimilated in some way to the following phoneme, even when that final consonant is not *-t* or *-d* (see e.g. 1.2 on final *-m* and *-n*). Second, misspelling was generated particularly when there existed a pair of words differing only in their final stop; the two were conflated orthographically by careless spellers (e.g. *ad/at*, *quod/quot*, *id/it*, *reliquit/reliquid*;¹⁴ into this category also fall the spellings *idem* for *item* and vice versa, though the confusion is not word-final). Thus for example in speech the stop of *ad* would have been assimilated in voice to *t* before, say, *te* (*at te*: see below, 3.5.2), but misspelling was further prompted by the existence of a form *at*.

There are *testimonia* in grammarians and others that throw light on these phenomena. Other evidence lies in misspellings in texts. The two sources are considered in turn.

3.5.1 Grammarians

Quintilian (1.7.5) observes that many (scholars) have sought to preserve a distinction between *ad* with a *d*, used as a preposition, and *at* with a *t*, used as a conjunction: *illa quoque seruata est a multis differentia, ut 'ad', cum esset praepositio, D litteram, cum autem coniunctio, T acciperet*. One such, from a later period (second century, if the work in question is genuinely his), was Terentius Scaurus (*GL* VII.11.8–9). Colson (1924: 93) *ad loc.* notes Quintilian's apparent indifference to the distinction and describes it as surprising and not paralleled in the grammarians. The point must be that in speech even of the educated the final consonant was assimilated in voice

¹⁴ *Reliquid* was influenced by *quid*: see Adams (1977a: 29). *Reliquid* (and *inquid*) cannot be used to justify any conclusions about developments in third person verb endings in general, as one would need cases of misspellings in verbs of different phonetic structures.

to what followed, and that the attempt to preserve a distinction between the forms of the two words was futile. If some grammarians were resistant to the merging of *ad* and *at*, their resistance probably reflects a concern with the written rather than the spoken language. Quintilian's indifference to the rule provides indirectly one of those rare pieces of information about educated speech, which must have been no different in this respect from that of speakers down the educational scale. A 'vulgarism' such as *at* for *ad* is a vulgarism only of spelling. Quintilian's evidence ties in with that of Cicero in a slightly different connection: Cicero reveals, again indirectly, that in educated speech final *-m* in monosyllables and grammatical words was assimilated to a following consonant (see above, 1.2).

The second-century grammarian Velius Longus was more prescriptive than Quintilian, in a remark about *apud*: *GL VII.70.6 non dubitatur uero quin 'apud' per d scribi <debeat>, quia nulla praepositio t littera finitur*. It is obvious that Velius is talking about spelling not speech. For *aput* *te* see e.g. *P. Mich.* VIII.472.10 (letter of Tiberianus). For other examples of *aput* see e.g. Sommer and Pfister (1977: 203), citing *CIL I².593.15 (Lex Iulia municipalis)*, a text in which *apud* and *aput* alternate.

Another passage of Velius is on the same subject but is less straightforward (*GL VII.70.8–14*):

'sed' uero coniunctio, quamuis lex grammaticorum per t litteram dicat, quoniam d littera nulla coniunctio terminatur, nescio quo modo tamen obrepsit auribus nostris et d litteram sonat, cum dicimus 'progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci audierat.' ubi quaerendum erat, contrane ac loquimur scribendum sit, an secundum scriptionem loquendum.

The conjunction *sed* according to a law of grammarians should have the letter *t*, because no conjunction is terminated with *d*. Nevertheless it has forced itself somehow on our ears, and it has the sound of *d* when we say . . . *sed enim* . . . In this case it would have to be asked whether we should write it differently from the way we pronounce it or pronounce it as we write it.

The passage brings out the problems that grammarians sometimes faced in reconciling spelling rules with pronunciation. The grammarians' rule in the case of *sed* is entirely artificial. Instead of supporting the better-attested form, Velius and others were using analogy to support the abnormal form (*set*). The Virgilian illustration (*Aen.* 1.19) chosen by Velius is a revealing one. He heard in the line a voiced stop before a following vowel, but presumably would have heard a voiceless stop before a voiceless consonant. His remarks are an acknowledgment that even a speaker aware of a

grammarians' rule, as he was, might find that actual speech was at variance with that rule. The rule cited applied to spelling not pronunciation, but it bothered a grammarian who had taken the trouble to listen to the sounds of speech. One must be cautious about taking remarks by grammarians at their face value. If they recommend X the reality may be that X was not the norm but something that they were trying to impose.

The above passages suggest that the attitudes of grammarians were not uniform, and individuals not consistent. Quintilian's apparent acceptance of confusion between *ad* and *at* as something that he could do nothing about implies that assimilation of voice was commonplace among educated speakers (his treatise is not for the uneducated). Velius is more prescriptive, but his remarks about *apud* concern spelling not speech, and, in the case of *set*, though he states a rule, he then acknowledges that the rule is broken in speech, including his own (to judge by the inclusive *dicimus*). On this evidence it would not be justifiable to treat such assimilations of voice as vulgarisms.

3.5.2 Texts

The evidence of non-literary texts and inscriptions shows that the writing of *-d* for *-t* was not a symptom of a general 'weakening' of final *t* but a phenomenon almost confined to the classes of words identified above. Nor was there a falling together of the two stops in final position. Various corpora are here considered in turn.

In the letters of Terentianus final *t* and *d* often interchange in monosyllables and grammatical words (see Adams 1977a: 27–8). There is some variation from letter to letter, reflecting the practices of different scribes (see Halla-aho 2003: 248). Here are some figures for *et* versus *ed*.¹⁵ In letter 467 there are twenty-nine cases of *et* but none of *ed*. In some other respects too the letter is well spelt (Halla-aho 2003: 247–8). By contrast in 468 there are ten cases of *ed* against twenty-eight of *et*. In line 2 *ed* (*domino*) seems to show an assimilation of voice to the following voiced stop, but there is otherwise little sign of any system in the variation between *d* and *t*. *Ed* is written before voiceless consonants six times, and conversely *et* is written before vowels or voiced consonants eleven times. Nevertheless the variation may be put down indirectly to the effects of assimilation of voice. In speech the final stop was assimilated in voice to the following phoneme, and an awareness of that development (particularly, one assumes, before a following *d*) brought the spelling *ed* into existence. The simplicity of a single

¹⁵ For the form *ed* elsewhere see Svennung (1932: 75), with bibliography.

spelling was thereby lost, and some careless spellers oscillated haphazardly between the two forms, indifferent to the sounds of speech. Sometimes they were probably conscious of an assimilation and motivated to write *ed* (as in *ed domino* and *ed dabo* in letter 471, and before vowels), but on other occasions they must have slipped into the second of the two written forms that they knew to exist, even though it was not justified by the sound pattern of the phrase.

Another letter showing variations is 471. There *ed* occurs three times, always before a vowel or voiced consonant, and *et* eight times, it too mainly (six times) before voiced phonemes.

In the first half of the first century AD typical confusions are represented in the small corpus of documents in the hand of C. Novius Eunus (*TPSulp.* 52 *quot*, 68 *quotsi*, *set*: see Adams 1990a: 237).

There are clusters of such misspellings in Vindolanda tablets (Adams 1995a: 91). *At te* is found twice in letter 292. 248 has both *it* and *quot*, and a letter of Octavius (343) has both *quit* and *aliquit* twice.

Assimilation affecting *ad* in non-educated speech is nicely revealed by the Bu Njem ostraca. *At te* for *ad te* occurs six times in the ostraca, and in all there are ten cases of *at* for *ad*, nine of them before a voiceless stop (see Adams 1994b: 107). In some other corpora, as we have just seen, misspellings are not so readily related to their phonetic environments.

The cases of *-d* for *-t* and *-t* for *-d* listed by Gordon *et al.* (2006: 256–7, 287) from the inscriptions of Rome fall into the categories identified at 3.5. First, there is *-d* for *-t* in *adque*, *aliquod*, *deded*, *ed*, *quod* (*quodannis*), *reliquid* (and *idem*). The verb form *deded* is a special case, as this was the early form of the verb, and it lingered on as an old-fashioned spelling. *Reliquid* is also a special case (see n. 14).

Second, there is *-t* for *-d* in *aliquit*, *aliut*, *cot* (= *quod*), *haut*, *illut*, *it*, *quit* (also *quitquit*), *quoat*, *quot*.

Carnoy (1906: 175), after reviewing the two misspellings *-t* for *-d* and *-d* for *-t* in Spanish inscriptions, concludes that it is doubtful whether the Romans (by which he meant nothing more specific than Latin speakers, in this case in Spain) distinguished *-t* and *-d* in final position. But a glance at the misspellings assembled (173–4) shows that they fall into the categories seen above in the Roman inscriptions: it was only in certain classes of words that the confusion occurred. Most of the examples are listed below:

at, atiatorium, atnatus, atuersus, aliutue, aput, haut, it, quit, quitni, quoat, quot, reliquid, set.

Three other verb forms are listed (174), but dated from the seventh to eleventh centuries. As Carnoy notes himself (175), these examples are from a time when the language was dead. Similarly in the Visigothic slate tablets four verb forms in *-d* are in texts of the sixth and seventh centuries (39, 92: see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 502); the corpus also has typical misspellings in grammatical words (Velázquez Soriano *ibid.*).

Abundant material (in grammatical words) from curse tablets is collected by Jeanneret (1918: 56). On the Lombard laws see B. Löfstedt (1961: 138).

Finally, there is a typical set of misspellings in Pompeian graffiti (Väänänen 1966: 70): *at* several times, *quit* several times, *quot* and *cot*, *set* several times.

But at Pompeii there are also three verb forms with *-d*, which cannot be dismissed as readily as the medieval cases from Spain just noted: *CIL* iv.1700 *diced* = *dicit*, 2048 *pedicaud* = *pedicauit*, 2388 *rogad* (Väänänen 1966: 70). If these were all perfects they might be regarded as relics of old spellings such as *feced* in Latin and *deded* in Oscan, but two are present indicatives not perfects. Nor can they be explained from assimilation to the following phoneme (see Fanciullo 1997: 193): while *diced* is followed by *nobis* (with an initial voiced nasal), both *pedicaud* and *rogad* are followed by words beginning with the voiceless stop *p*. A tiny group of examples such as this is difficult to interpret, particularly since the inscriptions are short and puzzling. Was final *-t* weakly articulated in this region in the first century, and subject to loss via voicing? It was seen earlier (3.2) that there are quite a few omissions of *-t* in Pompeian graffiti, notably in present tense verbs, and it is tempting to associate the instances above with those showing an omission. There might have been a peculiarity of Pompeian Latin at this time, but the evidence is not sufficient to be conclusive. See further Väänänen (1966: 70).

4 Some general conclusions: final consonants and social variation

Most of the phenomena discussed in this chapter cannot be put exclusively into a low sociolect.

-m was not articulated in final position in educated speech in any environment by the early Empire, and its omission in badly written texts shows that it would not have been heard in lower sociolects either.

-s was often deleted in a particular phonetic environment in the educated language of the early Republic (after short vowels and before a consonant). It has been suggested that at the time dropping of the consonant in this position was more a mark of informal than formal speech, though the

Plautine evidence has not been fully presented and it needs to be reassessed metrically. Moreover in the *Annals* of Ennius dropping of *-s* was almost universal (see Skutsch 1985: 56: 112 instances, with only one certain exception), and if the phenomenon was so acceptable in the high-style genre epic it is hard to believe that it had a low-register or informal status in the early period. Later, deletion was stigmatised by Cicero as rustic. Since there had obviously been to a considerable extent a restoration of *-s* in the educated language of the late Republic (as evidenced both by Cicero's remark and by changes in verse, with deletion of *-s* largely disappearing), and since from not much later than that *-s* was so consistently written in badly spelt non-literary texts, we would appear to have a linguistic change that worked its way down the social scale, with the prestige attached by most educated speakers to the articulation of *-s* after short vowels and before consonants eventually affecting speakers of lower social dialects. We say 'most educated speakers', because a *testimonium* of Quintilian shows that there were some educated purists in the late Republic who still insisted on dropping *-s* before consonants.

After the early period there are indications that the omission of *-t* was to some extent (at least) a sandhi phenomenon, not an unconditioned loss, and a remark by Cicero suggests that even in his speech it would have been dropped in certain consonant clusters. Thus comparable omissions found, for example, in curse tablets should not simply be assigned to lower social dialects.

Perhaps the most intriguing, albeit indecisive, evidence relating to variation seen in this chapter comes from Pompeian graffiti. There we find some third person verbs in the present tense without *-t*, and also cases of *-d* for *-t*, which might be indicative of a lack of tension in the stop in final position such that it was weakened and subject to loss. The Pompeian graffiti, from well down the social scale, may possibly in this respect display a feature of lower sociolects. However, the truth might be that it is a regional, and not strictly a social, variant that is revealed. Whether these Pompeian phenomena are directly related to the loss of *-t* in Italo-Romance (see 3.2, p. 149 for this question) it is impossible to say.

Contact assimilation

I Introduction

In the history of Latin contact assimilations, whether of voice, place or manner of articulation, were widespread and influenced the shape of the language in all its varieties, literary as well as non-literary. In compound verbs recomposition sometimes reversed an assimilation (e.g. *ad-gero* became *aggero*, but the verb was occasionally recomposed to *adgero*, though probably only in writing),¹ but there are many other assimilations that were no longer noticed because they had long been established even in educated Latin. For example, *summus* 'highest' derives from **sup-mo* (or **supamo*, with syncope). The assimilation of *pm* to *mm* predates the earliest literature. It follows that to describe contact assimilation in general as a Vulgar Latin feature would be wrong.

However, there are four assimilations that had not left a mark on Latin as it appears in written form in the classical period. The assimilations are *kt* > *t(t)*, *ks* > *s(s)*, *pt* > *t(t)* and *ps* > *s(s)*. Whereas (e.g.) *summus* is an invariant form in classical written Latin, the assimilations above do not lie behind established forms of classical words (except in some uncertain cases: see below), nor do they generate occasional variant forms of words in literary Latin. Their attestations are largely in substandard texts of the Empire. Some of them were standard by the time of the Romance languages (e.g. *ps* > *s(s)*), whereas others did not become universal, at least in a straightforward form. The evidence is consistent with a conclusion along the following lines. The four assimilations had not taken place in the prehistoric period, such that they were responsible for certain spellings that were current from the time when Latin was first written. They started to operate later, first in low social varieties. In some cases they came to affect the language as a whole (and hence all the Romance languages), but in others never caught on universally. These are assimilations that can

¹ On assimilation of prefixes see Prinz (1949–50, 1953), García González (1996).

with justification be called features of lower sociolects, at least in the early centuries of the imperial period. They also form a system. That system is first described below, and then evidence for the assimilations in Latin and for their Romance survival is set out. Finally something will be said about possible parallels in other Italic languages. There is an old view that such assimilations in Latin, or some of them, were determined by Italic influence.

2 Non-standard assimilations forming a system

It is a rule of standard Latin down to the imperial period that velar and labial stops are not assimilated in place of articulation to a following alveolar/dental consonant. If the plosives, fricatives and nasals are arranged in series according to the place of articulation (from the back to the front of the mouth), the direction of assimilation that is avoided can be indicated by a dotted arrow:

velar	----->	alveolar/dental	<-----	labial
k		t		p
g		d		b
		s		f
ŋ		n		m

This rule covers all four of the consonant clusters listed above: in educated republican Latin *kt*, *ks*, *pt* and *ps* are not assimilated.

These are all clusters of voiceless stops, but the rule applies also to clusters with at least one voiced stop or nasal. It is only in low-register (imperial) sources that such assimilations occur. A substandard form showing *gd* > *d* is *fridam* = *frigidam* ‘cold water’ at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.1291: see Väänänen 1966: 44). Gk ἀμυγδάλῃ produced *amygdala* in learned language, without assimilation, but there was a stigmatised form *ammidula* (*Appendix Probi* 140 *amygdala non ammidula* (Powell 2007: 698 *ammidola*)) (see Baehrens 1922: 36–7).

In compounds where *ob*, with voiced stop, is followed by voiceless *t* (e.g. *obtero*, *obtestor*, *obticeo*, *obtineo*) the first stop is sometimes devoiced under the influence of the second (*optineo* etc.), but assimilation of place of articulation (of the type *ottineo*) was resisted. *Ab* is sometimes kept apart from *t* by the use of the form *abs* in that environment (*abstuli*, *abs te*).

In *cognatus* (*cognosco* etc.) the voiced velar stop *g* (or, better, the velar nasal [ŋ]) is not assimilated to the alveolar/dental nasal *n*, except in non-standard inscriptions and other low-register texts, where there are a few cases of *con(n)atus* and the like (for statistics from inscriptions see García González 1996: 100; also Jeanneret 1918: 47 for examples in curse tablets, and Prinz 1953: 36 n. 4, citing instances with both *n* and *nn*, *conoui* and *connato*).

m is not as a rule assimilated to *n* (note e.g. *amnis*, *damno*, *damnum* and the overwhelming frequency of the syncopated forms *domnus* and *domna* without assimilation: see *TLL* s.vv.). Only occasionally are assimilations attested in low-register inscriptions, as *danna* at *CLE* 1339.19, *onibus* for *omnibus* at *CIL* x.477 (cited by Herman 2000: 47) and *donne* < *dominae* at *ILCV* 4714B, though they show up in different forms in the Romance languages (It. *donna* but Fr. *dame*; contrast however Rom. *Doamnă* ‘lady’, where the cluster is retained). *-m* was however assimilated to *n* when it was in a monosyllabic proclitic, as in *cum nobis* (see VIII.1.2). The assimilation of the type seen in Fr. *dame* above (for which in Latin see Adams 2007: 455–6) is castigated as a barbarism by Pompeius *GL* v.283.11–13.

In educated Latin assimilation of place of articulation occurs in the direction of the peripheral series of consonants from the central series (e.g. **siticus* > *siccus*(?), *adgero* > *aggero*, *adcupio* > *accipio*, *quidpe* > *quippe*), or from one periphery to the other (e.g. *ecfero* > *effero*, **obcaedo* > *occido*, **subcado* > *succido*, *subcedo* > *succedo*), or within a series (*adseuero* > *asseuero*, *adsiduus* > *assiduus*; a pun at Plaut. *Poen.* 279 shows that *adsum* was pronounced *assum*, ‘roasted’ in opposition to *elixus* ‘boiled’),² but not from either of the peripheral series to the central series.

When this last type starts to appear it is in substandard texts. The persistence of the unassimilated forms well into the Empire (we are not able to cite many cases of assimilation in Latin itself: see the next section) suggests that the educated language long resisted the development.

3 The four assimilations

3.1 kt > t(t)

3.1.1 Classical unassimilated forms

Some examples are: *octo*, *uictor(ia)*, *factus*, *iactus*, *uectus*, *specto* (and many perfect participles).

² Two exceptions to the tolerance of assimilations within series are provided by the combinations *nd* and *mb*, which generally resist assimilation, except occasionally in non-standard sources (see Adams 2007: 409–16).

3.1.2 Assimilated forms

The attempt to push this (and other) assimilations back into the Republic has caused some dubious items to be advanced. Lindsay (1894: 314) derives *blatta* in Laberius (94 Ribbeck, 68 Panayotakis) from **blacta* (cf. e.g. Ernout 1928: 123, Bonfante 1987: 543, 544, and for further bibliography Mancini 2000b: 130–1 n. 87), but the etymology is uncertain (see Panayotakis 2010: 400) and the word is best kept out of discussions of assimilation. The etymology of *brattea* alongside *bractea*, which sometimes gets into discussions of the phenomenon (see Leumann 1977: 196, Ernout 1928: 85, 125–6; for further bibliography see Mancini 2000b: 131–2 n. 87), is also uncertain. The usual literary form is *brattea*, but *bractea* occurs twice in Apuleius (*Met.* 10.30, 11.16: see *OLD*). No conclusions can be drawn from such evidence.

The form *cocturnix* for the usual *coturnix* is attested in part of the manuscript tradition of Lucr. 4.641 (see Mancini 2000b: 131), and at Caper *GL* VII.108.17 *coturnices non cocturnices*. In Plautus the form *coturnix* is scanned with a long first vowel (*Asin.* 666, *Capt.* 1003), whereas from Ovid onwards the *o* is short (see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: 1.282, Leumann 1977: 116, Bonfante 1987: 543). It is commonly stated that *cocturnix* is the older form (e.g. by Walde and Hofmann loc. cit., Bonfante loc. cit., André 1967: 63, Sommer and Pfister 1977: 180, Mancini 2000b: 131), though Ernout and Meillet (1959: 130) are more cautious. They record the word under the form *cocturnix* but state: ‘On n’est pas au clair sur le rapport de *cocturnix* et *coturnix*’. They put down the shortening of the vowel to the influence of *cothurnus*. Bonfante (1987: 543) explained the Plautine scansion from a supposed Plautine form *cott-*, reflecting an assimilation of *kt*, though such a reading has no support from manuscripts. Mancini (2000b: 131–2), on the other hand, who is sceptical about geminated assimilated forms in *-tt-* in the early period, refers rather to a dialectal development [Vkt] > [V:t]. The word was recognised correctly by the ancients as onomatopoeic, and of such formations it is unsatisfactory to be too precise about their ‘etymology’. There is no certainty that the earliest form was *cocturnix*, which is only attested fairly late. The form of the word might have varied along with views about the sound of the bird, not because of a phonetic development. The pair *cocturnix/coturnix* do not provide reliable information about either the chronology or nature of the assimilation of *kt*.

There are collections of inscriptional evidence for assimilation by Mancini (2000a: 50, 2000b: 128), who states that in Latin the development *kt* > *t* is well represented epigraphically from the first century BC, or from the period of the Pompeian inscriptions, and that it is distributed over different regions of the Latin territory ‘con un addensamento nell’Italia centrale’. Twenty-three examples are cited, a minute number in relation to

the vast Latin inscriptional corpus and inadequate for justifying implied generalisations about any regional character. No dates are assigned to the examples, many of which, such as those from Africa and Thrace (*teto* for *tectum* in an inscription at Iliescu and Slusanski 1991: 30), are bound to be late. None is obviously republican. All of Mancini's examples show *t* rather than *tt*, and that spelling certainly predominates. So the inscriptional examples listed by Kiss (1972: 28) have a single *t*. Leumann, however (1977: 196–7), cites *CIL* XI.2537 *Ottobres*, to which can be added *ILCV* 2999c and 3041 adn. At *TLL* IX.2.429.50 just two instances of this word with a single *t* are listed. *Lattuca* for *lactuca* occurs in a fragment of Diocletian's Prices Edict 6.7 (see the apparatus at Lauffer 1971: 110). *Ottabu* (for *octauum*) is at *ILCV* 4036 and *otto* at *ILCV* 4002A (and also in literary manuscripts: see *TLL* IX.2.426.27ff.). At *CIL* VI.17213 there is *Aepittetus* for *Epictetus* (Gordon *et al.* 2006: 287 col. 2).

Väänänen (1966: 63) lists ten instances of such assimilations at Pompeii (e.g. *Otaus* = *Octauus* at *CIL* IV.4870), all of them showing one *t*. He says that the assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* is scarcely attested in Latin outside examples from Pompeii. This remark is slightly misleading, as is already clear from the material that has been cited (see further below). The same form *Otaus*, for example, is quoted by Kiss (1972: 28) from a papyrus list (first century AD) of soldiers of the legions III Cyrenaica and XXII Deioteriana (*CPL* 110 col. II.4; cf. *CIL* IX.154 *Otauo*). Väänänen gave a fuller account of the phenomenon later (1981a: 65). It is, however, true that the first clear-cut evidence for the assimilation is that at Pompeii, either because in Pompeian graffiti we catch a glimpse for the first time of real substandard Latin, or because of Oscan influence in the area (see below, §). An early example of *Vitoria* from Praeneste (*CIL* I².550), possibly of the third century BC, has been taken as an error (Wachter 1987: 146), a local form,³ or as due to interference from Etruscan (Mancini 2000a: 49, 2000b: 126). Usually at Praeneste the name has the form *Victoria*.⁴

A few other bits and pieces of evidence might be cited. At *Tab. Vindol.* 600.ii *ueturae* is for *uecturae*, of a wagon (see Adams 2003b: 559). There is another example of the same form in a new tablet (862; see Bowman, Thomas and Tomlin 2010). For *inuito* = *inuicto* see *CIL* XII.5561. Note too *Tabl. Alb.* XXVII.12 *Vitoris* (see further Väänänen 1965: 31) along with *Bitorius* for *Victorius* in one of the Visigothic slate tablets (I.3). Another tablet (29.16) has *deletacio[n]es* for *delectationes* (see Velázquez Soriano 2004:

³ Both Leumann (1977: 196) and Sommer and Pfister (1977: 180) apparently accept the form as no mere mistake, referring to Praeneste or Praenestine.

⁴ See Wachter (1987: 119), and also Leumann (1977: 196).

505). Mihăescu (1978: 201) has some further examples. For cases in Gallic inscriptions see Pirson (1901: 91). *Autor* and *autoritas* are forms castigated in the *Appendix Probi* (154, 155). See also Baehrens (1922: 85–6), Battisti (1949: 163–4), Bonioli (1962: 120), Leumann (1977: 196), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 180).

3.1.3 Romance outcome

The assimilation was not total in Romance. It occurred in Italy, though with a resultant geminate that does not seem to correspond precisely to the single *t* (on this subject see below, 5) that was often seen above (*notte*, *otto*, *tetto* < *nocte*, *octo*, *tectum*). In Romania *kt* was replaced by *pt* (*noapte* < *nocte*), but probably via assimilation (*kt* > *tt*) followed by dissimilation (*tt* > *pt*). In Gaul (and some parts of Iberia, e.g. Catalonia and Portugal) the first stop was replaced by a fricative (perhaps χ, a velar spirant),⁵ then the cluster by *y*: *nuit*, *fait*), and in Spain there was palatalisation (*noche*) following earlier fricativisation of the French type.⁶

3.1.4 An aberrant treatment of *kt*: *pt*

There might seem to be parallels for the Romanian treatment of the cluster (*kt* > *pt*) in the forms of certain terms to do with vomiting in the translations of Oribasius and Dioscorides: *ruptatio*, *ruptus* and *ruptare* are all attested for *ructatio*, *ructus* and *ructare* (see Niedermann [1912] 1954b: 58). In French *rot* and *roter* ('belch') are interpreted as deriving from *ructus* and *ructare* via *ruptus* and *ruptare* (see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 562). A conventional phonetic explanation of such forms would be that *kt* was assimilated to *tt* and then the consonant cluster reconstructed by hypercorrection to *pt*, given that *pt* too was subject to assimilation to *tt* (see below, 3.3).⁷ But it is far more likely that a popular etymology has been at work, with the forms influenced by *ruptus*, the past participle of *rumpo*.⁸

A clearer case of such false reconstruction through hypercorrection is to be seen in the history of the word *lactuca*. It is attested in the assimilated form *lattuca*, as was noted above, 3.1.2 (see further *TLL* VII.2.856.9f.), but also in the hypercorrect form *lapt-*, in the manuscripts of the translations

⁵ On the possibility of substrate (Celtic) influence see Adams (2003a: 439, 2007: 287).

⁶ See Bourciez (1946: 177–8) for details, which are not as straightforward as they have been presented here; also Väänänen (1966: 63).

⁷ A parallel for this type of development might be seen in the form *ixi* for *ipsi* attributed to a *legatus consularis* in an anecdote at Suet. *Aug.* 88. There might first have been an assimilation *ps* > *ss* (for which assimilation see below, 3.4), then a hypercorrect reconstruction *ss* > *ks* (see in general Adams 2003a: 439–40).

⁸ See e.g. Ernout ([1946] 1957: 229–30); also *FEW* x.539.

of Soranus and Dioscorides (a number of times) and in glosses (e.g. *CGL* v.321.12; see *TLL* vii.2.856.10ff.). This is the form that is found in Romanian (*REW* 4833; contrast It. *lattuga*), though the Romanian form could also be explained from the (much later) processes seen at 3.1.3 above rather than from direct survival of the Latin hypercorrection.

Similarly in a Visigothic slate tablet (41.7) there is *op[tauo]* for *octauo* (see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 505).

3.2 x [ks] > s(s)

3.2.1 Classical unassimilated forms

Some examples are: *duxi*, *uixi*, *dixi*, *faxo*, *faxim*, *coxa*, *saxum* (also the suffix *-trix*).

3.2.2 Assimilated forms

uixit is often spelt *uissit* or *uisit* in inscriptions (for examples see *ILCV* III index, p. 609, Kiss 1972: 28, Leumann 1977: 204, Sommer and Pfister 1977: 185, Gordon *et al.* 2006: 286 col. 1, 287 col. 2). Gordon *et al.* list other examples of the assimilation from Roman inscriptions, such as *amplesast* for *amplexast* (*CIL* vi.13528.10) and *Al[e]ssanro* for *Alexandro* (vi.3069). Αὐδᾶς is at Audollent (1904) no. 160.81 for *Audax* (Kiss 1972: 28). Jeanneret (1918: 47) cites two examples of *usore/usure* for *uxorem*; for *ussore* see *Tabl. Alb.* iv.33 (Väänänen 1965: 31). In the Visigothic slate tablets (Velázquez Soriano 2004) note 29.3 *disi*, 29.13 *essul[tabit]*, 39.7 *essenplo*. On the other hand at 59.II.2 *rex tuas* is hypercorrect for *res tuas* (Velázquez Soriano 2004: 303). For further examples from various sources see Lindsay (1894: 107–8), Battisti (1949: 164–5). The form *conius* would belong here only if derived from *coniux* rather than *coniunx* (which has a threefold cluster rather than *ks*).

Felatrix at Pompeii (*CIL* iv.1388, 2292) for *felatrix* and a few other terms with *s* for *x* in final position are taken by Väänänen (1966: 65) to be Oscanisms, comparing *meddiss*, *meddis* = *meddix* (see Untermann 2000: 456–8), though the Oscan situation itself is not straightforward (see further below, 5).

Kramer (2001: 70), commenting on a bilingual glossary (text 6 in his collection) in which at line 5 *mers* has to be read for *merx*, describes *mers* as a ‘vulgäre Nebenform’ and states that the assimilation *ks* > *s(s)* was a frequent phenomenon. Lindsay (1894: 107), Battisti (1949: 164) and Bonioli (1962: 122–3) also take *mers* as showing the assimilation *ks* > *ss*. Similarly Campanile ([1971] 2008: 373) compares *mers* with *felatrix*. For *mers* see Novius 28 Frassinetti *omnes capiunt ficitatem, mers est sine molestia*. According to the *OLD* s.v. *merx* the usual form in Plautus is *mers*; an

instance at *Mil.* 728, for example, is further supported by Nonius' citation of the passage (670 Lindsay). But *mers* does not belong here at all. The consonant cluster that was reduced in e.g. *felatrix* was *ks*, but that in *mers* was *rks*. The typical (prehistoric) development word-internally of liquid + *ks* was to liquid + *s*, as in *mersi* (< **merksi* < **mergsi*), and the same was probably true originally of the cluster in word-final position. *Mers* would therefore be an archaic form, with *merx* a recomposition (on the root *merk-* see de Vaan 2008: 376). Similarly *sescenti* and *Sestius*, cited by Landgraf (1898: 225) as showing the assimilation of *ks*, in reality show the reduction of a threefold consonant cluster.

Nugas in a letter of Caelius (Cic. *Fam.* 8.15.1) and at Varro *Men.* 513 is more likely to reflect a fossilising of the exclamatory accusative *nugas* than to represent *nugas* < *nugax* (see Väänänen 1966: 116).

Cossim (Pomponius 128 Frassinetti *sciunt hoc omnes, quantum est qui cossim cacant*; also Varro *Men.* 471) if it derives from *coxim* would be a republican example of assimilation (see Sommer and Pfister 1977: 185). On the (problematic) etymology see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: 1.283, de Vaan 2008: 140 (defending a derivation from *coxa*). The genre Atellan farce was of Oscan origin, but it is facile automatically to explain oddities in its Latin fragments as Oscanisms (see Adams 2007: 110, 154–5). *Cossim* is another of the relatively early possible instances of an assimilation that are not decisive because of uncertainties about their etymology.

The learned spelling *xs* for *x* (for which see e.g. Väänänen 1966: 64, Adams 1995a: 90–1) might conceivably have been taught in the schools as a strategy for countering an assimilation taking place in speech. Two letters on the page prompt the articulating of two consonants.

A notable inverse spelling is *oxa* for *ossa* at *CIL* VI.3446 (Leumann 1977: 204).

3.2.3 Romance outcome

In Romance the treatment of [ks] runs parallel to that of *kt*, showing e.g. *ss* in Italian (*tasso* < *taxum*) and *ps* in Romanian (*coapsă*) (but with a different outcome before the accent in these two languages, as It. *mascella*; in Romanian *ps* also tends to be reduced to *s*: e.g. *laxare* > **lapsare* > *lăsa* 'to let, leave') and *js* in Gaul (e.g. Fr. *cuisse*) (see Bourciez 1946: 178).

3.3 pt > t(t)

3.3.1 Classical unassimilated forms

Some examples are: *septem*, *optimus*, *opto*, *aptus*, *scriptus*.

3.3.2 Assimilated forms

When the cluster was in initial position (in loan-words) the first element was dropped (*tisana* is from Gk $\tau\tau\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$; cf. *tisanarium*). For internal assimilation see e.g. *CIL* VIII.466 *otimi* and *otimo*, *ILCV* 4580 *set(em)*, *CIL* IX.2827.26 (AD 19) *scritus*, *CIL* XI.2885 *Settembris*, *CIL* VI.10246 *Setimio*, *Tabl. Alb.* XVI.5–6 *Egitia* = *Aegyptia*, XXIX.8 *sutter* = *subter* (via *supter*), XXIV.3 *subbiscrituris* = *subscripturis*. *Cattat* at Isid. *Etym.* 12.2.38, which anticipates Ibero-Romance forms, almost certainly derives from *captat* (see Adams 2007: 427 with bibliography). See further Battisti (1949: 165), Bonioli (1962: 128–9), Väänänen (1965: 31), Kiss (1972: 28), Leumann (1977: 197), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 180).

3.3.3 Romance outcome

Assimilation to *t(t)* was standard in Romance, as in the reflexes of *septem* (e.g. It. *sette*, Sp. *siete*, OFr. *set*), except that Romanian (cf. above, 3.1.3) keeps *pt* (see e.g. *REW* 7830 for the reflexes of *septem*, which include Vegliote *sapto*, showing the same treatment as Romanian) (see Bourciez 1946: 178).

3.4 ps > s(s)

3.4.1 Classical unassimilated forms

Some examples are: *ipse*, *scripsi*, *capsa*, *gypsum*.

3.4.2 Assimilated forms

Astbury (2002) prints *sussilimus* at Varro *Men.* 521 following Nonius 151 Lindsay, which would derive from *supsilio* < *subsilio* (see Lindsay 1894: 79). Twice elsewhere Astbury prints *subsil-* (206, 451). There is an instance of *scrisi* in the witness statement at the end of a transliterated Latin receipt in the name of Aeschines Flavianus, dated to the middle of the second century (*SB* III.1.6304 = *CPL* 193). Cf. *CIL* VI.22579 *scriserunt*. There are cases in the Albertini tablets, e.g. XIV.21 *suscrissi*, IX.30 *scrisi*.⁹ *Iscrisi* is at *ILCV* 2714 and 2800A (both from Rome). The name *Vipsanius* has the form *Vissanius* at *CIL* VI.29050. See further Bonioli (1962: 130), Kiss (1972: 28), Leumann (1977: 204), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 185), Väänänen (1965: 31, 1981a: 64).

At Pompeii there are assimilations in the term *ipse* (and in the feminine): *isse*, *issus*, *issa*. It is only in this word that the assimilation is attested at Pompeii (Väänänen 1966: 65). These, however, are not simply unmarked uses of the pronoun. The form is attached, for example, as a *pronomen*

⁹ See Väänänen (1965: 31). Kiss (1972: 28) cites a much later example from the Ravenna papyri.

honoris to the name of the actor Paris (Väänänen 1966: 65). Cf. *TLL* VII.2.493.69ff., where *isse* is given a separate lemma, and it is remarked ‘fere de dominis uel honorifice uel in rebus amatoriis blande dictum’. Cf. possibly <i>ssula at Plaut. *Cist.* 450,¹⁰ and particularly *CIL* VI.12156 *issulo et delicio suo*, ‘fere i.q. dominulus (de infante)’, *TLL* VII.2.494.6f. See also Solin (2008b: 67) for a new reading of *CIL* IV.2178a, supposedly with a vocative *issime* (see also Ferri 2011b: 166). These are special terms, used in affectionate reference and probably address, and phonetic weakening is particularly likely to occur in frequently used idiomatic and affectionate address terms and the like. *Issulus* -a must derive as a diminutive from *isse* (see Ernout and Meillet 1959: 322). *Issa* is used repeatedly at Mart. 1.109 as the name of a dog (see Citroni 1975: 335–6 for a discussion of the term).

Issu for *ipsum* is now in a Visigothic slate tablet (104.10: see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 379).

3.4.3 Romance outcome

The assimilation to *s(s)* is reflected in all Romance languages: e.g. *scripsit* > It. *scrisse*, Rom. *scrise*, OSp. *escriso*, OFr. *escrist*; see Väänänen 1981a: 64. The Romance reflexes of *ipse* derive from the assimilated *isse* (*TLL* VII.2.297.29ff.), but in Latin itself that form is completely submerged except in the special uses seen above (and the slate tablet); *TLL* VII.2.293.50 can quote no other examples.

4 Some conclusions

The Latin evidence, we have stressed, offers us a system. Assimilation towards the central set of consonants identified above, from either of the peripheral sets, was avoided until well into the historical period and for longer in the educated language, to judge from writing. In the standard language it is impossible to find clear-cut manifestations of these assimilations. In badly written texts there is a certain uniformity to the representations of all four types, in that the assimilated form is usually written with a single consonant rather than a geminate. However, some geminated spellings are attested in all four cases (not least in forms such as *isse*), and one cannot justifiably generalise from such evidence that the phonetic outcome of any one assimilation was a single consonant. Bad writers were lax in representing geminates.

¹⁰ Note that this form only appears in the palimpsest, and it may be a modernised spelling rather than the original (information from Wolfgang de Melo).

Definite instances of these assimilations in the republican period are hard to come by. There are doubts hanging over *blatta*, *brattea* and *cossim*. *Issula* in Plautus is not absolutely certain. There must also be a doubt about Varro's *sussilimus*, given that elsewhere in the same work the non-assimilated form is attested. The assimilations are not common at any time, but are found definitely only in the imperial period, in substandard sources.

Whether or not we accept *issula* with editors of Plautus, the assimilated forms *isse*, *issa* etc. are particularly well represented and revealing. These are affective terms, attested from relatively early on, and they suggest that the assimilation might have been lexically determined in casual varieties of speech, affectionate and emotive. Assimilation in such a distinctive lexical group in intimate discourse must be regarded as generated from within the language itself, and not passed off as determined by outside influence.

5 Latin and Italic

There is a long-standing view that at least some of these non-standard assimilations were due to substrate (Osco-Umbrian) influence. For an account of the extensive bibliography on the idea that the substrate determined the assimilation *kt* > *tt* as seen in Italo-Romance and Sardinian (with the single *t* that usually appears in inscriptions and the like treated merely as a simplification), see Mancini (2000a: 43–5, 2000b: III–18). There is a non-committal discussion by Eska (1987: 156–7). Devine and Stephens (1977: 121) are unequivocal about Italic influence, and they go beyond the cluster *kt*:

It is clear that the (often areally restricted) Vulgar Latin and Romance assimilation of clusters of unlike stops and stop + sibilant (VL *isse*, *Otaus*, It. *scritto*, *scrisse*, *destra* etc.) are due to Osco-Umbrian (especially) substratum influences, in that these languages had a rule modifying such clusters.

They refer here to *ps*, *kt*, *pt* and also *ks*, but in the last case in a fourfold cluster *-kstr-*, which is a different matter. If 'areally restricted' is meant to refer to Latin attestations of the assimilations, it is misleading, because examples are scattered and few, as we saw, and it would be impossible to set up regional variations on the basis of them.

Since non-standard Latin displays four assimilations that are structurally identical and part of a system, it is hardly satisfactory in a discussion of

possible Italic influence to fasten onto just one of them. The question must be posed whether the four consonant clusters are treated in the same way in other Italic languages.

There is not a straightforward parallelism between the four Latin assimilations and what is found in Oscan and Umbrian. Each cluster will be considered in turn.

(1) In the case of *kt* the *k* became *h*, after, it is said, developing into a spirant, 'so that the combination *kt* appears as *ht* in both Oscan and Umbrian. In Umbrian, however, the *h* was weakly sounded or wholly lost, as is evident from its frequent omission in the writing' (Buck 1904: 89; for the evidence see Mancini 2000a: 46–7, 2000b: 119–21).¹¹ There is no reason in principle why the *t*-spelling that is quite common in Latin inscriptions and the like (see above, 3.1.2), and rather more common than *tt*, should not correspond to Italic *ht* or *t*, and should not have reflected early on, in the terminology of Mancini, a feature of some sort of Italic *Sprachbund* (Mancini 2000a: 49, 2000b: 126). Similarly Väänänen (1981a: 65) says that '[à] Pompéi, une prononciation osquise n'est pas exclue dans *O(c)tavus* . . .' A spelling *ht* does occur (*CIL* XIII.8481 *ohtuberes*), but in a western province (see Adams 2003a: 439), where it must be an attempt to represent the local Gallic pronunciation (with spirant) referred to above, 3.1.3, due possibly to Celtic interference. Mancini (2000a: 46–7, 49, 2000b: 119, 132–3) proposes a three-stage development of Italic, which is expressed as follows:

- I. -Vkt- > -Vxt-
- II. -Vxt- > -Vht-
- III. -Vht- > -V:t-

On the other hand in Oscan the secondary group *kt* resulting from syncope, or found in loan-words from Latin, was maintained (see Mancini 2000a: 47–8, 2000b: 124 for the evidence), which would appear to confine the assimilation to a very early period.

(2) *ks* is not so clear-cut. Intervocalic *ks* is found in Oscan **eksuk** (= *hoc*) and **exac** (= *hac*), but to these correspond such Umbrian forms as **essu**, **esu**, **esuku** and **esa** (Buck 1904: 91, Untermann 2000: 216, also 217–18 on the problematic etymological questions). In final position in Oscan the cluster becomes *ss* or *s*, as in **meddīss**, **meddīs**, **meddis** (< *meddix*) (Buck 1904: 91, Untermann 2000: 456–7).

¹¹ For bibliography on the problematic Umbrian form *tettom*, which has been associated with Lat. *tectum* and would show an aberrant development for Umbrian, see Untermann (2000: 750).

(3) *pt* fits the Latin pattern even less. It became *ft*, which remained in Oscan. In Umbrian this in turn became *ht* and also *t* (Buck 1904: 78). There is not a standard Italic development.

(4) Nor is *ps* straightforward. Buck (1904: 79) says that original intervocalic *ps* was assimilated to *ss* and cites Oscan *osii[ns]* (sic). Untermann (2000: 248) cites alongside *osins* (third person plural present subjunctive) Oscan **úpsim**, tentatively interpreted as a first person singular present subjunctive. Assimilation is also possibly reflected in Osc. **essuf**, but the etymology is uncertain (Untermann 2000: 236). On the other hand, according to Buck, secondary intervocalic *ps* remains unchanged in Oscan but is assimilated in Umbrian. Oscan **úpsannúm** (which is attested in numerous different verb forms: see Untermann 2000: 801–2; < **op-es-ā*) is cited alongside Umbrian *osatu* and *oseto* (for which see Untermann 2000: 801, 802). However, Untermann (2000: 802) also notes Umbrian *opset(a est)*. If the assimilation did not affect secondary forms in Oscan it must have stopped working at some stage, and it is unclear how the influence might have operated on Latin, where assimilations tend to be late.

Mancini's two papers (2000a, 2000b) are mainly about *kt* and its outcomes, and he is particularly concerned to establish that there was not a direct connection between earlier Latin and Italo-Romance. In these Romance varieties the outcome of *kt* was a geminate *tt* (e.g. *notte*), whereas in Latin and Italic the spelling with a single *t* is the norm. It is suggested that the later Italian development was a separate phenomenon from that in Italic. As was remarked (above (1)), Mancini speaks of an early Italic *Sprachbund* in this respect. Some other scholars have got around the problem of the relative lack of geminated spellings in Latin by suggesting that these were merely allographs of *tt* (Mancini 2000a: 44, 2000b: 114), a view that is not accepted by Mancini. Mancini does not, however, cite the forms with *-tt-* seen above, 3.1.2.

Mancini makes an interesting case that there was not a direct connection between, say, the Pompeian single *t* misspellings in Latin, and the consonant group *tt* seen in Italo-Romance. Scholars have been all too ready to find continuities between early Latin and Romance. Continuities do exist, but there are also chance correspondences (see e.g. above, iv.3), and the evidence must always be assessed carefully (see xxxiii.4). However, some reservations must be expressed about Mancini's argument. It is not particularly convincing to attach such importance to single-letter spellings versus geminates. As we have seen, some geminated spellings are attested in all four cases, even if single-letter spellings predominate. One possible interpretation of the evidence is that geminates were the outcome in speech,

but that, as these were new environments for geminates in the written language and there was no written tradition to guide writers, there was an indifference to marking the geminate consistently among writers who were prone to simplify geminates in any case.

The more generalised claim of various scholars that these non-standard assimilations, or some of them, in Latin were determined by outside influence (from other Italic languages) is difficult to assess, as there are arguments than can be made on both sides.

On the negative side, the best-attested assimilation, that in the lexical group *isse, issa, issus, issula*, is suggestive of a language-internal development occurring in particular styles of speech. These are emotive terms with a personal referent, and the assimilation might readily have taken place in affectionate discourse. If the speech style could determine the assimilation, it is superfluous to appeal to bilingual interference, and the Oscan evidence is not unequivocal in any case.

Also, the four assimilations in non-standard Latin are parallel in structure, and if there were Italic influence it ought to be identifiable across the whole group. If the full set of assimilations is considered the correspondences between Latin and particularly Oscan are far from neat.

On the other hand, the first definite attestations in Latin of any of the four assimilations are in the Pompeian graffiti, and Oscan had once been spoken in the town. In the inventory of Latin assimilations above (3), if we leave aside *ps* (see on *isse* above), there remain two assimilations (*kt > t(t)* and *ks > s(s)* in final syllable) that are attested both in Pompeian graffiti and in Oscan, and the possibility should be left open that in this one place at a low social level there had been some input into Latin from the local Oscan at some time. However, the remaining two Latin assimilations, *pt > ps* and *ps > s(s)*, are not so straightforwardly to be linked to Oscan, and they look to be language-internal developments. It seems likely that in lower sociolects of Latin during the Empire there was a general change causing four assimilations of the same structural types, with the possibility that in some Oscan areas in the earlier period there was some enhancement of two of the assimilations from the substrate. There is, however, a chronological problem in pushing Italic influence too far, and that is to say nothing of the lack of a complete match between Oscan and the Latin developments. It is impossible to find convincing assimilated spellings before the Empire. All of the proposed earlier instances are open to doubts of one kind or another, and much of the evidence is late, from a period when Oscan had ceased to be spoken. We also saw signs that certain of our assimilations do not show up in secondary forms in Oscan, and that suggests that

the assimilations had ceased to work by what might be called the Latin period.

6 The assimilations and social variation

Many types of assimilations had taken place in the prehistoric period and were embedded in the standard language. The four assimilations discussed above had been resisted and have left virtually no mark on the republican or indeed imperial written language. At some time in the historical period, and certainly by the Empire, the assimilations started to operate, but they are attested only in a few low-register sources or special contexts. If the Plautine *issula* is accepted, it would be a term of intimate discourse. That is certainly so of *isse* etc. in Pompeian graffiti. *Felatrix* at Pompeii is an obscene and abusive term. If *cossim* is accepted it too occurs in a coarse excretory context in Pomponius. Whereas (e.g.) the phonetic development marked by omission of *-m* shows up constantly from an early period even in formal inscriptions, it is very hard to find attestations of the four assimilations except in a small number of scattered and badly written inscriptions. There are no *testimonia* to suggest that the educated might have used the pronunciations behind such forms while resisting phonetic spellings with never a slip. In this case it seems reasonable to set up an admittedly rather vague distinction between the speech of the educated and varieties of submerged, lower-class speech (see further below, xxxiii.1.2). Also, the case of *issus* suggests that there was perhaps an interaction between social class and style of speech as determinants of the assimilation: a stigmatised feature might have been admitted sometimes in casual speech even by the educated. It is possible that some of the assimilations were more prominent in some bilingual communities, and if so any Italic influence is likely to have occurred below the level of the elite.

7 A different case: NS > S

7.1 The assimilation and educated speech

The Romance languages universally show the loss of the nasal *n* before *s*, as illustrated by a form such as *cosul* < *consul* (see Väänänen 1981a: 64). The vowel (*o*) would first have been nasalised and then compensatory lengthening occurred (see Allen 1978: 28). The secondary long vowel shows up in loan-words into Greek or transliterations into Greek script, such as *καστρήσιος* (Gignac 1976: 117) and *κωνσουλίου* (*SB* III.1.6304 = *CPL*

193). The *n* is left out largely in substandard documents (Väänänen 1981a: 64 for examples; also Väänänen 1966: 68 for the many examples at Pompeii), but that does not mean that the phenomenon constituted a distinctive feature of lower-class speech. It was the spelling that was substandard, not necessarily the pronunciation that lay behind it (see also the remarks of Powell 2011: 108).

There is some evidence to show that the cluster *ns* lost the nasal in the speech of the educated in the classical period, but it is not entirely consistent.

Note first Velius Longus *GL* vii.78.21–79.4:

sequenda est uero non numquam elegantia eruditorum uirorum, qui quasdam litteras lenitatis causa omiserunt, sicut Cicero, qui ‘foresia’ et ‘Megalesia’ et ‘hortesia’ sine *n* littera dicebat et, ut uerbis ipsius utamur, ‘posmeridianas quoque quadrigas’ inquit ‘libentius dixerim quam postmeridianas’.

Sometimes we should follow the good taste of learned men, who have omitted certain letters to achieve a smoothness, as for example Cicero, who used to say *foresia* and *Megalesia* and *hortesia* without the letter *n*, and (to borrow his own words) said that he would more willingly say *posmeridianas* . . . than *postmeridianas* [*Orat.* 157].

Quint. 1.7.29, however, is at variance with the remark of Velius Longus. The passage is about words that are written otherwise than they are pronounced (28 *quae scribuntur aliter quam enuntiantur*). One example is *consules*, which ‘we read [i.e. find in writing] without an *n* [but pronounce otherwise, i.e. with an *n*]’: ‘*consules*’ *exempta n littera legimus*. See Colson (1924: 101) ad loc. for the correct interpretation of this remark.¹²

Thus Cicero (if Velius Longus is to be believed) pronounced certain words of this type without the *n*, but Quintilian would have it that *consules* was pronounced with the *n*. The inconsistency can be explained in at least two ways, which are not mutually exclusive. First, the direction of the language was towards the elimination of the nasal in this position in speech, but there will have been purists who favoured the etymological/spelling pronunciation. Here was a development that could be observed and monitored, and there are always speakers who are resistant to change if they are aware of it. Second, the loss may have been lexically determined for a period, that is permitted in some lexical items but rejected in others. Latin loan-words in Greek favour the view that lexical restrictions

¹² By contrast note Ax (2011: 341) ad loc.: ‘Beide Wörter wurden also mit *n* geschrieben, aber ohne *n* gesprochen.’

affected the spread of the phenomenon, in the sense that deletion caught on earlier in some words than in others (on this phenomenon see XI.4 with cross references). Gignac (1976: 117) remarks that (in Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods) 'ν is normally omitted before σ in Latin loanwords', and cites omissions attested in about eight lexical items (including derivatives of *mensa*: see further below). He then observes (118) that in *census* (κῆνσος) and *defensor* (δηφῆνσωρ) the ν is usually retained.

An indication that the nasal, even if it were intrusive, might become strongly associated with a particular lexeme is provided by the adjective form *formonsus*. *Formosus*, unlike other adjectives in *-osus*, had an alternative form with *n*, the existence of which is confirmed by the condemnations of grammarians (*Appendix Probi* 75 *formosus non formunsus*, Caper *GL* VII.95.18, Cassiod. *ex Papiriano GL* VII.160.12), documentary evidence (e.g. *Tab. Vindol.* 302.3), and by massive attestations in manuscripts. For example, fifteen of the sixteen instances of *formosus* in Virgil's *Eclogues* have as a variant the *n*-form. On manuscripts see Schönwerth and Weyman (1888: 195–7), *TLL* VI.1.1110.84ff., and on documentary examples, *TLL* VI.1.1110.81ff. Väänänen (1966: 69) must be right to say that the *n*-form can hardly be a mere inverse or hypercorrect spelling, given its considerable attestations. Nor is the influence of *sponsa* a compelling explanation (cf. Väänänen loc. cit.), since this word was prone to lose its *n* (see e.g. *CIL* VIII.3485 *ispose*). However the form is to be explained, it must have existed alongside *formosus*. As the word is a commonplace one expressing ideas that come up in everyday discourse, the *n*-form is likely to have had some basis in speech rather than being a purely written phenomenon.

A further hint of variation between presence and absence of the nasal determined by the lexical item is provided by Cassiod. *ex Papiriano GL* VII.160.12–15 *formosus sine n secunda syllaba scribendum est, ut arenosus frondosus aquosus herbosus. participia uero habent n, ut tonsus tunsus mensus pensus. antiquorum nulla obseruantia fuit, cum n an sine n scriberent: illi enim tosus tusus prusus plerumque scribebant*. Here is a statement that past participles such as *tonsus* retain the nasal (whereas by implication adjectives do not). This remark should not be taken too literally. It has a familiar look about it. If two forms were attested grammarians liked to make up rules about when each should be used (see the remarks of Devine and Stephens 1977: 148). We may disregard the details, but the remark suggests that omission and retention coexisted, thereby generating a grammarian's sense that a systematic distinction should be set up. For another artificial rule (on which see Allen 1978: 29) see Caper *GL* VII.95.8–9 *omnia aduerbia*

numeri sine n scribenda sunt, ut milies centies decies; quotiens totiens per n scribenda sunt.

There are some other *testimonia* suggesting that omission occurred in educated speech, at least in some lexical items.

Varro *Ling.* 5.4 (cited by Bonioli 1962: 131) states that the etymology of a term may be clearer from derivatives or oblique-case forms than from the nominative. The origin of *pos* (from *potentia*, Varro thinks) is clearer from the accusative *impotem* than from *impos* (or *pos*), because *pos* might be thought to signify 'bridge': *et eo obscurius fit, si dicas pos quam inpos: uidetur enim pos significare potius pontem quam potentem.* The vowel of *pos* was short whereas that of *pons* > *pos* would have been long, but grammarians did not bother about vowel length when discussing etymology.

Another passage of Varro (*Ling.* 5.118) possibly suggests the currency of a pronunciation (in educated speech) *mesa* for *mensa* (alongside an alternative with the nasal retained), but editors have not agreed about the text of the remark.

Charisius' interpretation of the passage is, however, straightforward: Char. p. 73.1–5 Barwick *mensam sine n littera dictam Varro ait, quod media poneretur; sed auctores cum n littera protulerunt, Vergilius saepe. sed et mensam cum n posse dici idem Varro ait, quod et mensa edulia βρωτῶ in escolenta ponerentur.* Varro, according to Charisius, said that *mensa* was pronounced without an *n*, though he also said that it could be pronounced with an *n*, given that it might be derived from the past participle *mensus* 'measured out' (note here the indication that the participle might retain the nasal, and see above).

Goetz and Schoell (1910) and Kent (1958) print the first part of Varro's own text as follows, with *mesa* rather than *mesa*: *postea rutunda facta, et quod a nobis media et a Graecis μέσση mesa dict<a> potest* ('[a]fterwards it was made round, and the fact that it was *media* "central" with us and μέσση "central" with the Greeks, is the probable reason for its being called a *mesa* "table"', Kent). Kent (1958: 1.112) does allow in a footnote that *mesa* may be right. Collart (1954) prints *mesa*, and at 221 observes that the comparison with μέσση is explained by the weakness of *n* before *s* in Latin. Varro then, as Charisius notes, offers an alternative etymology that would justify the presence of *n*: many foodstuffs might have been put on the table 'measured out' (*mensa*): *nisi etiam quod ponebant pleraque in cibo mesa* ('unless indeed they used to put on, amongst the victuals, many that were *mesa* "measured out"', Kent). To some this second etymology might have justified the form with *n*, given the doctrine that participles should keep the *n* before *s*.

It is not unlikely that Varro was basing his two etymologies on different forms of the word, but we cannot be certain that he did not merely see μέσσα in the form *mensa* itself.

At Ter. *Eun.* 729 (*postquam surrexi neque pes neque mens satis suum officium facit*) there is possibly a rhyming contrast intended in *pes/mens*, which would depend on omission of the nasal in *mens* (Grandgent 1907: 131).

7.2 Conclusions

There are indications that the nasal tended to be omitted even by the educated before *s* in the classical period, but there was some discussion about the appropriateness of the omission, with an effort to preserve it at least in some words. Many linguistic changes were monitored by the educated, and some attempt made for a time to resist them. The omission of the letter in writing has nothing to do with lower sociolects but is a literacy error.

CHAPTER X

B and V

1 Introduction

Classical Latin had a semivowel [w], represented in writing by *u*. When the Germans took over wine from the Romans during the Republic (?) they borrowed the Latin word as well, and the loan-word *wein* (< *uinum*) in Gothic shows the original [w]. But misspellings start to appear quite early, suggesting that the original [w] had changed its phonetic value, at least in some dialects or sociolects. V representing original [w] comes to be replaced sometimes by B. There are definite examples of B for V in the early first century AD in the archive of the Sulpicii from Pompeii (Camodeca 1999), in a text precisely dated to 15 September 39: *TPSulp.* 68, scriptura interior 12 *Iobe*, 13 *dibi*. There also seem to be examples of B for V in Pompeian graffiti (first century AD) (see Väänänen 1966: 50), e.g. *CIL* IV.4380 *Berus* = *Verus*, but there are uncertainties about the interpretation of at least some of them (as Väänänen's treatment makes clear). The inverse change V for B is attested there in the names *Viui*a = *Vibia* (*CIL* IV.5924a) and *Viui* = *Vibii* (2953), but these are mere assimilations or dittographies (Väänänen 1966: 51). Various handbooks refer to confusions from this period. Sommer and Pfister (1977: 129) cite *CIL* III.7251 (Tegea AD 49–50) *lebare*. The earliest examples of the misspelling B for V cited by Sturtevant (1940: 142) are from the first century AD (much the same examples as those above). A little later, in the first decade of the second century, the letters of Claudius Terentianus have fourteen cases of B for V (Adams 1977a: 31). In the middle of the second century there is a Latin legal text written in Greek letters by a Greek, Aeschines Flavianus of Miletus (*SB* III.1.6304 = *CPL* 193), in which the semivowel *u* is represented by β both initially and intervocalically: βιγεντι, βετρανε = *ueteranae*, βενδιδιτ, Ραβεννατους. The only exception is in the writer's name, Φλαουιανός, of which he had probably been taught a traditional spelling. He also uses β to represent CL /b/, and there is thus a hint that *u* and *b* had fallen

together. But in Latin as he heard it pronounced by native speakers, or in Latin as he pronounced it himself, as a Greek? There are uncertainties about the phonetic value of β in Greek itself at different periods (despite Gignac 1976: 68, on this period; cf. Allen 1987: 29–32).

There are earlier cases of this transcription by means of β of the Latin semivowel. Campanile ([1971] 2008: 367) draws attention to various republican inscriptions in which u (< [w]) in the Latin version appears as β in the Greek (e.g. *CIL* 1².2650 = *ILLRP* 962, where the Latin has *D. Leiuiei*, repeated, and the Greek Δέκιος Λείβιος). He therefore proposes (367–8) that the confusion of b and u was not merely an imperial phenomenon but had ancient beginnings. The usual doctrine is that Latin consonantal u , whether representing [w], [v] or [β], came to be transcribed in Greek by β rather than $\omicron\upsilon$ or υ increasingly from the first century AD onwards (see Gignac 1976: 68 with n. 3, Allen 1987: 31, and note the document discussed in the previous paragraph), but Campanile's little corpus of examples is earlier. However, it is not decisive in establishing the phonetic value of Lat. u at the time, because, if β were still a voiced plosive in Greek, it might still have been pressed into service occasionally to represent Lat. [w].

In a *Lex libitinarum* from Puteoli (*AE* 1971 no. 88, but see now Bodel 1994: 72–80 for an edition with introduction) at 11.20 there is an instance of *aceruom* for *acerbum* (*nisi si funus decurion(is) funusue aceruom denuntiat(um) erit*). Such a confusion implies a similarity of pronunciation between the sounds represented by u and b , but the spelling is not decisive because there was a separate word *aceruus*, and the stonemason might have lapsed mechanically into a malapropism. The date of the inscription is disputed, with both the late Republic and Augustan period advocated. Bodel leans towards the time of Sulla (Bodel 1994: 74–5).

The spelling confusion is usually explained (speculatively) as due to a merger of /b/ and /w/ as a bilabial fricative [β], which could not be represented precisely in Latin script and was consequently rendered now with the one letter now with the other.¹ But the spelling B for V is far more common than V for B, as has often been noted;² and this continues to be so in new corpora.³ It may be mistaken to speak of a full merger of CL /w/ and /b/. If [w] changed for argument's sake to a bilabial fricative, some

¹ See e.g. Väänänen (1981a: 50), Herman (2000: 45–6), and in particular, on the complexity of the problem, Herman ([1965] 1990: 20–1). Väänänen (1966: 52) has a review of the various explanations of the phenomenon, with bibliography.

² For a possible reason why the one misspelling is more common than the other see B. Löfstedt (1961: 153–4), Adams (1977a: 31). For reservations see Gratwick (1982: 23).

³ On two of which see Adams (1990a: 235, 1994b: 106).

speakers might have felt that the representation with V was unsatisfactory and switched sometimes to B because they heard the new sound as close, if not necessarily identical, to that of B. The articulation of [b] need not have changed, nor need a merger have occurred. There is slight, albeit indecisive, orthographic evidence for a phonetic value [β] for original [w]. In the Bu Njem ostraca (see Marichal 1992), from Africa, a corpus in which B for V is common (see below), there is also a form (17) *Nobuemb(res)*, where *bu* may be an attempt to render [β].⁴

At any period the spelling B for V may be regarded as a literacy error, because the educated attempted to preserve the correct old orthography. The question arises whether the pronunciation underlying the writing of B for V was a characteristic specifically of substandard speech or established in educated speech as well. Quintilian (1.4.8) refers to the absence of an 'Aeolic digamma' in the Latin alphabet that might have been used in words such as *seruus* and *uulgus*, and that may tentatively be taken to mean that the educated still said [w], but some evidence from later grammarians is more revealing.

Velius Longus in the second century says that the 'digamma *u*' in some words (he lists *ualens*, *uitulus*, *primitiuus*, *genetiuus*, i.e. words in which it is in either initial or intervocalic position) is pronounced *cum aliqua adspiratione*, which may possibly be taken to mean that it was a fricative of some sort (so Allen 1978: 41, who associates the remark with the sound heard in e.g. Fr. *vin*): *GL VII.58.17–19 u litteram digamma esse interdum non tantum in his debemus animaduertere, in quibus sonat cum aliqua adspiratione, ut in ualente...* He goes on to contrast the sound heard in *quis*. If this interpretation of *adspiratio* is accepted it is clear that to Velius the fricative pronunciation was the norm, and acceptable; it was not a substandard phenomenon to be avoided by the educated.

Allen (1978: 41; cf. Sturtevant 1940: 143) states that as 'late as the fifth century the semivocalic [w] pronunciation evidently survived in some quarters, since Consentius [*GL v.395.15–17* = p. 17.16–17 Niedermann] observes: "*V quoque litteram aliqui exilium eferunt, ut cum dicunt ueni putes trisyllabum incipere*". But this passage comes from a section on linguistic 'vices' of particular peoples (*GL v.395.2–3 sunt generalia quaedam quarundam uitia nationum*; p. 17.1–2 Niedermann *sunt gentilia quaedam quorundam uitia*), and Greeks are the subject of the previous sentence, who were seen as having peculiarities of pronunciation when speaking Latin.

⁴ See Adams (1994b: 106). Note too the form *buotun* (= *uotum*) in an inscription from Moesia Inferior, discussed by Galdi (2004: 126).

Graeci is the subject of *ecferunt* in that sentence, and 'some Greeks' may be the subject of the same verb in the sentence quoted by Allen. Immediately afterwards Consentius stresses again that he is dealing with vices *quarundam nationum*. Thus the pronunciation referred to by Consentius is likely to have been a foreign peculiarity, not a pronunciation preserved, for example, by some careful native speakers. Moreover it is by no means certain that Consentius had in mind the semivocalic pronunciation [w] suggested by Allen. That would have made the word disyllabic rather than trisyllabic. Consentius' *trisyllabum* suggests rather that Greeks pronounced the *u* as a back vowel, and that would mean that they were using an artificial spelling pronunciation. This passage provides information of sorts about Greeks, but tells us nothing about the practice of native speakers, other than that (by implication) their articulation of the word would have been disyllabic.

2 The Romance languages

There was a degree of falling together of the original /b/ and /w/ but there are variations across the former Empire. The treatment of the two phonemes also varied according to their position in the word. In general the reflexes of /b/ and /w/ remained distinct in initial position, but merged intervocalically. There are some regional differences, but this is the overall pattern.⁵ First /b/ and then /w/ are considered.

In initial position /b/ remained largely intact: e.g. *bene* > It. *bene*, Rom. *bine*, Fr. *bien*. In Spain, however, initial /b/ tended (depending on the phonetic environment) to become a bilabial fricative /β/ and fall together with /w/ in this position, which developed the same phonetic value, though old orthography has been retained. Thus *verde* (< *uir(i)dis*) and *beso* (< *basium*) have the same initial phoneme despite the spelling.⁶ It is usually stated that in initial position the convergence in Spain was a late (post-Roman) one,⁷ in view of the rarity of spelling confusion in Spanish inscriptions.⁸ There is regional variation in Italy. Whereas in northern Italy /b/ was kept in initial position, in southern Italy it passed to the fricative /v/ (see Rohlf 1966: 194),⁹ thereby merging with the /v/ arising from original

⁵ For summaries see e.g. Politzer (1952), B. Löfstedt (1961: 151), Herman (2000: 46). For the areas in which /b/ and /w/ have merged in all positions (southern Italy, Sardinia, Spain and southern France (Gascony)) see Politzer (1952: 212).

⁶ See Bourciez (1946: 407), Väänänen (1966: 51), (1981a: 50–1), and for the considerable complexities, Lloyd (1987: 239–40).

⁷ See e.g. Carnoy (1906: 135–6), Grandgent (1907: 133), Politzer (1952: 212), Barbarino (1978: 87), Herman (2000: 46).

⁸ For the lack of evidence of confusion in initial position in Spanish inscriptions see the tables of Barbarino (1978: 82–3).

⁹ At least in some environments: the complications need not be elaborated here.

/w/ (for which see below).¹⁰ There is also an area in the south (southern Lucania) where initial /b/ developed not to /v/ but to /β/ (see Rohlfs 1966: 196).

Between vowels /b/ became a fricative almost everywhere (see e.g. Herman 2000: 46), though the character of the fricative varies. It is labiodental (/v/) in e.g. French and Italian (*caballus* > *cheval*, *cavallo*) but bilabial in Spanish (*caballo*) (see further e.g. B. Löfstedt 1961: 151).

In initial position /w/ became for the most part a fricative, labiodental (*uacca* > Fr. *vache*, It. *vacca*) or bilabial.

In intervocalic position /w/ also became a fricative of the same types: e.g. *lauare* > It. *lavare*, Fr. *laver*, Sp. *lavar*. In some areas of southern Italy /w/ became not a labiodental fricative but the bilabial /β/ (see Rohlfs 1966: 294).

3 Misspellings in different positions in the word in Latin

There are Latin texts and inscriptions in which the confusion of B and V is more pronounced in intervocalic/internal positions in the word than in initial position. This may be seen loosely as an anticipation of Romance, in which the merger was the norm intervocalically but not at the start of words. Distributions in various corpora according to word position are set out below.

In the Bu Njem letters (74–117 on Marichal's (1988), classification), written in bad Latin with errors of spelling, syntax and morphology, there are twenty-eight cases of V correctly written compared with eleven cases of B for V (in all positions).¹¹ The misspelling occurs in 28 per cent of cases in a coherent corpus from a single milieu in the mid third century. These figures can be broken down further. Most of the correct cases of V are in initial position (twenty of the twenty-eight).¹² By contrast most of the errors (i.e. B written for V) are in intervocalic position, i.e. seven out of eleven. In intervocalic position V is written correctly seven times (the eighth correct case of V that is not word-initial is post-consonantal, namely *Silluanus* at 95), but replaced (as just noted) with B seven times. The rate of error intervocalically is 50 per cent. Though the number of tokens is small, it cannot but be concluded that intervocalic /w/ had undergone a change in Africa by the third century.

¹⁰ See Rohlfs (1966: 227). For convergence in Gascony also see Herman (2000: 46).

¹¹ The eleven errors are in 84 (twice), 85 (twice), 89, 97, 101 (twice), 108, 110 (twice). The twenty-eight correct cases of V are in 76, 77 (twice), 79 (twice), 82, 83 (twice), 88, 89 (twice), 95 (three times), 97 (three times), 99 (twice), 104 (three times), 105, 106, 109 (twice), 110, 116.

¹² Several cases are classed as 'initial' here where V is the first letter of the verbal root of a prepositional compound, as in *super-uenerunt*.

Barbarino's (1978) statistics showing B for V in a corpus of inscriptions from Africa are presented century by century from the third to the seventh, with figures for undated inscriptions given separately. If the figures for the different centuries and those for the undated material are combined the results are as follows. In intervocalic position B is written for V thirty-seven times and V correctly written 119 times, a rate of error of 23.7 per cent (Barbarino 1978: 60). In post-consonantal position (1978: 63-4) B is written for V nineteen times and V correctly written forty-three times. The rate of error is about 30.6 per cent. In verb endings of the type *requiebit* for *requieuit* (1978: 67) B is written for V thirty-eight times and V correctly written thirty-five times, a rate of error of 52.1 per cent. In other verb endings (1978: 68) B is written for V five times and V correctly written eleven times. The rate of error is 31.3 per cent. Finally, in initial position (1978: 71) B is written for V seventy-six times and V correctly written 532 times, a rate of error of 12.5 per cent. It is obvious from the above figures that the B/V confusion was widespread in Africa, but the figures may be broken down further.

In the four internal positions listed above (intervocalic, post-consonantal, and two types of verb endings) V is correctly written 208 times and replaced by B ninety-nine times, a rate of error of 32.2 per cent. There is a higher incidence of misspelling internally than in initial position (12.5 per cent: see above). In intervocalic position on its own the rate of error (23.7 per cent: see above) is about twice that in initial. The figures do not yield much if separated century by century.

Barbarino's table (1978: 76) showing the frequency of B for V in intervocalic position in Spain has several errors. There is no heading to indicate that the table concerns the intervocalic position, and in the column listing numbers of errors B and V have been reversed. The figures for B replacing V in intervocalic and initial positions (for the latter see Barbarino 1978: 83) are as follows. In intervocalic position V is written correctly fifty-six times and replaced by B eleven times, a rate of error of about 16 per cent. In initial position there are hardly any errors (278 correct examples of V against two of B).

In the inscriptions of northern Italy examined by Barbarino (1978: 106-15), in intervocalic and post-consonantal positions and in verb endings V occurs 123 times and B for V thirty times, a rate of error of almost 20 per cent. In initial position (Barbarino 1978: 122) V is written correctly 490 times and replaced by B twenty times, a rate of error of 3.9 per cent.

In southern Italy, in intervocalic (Barbarino 1978: 106) and post-consonantal (1978: 111-12) positions and in verb endings (1978: 115), V

occurs seventy times and B is written for V seventy-four times, a deviation of more than 50 per cent. In initial position V is written correctly 228 times and replaced by B ninety-six times, a rate of error of 29.6 per cent (1978: 123). Overall in all positions the rate of error is 36 per cent.

There is a distinction between northern and southern Italy. The B/V confusion is rare in initial position in the north, whereas it is common in that position in the south. In the Romance dialects of Italy the merger of original /b/ and /w/ was general in the south, in that it affected initial position as well as the intervocalic, whereas in the north it took place only intervocalically (see the previous section). A bridge between the inscriptions referred to here and the evidence of the later Romance dialects can be found in the early medieval period in Italian legal documents. B. Löfstedt (1961: 151–2) points out that in the *Edictus Rothari* (VII.11.7), written in northern Italy in the seventh century, confusion is only found between vowels. It has been shown by Politzer (1954: 96–7; cf. B. Löfstedt 1961: 155) that in documents of the eighth and ninth centuries from southern Italy the confusion of B and V is not only intervocalic but found also in initial position and after liquids. His examination of documents both from the north and the south led him to this conclusion (1954: 97): ‘This statistical picture of the eighth and ninth century documents shows quite definitely that the central Italian *lv,rv* > *lb,rb* development is part of a *b/v* merger which is general to the South, intervocalic only to the North of the Central Italian area.’ The figures seem to establish the existence of a proto-Romance distinction in about the eighth century between the south and the north of Italy; and if Barbarino’s figures are to be trusted that distinction is foreshadowed in earlier Latin inscriptions.

The inscriptions of central Italy considered by Barbarino (1978) seem to align themselves with those from the north. In intervocalic and post-consonantal positions and in verb endings V occurs ninety-two times and B is written for V twenty-two times, a rate of error of 19.3 per cent (for the page references to Barbarino see above). In initial position V is written correctly 258 times and replaced by B eleven times, a rate of error of only 4 per cent.

4 Regional variation in Latin (?)

Attempts have been made to establish that the merger of *b* and *u* occurred earlier in some regions than others. A full discussion of the question, with bibliography, is found in Adams (2007: 626–66), and the details will not be repeated here. In inscriptions B for V seems to be more common in

e.g. Africa and parts of Italy, including Rome, than in Gaul and Spain, and particularly Britain, where it is hardly attested. But it is not acceptable without good reason to argue from the absence of a phonetic misspelling from a written text that the underlying phonetic feature was also absent from the speech of the writer. A good speller will conceal by his mastery of the traditional written language phonetic features of his speech. The variations in the incidence of misspellings in the inscriptions of one area compared with another may simply reflect variations in the literacy skills of those composing and engraving the inscriptions. Misspellings may be rare in Gallic and Spanish inscriptions, but it must be remembered that in those areas too mergers did occur by the time of the Romance languages. The lower incidence of misspellings would at best reveal that change was resisted longer there, but even that conclusion may be unsafe, because nothing is known about the drafters of the inscriptions and of their educational level. The available statistics are also incomplete. The British corpus for its part is limited in extent, and partly composed by outsiders to Britain, and cannot be used to establish much in the way of 'British Latin'.

5 Conclusions

The phoneme /w/ was changing character in some sociolects by the early first century AD, and possibly earlier. Whatever the nature of the change, it was felt appropriate by some to represent the new sound by B, particularly when it was in intervocalic rather than initial position in the word. It would be a mere guess to suggest that in the early days the change was located down the social scale and stigmatised by the educated. By the second century we find a grammarian commenting on what appears to be a fricative pronunciation of intervocalic *u* (i.e. original [w]), and treating it as the norm (by implication among his own educational class). B for V has no proper place in an account of Vulgar Latin, if one wishes to suggest by that term that there existed social dialects distinguishable from educated speech. There were undoubtedly such social dialects, but a special value for original /w/ cannot on the evidence available be regarded as a defining feature of them. The use of B for V is a mark of poor literacy.

Phonology: conclusions

1 Phonological variables and social class

It was noted earlier (I.2) that research into the connection between phonological variation and social class in modern languages has shown that variables tend to be distributed across all social classes but with different frequencies, such that stigmatised variants are used less often among higher classes. This finding is relevant to a good deal of the data presented in preceding chapters.

In the matter of the vowel system evidence was cited (III.6) to show that grammarians resisted the lengthening of short vowels under the accent in open syllables, which was one of the symptoms of the decline of the classical quantitative vowel system in progress in the Empire. Yet we also saw that grammarians themselves were prone to this same fault. The apparent inconsistency may be easily explained from Chambers' remarks (2002: 350) (see I.2). By about the fourth century there must have been a widespread tendency for short vowels in open syllables to undergo lengthening under the accent, but that tendency might have been more marked in the speech of the uneducated classes, particularly (if we are to believe various grammarians) in Africa. Chambers (2002: 350) notes that teachers in Glasgow single out the glottal stop as the most characteristic feature of the Glasgow accent and that people complain about it (but go on using it with a frequency determined by their class). Vowel lengthening in the later Roman world elicited the same response from the educated, but they were unable to eliminate it entirely even from their own usage. Much the same could be said of the complementary tendency, for long vowels in unstressed syllables (particularly final) to be shortened.

We saw further signs that in the case of phonological variables it is not possible to set up an exact distinction between educated and uneducated practice. Educated purists are known to have found fault with some syncope forms, as Quintilian tells us in a remark about *audac(i)ter* (see above,

v.2.3). But that is only part of the story. Other educated commentators, such as Quintilian himself (not to mention the orators to whom he refers as using *audacter*) and the emperor Augustus, upheld the correctness of certain syncopated forms, and some were admitted into high poetry (see the passages cited by Kramer 1976: 38, 40). Lexical restrictions also must be taken into account (see below, 4), and also variations according to the formality or otherwise of the speech being used (see below).

Another case in point was the aspirate in initial position (see above, vii). At the time of Augustine there were still pedants and grammarians who were 'displeased' by those of their class who omitted it, but Augustine dismisses them as copiers of earlier speakers, and it is likely that he (along with other educated speakers not given to such pedantry) would often have omitted it himself, like Cerialis, the commanding officer at Vindolanda. Omissions must have occurred across all social classes, but perhaps with reduced frequency at the top of the educational/social scale, with some self-appointed purists aspiring as often as they remembered to. The passage of Augustine alluded to shows that these same purists might make mistakes themselves. An absolute distinction – consistent aspiration among the educated classes versus lack of aspiration among the lower classes – cannot be sustained. Velius Longus' attitude to the maintenance of an aspirate intervocalically in words such as *uehemens* seems to have been at least as hostile as that of Augustine to its use in initial position. He says that it was more elegant to omit it in speech, but the comparative implies that there were others who went on inserting it, and he must have had in mind members of the educated classes.

Upper-class observers of speech could not agree among themselves (cf. above, this section, on syncope). According to Quintilian (9.4.38), Servius Sulpicius (cos. 51 BC) dropped final *-s* when it was followed by a consonant, but was criticised for this by a certain Luranus yet defended by Messala (see VIII.2.5.5). Such variability of attitude among the educated is illustrated by another passage of Quintilian (1.7.5), in which he implies his own indifference to the distinction between *ad* and *at*, while allowing that *seruata est a multis differentia* 'a distinction is maintained by many' (see VIII.3.5.1). He himself did not mind the assimilation of *-t/-d* in monosyllables, but many others did. One assumes that the *multi* came mainly from the highest educational/social class, and that there would have been a variation in the frequency of the assimilation from higher to lower social groups of the type discussed by Chambers. Cicero *Orat.* 157 also points to variations in educated practice. He says that he would more willingly say '*posmeridianas*' than '*postmeridianas*' (see VIII.3.4). His is only a preference, and others must have had a different one.

Augustine is a good informant on these matters, because he refers on the one hand to advocacy by purists of pronunciations that they saw as time-honoured, yet expresses disapproval of their pedantry and leads us to think that he would himself have admitted the stigmatised pronunciations sometimes. We have seen him doing that deliberately in a sermon, where he first uses the verb *neat* and then repeats it with a glide inserted (*neiat*), sneering at grammarians, who resisted glide insertion (vi.6). There might have been some with a purist turn of mind who avoided glides if they could, but grammarians had not convinced all educated speakers.

These various pieces of evidence are in line with the model discussed by Chambers. Pronunciations that were stigmatised by some were admitted right across the social spectrum, but with variable frequency, because many ordinary speakers would have used them all the time but in higher sociolects there was some effort to avoid them.

The grammarian who makes an error of vowel length is unlikely to have done so deliberately. But in other cases the stigmatised variant may be used consciously for stylistic purposes. All speakers engage in style shifts, determined for example by the casualness or formality of the situation, and also by their own creativity (see above, 1.2, and below, this section, and also e.g. Schilling-Estes 2002: 376, 378). It has been observed that stylistic variation is closely intertwined with social class variation (see 1.2 for Labov 2006 on this subject). Note Schilling-Estes (2002: 379; cf. too 382):

The same variants used in more casual styles are also used with greater frequency in lower social groups, while those that are used in more formal styles are those associated with higher class groups. In other words, stylistic variation parallels social class variation.

It has also been suggested that ‘stylistic variation seems to be derivative of social class variation’ (Schilling-Estes 2002: 379).

Roman commentators made similar points, as we saw above, 1.7 (vi). Cicero (*Fam.* 9.21.1) remarked that he used ‘plebeian language’ in informal letters, and thus recognised that an upper-class Roman in casual discourse would adopt usages associated especially with a lower social class. Similarly Quintilian (12.10.40–3) appears to equate the ‘everyday language’ (*sermo cotidianus*) that an upper-class Roman might use with his slaves, wife and children with *sermo uulgaris*.

These remarks interpreted in the light of research into variation in living languages underline the inappropriateness of a capitalised technical term *Vulgar Latin*, with its implication that there was a ‘Latin of the people’ rigidly distinct from Classical Latin. There are indeed class or social variations, but they do not take the form of neat distinctions in the

distribution of phonological variables, with one class always using one and another class another. A stigmatised variable may be disapproved of by all social classes, but what may set off one class from another is the frequency with which it is admitted. And then there is stylistic variation, which is universal. The educated classes may be more willing to use stigmatised features in casual contexts than they would when speaking or writing formally. Finally we must allow for individual creativity, which prompted some individuals to disregard rules and conventions when it suited them.

2 Speech and writing

It was remarked in the introduction (1.6) that there has been a tendency to confuse spelling and writing, with the result that misspellings are sometimes called 'vulgar' without consideration of whether the underlying pronunciations were restricted to lower sociolects or widespread, even standard, across the social classes. Sometimes the misspelling was rejected by the educated but the pronunciation that it reflects was considered the norm and correct. Such terms as 'substandard, non-standard, vulgar' may reasonably be used in these cases, but only if they are applied rigorously to the spelling and not the pronunciation; there tends to be slippage from one application to the other.

The most misleading spelling of all in this sense is the omission of *-m*, as there is good evidence that final *-m* was dropped in upper-class speech during both the Republic and Empire (probably with nasalisation of the preceding vowel), at first before vowels but later before consonants as well (VIII.1.1). We do not find advocates of the spelling pronunciation, and grammarians treat the phonetic phenomenon as natural and make no effort to stigmatise it.

When the nasals *m* or *n* were at the end of monosyllables or grammatical words they were assimilated in place/manner of articulation to certain following consonants, with some resultant misspellings. But the misspellings when found in pieces of substandard writing do not reflect stigmatised pronunciations. Two *testimonia* about the assimilation of *-m* in such words to a following consonant (in the *cacemphata cum nobis* and *illam dicam*) are from the hand of Cicero himself, and he treats the assimilation as inevitable in educated, indeed his own, speech (VIII.1.2).

We know from a different source (the grammarian Velius Longus) that Cicero did not pronounce the *n* in the cluster *ns* in certain words (see above, IX.7.1), and it follows that, while a form such as *foresis* for *forensis* might be described as a substandard spelling, the pronunciation that it

reflects did not have lower-class associations at all. The assimilation of *ns* to *s* is, however, complicated, because there is evidence that the *n* was better preserved (one assumes in speech as well as writing) in some words than in others (see above, IX.7.1, and below, 4). Phonological change in Latin not infrequently shows up more in some lexical items than in others (see below, 4).

Syncope is another phenomenon that is entrenched in the scholarly literature as a feature of Vulgar Latin, but we have quoted members of the upper or literary classes defending syncopated pronunciations (*audacter*, *caldus*: see also above, 1). A complicating factor was again lexical restriction.

Assibilation and palatalisation in words such as *hodie* and *diebus* bring out with particular clarity the need to distinguish between writing and speech. Spellings such as *oze* and *zebus* are rare and located in poorly spelt texts and would not have been tolerated by the educated (though in a few words in Christian texts such spellings are so well attested in manuscripts that they are likely to have had some written currency: for e.g. *zabulus/zabolus* = *diabolus* see *TLL* V.1.940.71ff.; *diaconus* is another), but there is unequivocal evidence in several late grammarians that the pronunciations which these spellings represent were considered correct (VI.7.2). The (apparent) acceptability in educated writing of *zabulus* may exemplify a sort of orthographic lexical diffusion: such written forms (with e.g. *z* for *di*) were usually rejected, but caught on in a few terms.

The digraph *ae* that had originally represented a diphthong continued to be used well into late antiquity, and there are signs that writers learnt mechanical rules in an effort to use it correctly when it had no basis in speech (IV.2.5). In so doing they were treating the spelling *e*, which represented the monophthongal outcome of the original diphthong, as substandard and to be avoided if possible. But what was the status of the monophthong itself? In the late Republic it was stigmatised (as rustic: IV.2.1). Later we find some grammatical evidence, first, for an attempt to preserve the diphthong in speech, but then for an acceptance of the monophthong (IV.2.3). The views of grammarians on the matter are not straightforward, but there are at least signs of a change in attitudes. The spelling *ae* was always considered more correct than *e*, but the monophthongal pronunciation seems to have become acceptable.

3 Vulgar and Classical Latin

These two terms present social variation in Latin in stark terms, implying a sharp distinction between two forms of the language (see above, I.2–3). The

reality, as we have just seen, is that social distinctions in Latin speech were more blurred, with different social/educational classes (in relation to Latin we are only in a position to contrast high and low) differing in the frequency with which they admitted stigmatised variants. The question may be asked whether in the areas of phonology considered in the preceding chapters there are any phenomena that can be placed exclusively in the traditional category 'vulgar'. The answer is that we have seen hardly anything. In the late Republic there seems to have been a clear-cut distinction of distribution between the diphthong *ae* and a monophthongised variant represented in writing by *e*, but that distinction was regional (Roman versus country) rather than straightforwardly social. It is possible that *ae* and *e* were variables related to social class within the city of Rome at this time, but there is no evidence to this effect. The phonological phenomena most likely to have belonged specifically to lower social dialects in the classical period are the four structurally parallel contact assimilations (see above, IX), although even the interpretation of these is not straightforward (see II.2.2 (ii), XXXIII.1.2). For a few other possible items see below, XXXIII.1.2.

All other phenomena considered in the preceding chapters fall into one or more of the following four categories:

- (1) The non-standard form was one of spelling only, with the pronunciation that motivated it standard even among the highly educated (omission of final *-m*, assimilation of nasals in monosyllables to a following consonant, loss of *n* before *s*).
- (2) The stigmatised speech form was not rigorously avoided by all members of the upper/educated classes but elicited conflicting reactions, with some in favour of it and others against (neutralisation of final *-t/-d* in certain monosyllables or grammatical words, omission of initial aspirate, insertion of a glide between vowels of different quality in hiatus, syncopations in certain words), or it was used for particular purposes (assimilation in *issula* as a mark of intimacy (?) (IX.3.4.2), use of an *o*-variant in personal names usually with *au*, again as a mark of intimacy (IV.3.1.8), use of an *o*-variant in some common nouns to impart a rustic flavour or familiar or casual tone, for example in proverbs (IV.3.1.2)).
- (3) A stigmatised speech form was sometimes admitted by the highly educated without their being aware that they had done so (lengthening of short vowels under the accent in open syllables, shortening of long vowels in final syllables).
- (4) A phenomenon of speech that was otherwise stigmatised had become acceptable to the educated in certain lexical items (various terms with *o* for *au* (IV.3.1), various syncopated forms).

4 Lexical restriction

Sometimes phonological developments within Latin seem to be connected, for a while at least, to particular lexical items. A sound change may start in a few items before becoming general much later. It may even fail to operate on other items.

Such restriction is clear in the case of the monophthongisation of *au*. The *o*-form is restricted mainly to particular words. *Sodes* (< *si audes*) has the *o*-spelling when it means 'please', but in Classical Latin the *au*-form is written (*si audes*) when the verb has its secondary meaning 'dare' (IV.3.1.1). Syncope between *k* and *t* in adverbs with the suffix *-iter* is restricted to *audacter*, with many other adverbs (e.g. *tenaciter*) retaining the full form (V.2.3). Syncope is standard in the adverb *ualde*, but only in the positive: the full forms of the comparative (*ualidius*) and superlative (*ualidissime*) are well attested. The corresponding adjective *ualidus* retains its full form (V.2.5). In the term *calidus* the syncopated form is particularly common in the elliptical feminine use *caldā* meaning 'hot water' (V.2.2), though not excluded in other uses of the adjective. Syncope in *dominus* was resisted when the term was applied to the Christian God, but not necessarily when it was applied to a Roman emperor (V.2.4). When a first conjugation locative form (original *-ae*) is used with a substandard directional meaning the *-e* spelling is commonplace (e.g. *Alexandrie*), but in the monosyllable *aes* the monophthongisation seems to have been resisted for a time (IV.2.2). Some words containing the combination *ns* show an assimilation to *s* (*cosul*), but in *census* the cluster remained unassimilated, to judge from the Greek loan-word (IX.7.1). It has been observed that in Plautus the dropping of final *s* is far more common in some words than in others (VIII.2.2).

5 Monitoring

Instances of lexical restriction show that we cannot simply talk in terms of general sound changes that systematically alter the structure of the language. Speakers may be aware of changes in progress (letters are written to newspapers lamenting the decline of English) and adopt different attitudes to them, whether of rejection or acceptance. There is rarely a standard reaction to change among the educated, and that is a reason why a neat distinction between Vulgar Latin (in this context lower-class forms that are stigmatised and largely avoided by the educated) and Classical Latin (forms accepted by the educated) cannot be sustained. The educated cannot agree among themselves, and what to one person is correct to another

is pretentious. As we have observed (v.2.2), Augustus thought the unsyn-copated form of *calidus* tiresome. It would therefore be unjustifiable to assign *caldus* to Vulgar Latin as if it had a fixed status, and unacceptable to treat syncope unequivocally as a substandard feature. Phonetic changes that were perceptible provided a battle ground, with classifications such as 'correct' or 'vulgar' controversial. If there was a *sermo uulgaris* in some speakers' view, its features were not precise but negotiable. The result of the ability of speakers to monitor changes in progress was that in the case of a single term there might be a variety of forms in use, reflecting acceptance of a change or an attempt to counter it, with little agreement among purists. *Suus*, for example, had at least two variants (vi.5.1, 6 (ii)), a contracted form *sus* and a form with a glide to counter the contraction (*suuus*), and on the analogy of the oblique case forms such as *suo* there was possibly a disyllabic spelling pronunciation without glide among purists. The status of the three variants is bound to have been controversial or at least uncertain.

Schilling-Estes (2002: 382) notes that casual, unmonitored speech seems more regular than monitored. Note too 381: 'features of which speakers are highly conscious often show erratic behavior in style shifting'.

PART 3

Case and prepositions

CHAPTER XII

The nominative and accusative

1 Introduction

There were major changes to the case system between Latin and Romance. In this chapter the background to developments affecting the nominative and accusative will be considered, and the signs of new roles acquired by both cases identified. The next chapter deals with the oblique cases and some innovations in the use of prepositions.

2 Accusative forms and the Romance languages

The conventional view is that most nouns passed into Romance languages in their accusative rather than nominative form.¹ In Old French and Provençal some remains of two case forms (a subject case and an oblique case form) are found until about the fourteenth century, and in Raetia too vestiges of the nominative/accusative distinction. Romanian has a distinction between nominative/accusative and genitive/dative that is in part the consequence of the development of suffixal determiners (see Mallinson 1988: 399–400). In other areas there are invariable singular and plural forms.² The accusative origin of nouns is not obvious in the first and second declensions, where the loss of *-m* and *-s* caused a falling together of the nominative and accusative singular forms, but it is clearer in third declension nouns. For example, It. *notte*, Fr. *nuit*, Sp. *noche* and Rom. *noapte* could not derive from *nox* but must come from *nocte*. This might be the accusative *nocte(m)* or in theory the ablative. The ablative as source

¹ An alternative view is that there was a gradual reciprocal levelling of all cases. On the history of this idea see Sornicola (2011: 22). For this view in recent times see Penny (2002: 117–19, with the conclusion at 119).

² There is a vast literature on this subject. See e.g. Vincent (1988a: 63), Maiden (1995: 98–9), (2011a: 162–7), Penny (2002: 117–19). For Old French see Buridant (2000: 62–104), Sornicola (2011: 18–31), J. C. Smith (2011: 281–9). For relics of the nominative/accusative distinction in Raeto-Romance see Haiman (1988: 366–7, 381–4).

of the base form of Romance nouns is unlikely,³ given that accusatives are often used in late texts with nominative function (see below, 6), and that the ablative case as an independent entity receded with the advance of prepositional syntagms, in which the accusative gradually ousted the ablative. It might alternatively be suggested that a form such as *nocte* in late Latin was not specifically accusative or ablative at all but a multi-purpose inflection of indeterminate case deriving from phonetic developments (see above, n. 1). But in the late period there are definitely unambiguous accusatives, including plurals, used with nominative function, and any explanation of developments in the case system must allow for encroachment by the accusative on the nominative, whatever weight is to be given to phonetic attrition as blurring the distinctions between case endings.

On the origins of Romance plural forms see the overview of Herman (1997), Maiden (2011a: 164–7, with bibliography), and below, 6.6. The characteristic *-s* of western Romance plurals may possibly be taken to continue the ending of the Latin accusative plural (Maiden 2011a: 164; see further below, 6.6 n. 37).

It was not exclusively the accusative that produced the Romance forms of nouns. Some nouns of the third declension derive from the Latin nominative instead: e.g. It. *uomo, sarto, ladro, suora* ('nun'), *moglie, prete*, < *homo, sartor, latro, soror, mulier, presbyter* (see e.g. Bourciez 1946: 231 §216c, Maiden 1995: 99, Adams 1994b: 102 n. 85 with further bibliography, and particularly Rovai 2005: 64 for a long list of such nouns; for nominatives providing French noun forms see J. C. Smith 2011: 283 citing *peintre* < **pinctor*, *prêtre* < *presbyter*, *ancêtre* < *antecessor*, *sœur* < *soror*, *traître* < *traditor*, *fils* < *filius*). All of these designate human beings, i.e. they are animates rather than inanimates. Nouns of this class, including some of those just listed, are attested in late and early medieval Latin in the nominative for other case forms, often in appositional constructions, which are a special category of their own (see below, 3.3), but not only in these (3.3, p. 219). We will also see below (3.1 (ii), 3.3) a fossilised nominative use of *curator*, and the nominative of this term is reflected in Romance. Such fossilised forms must lie behind Romance, nominative-derived, reflexes.

³ There are however a few special cases of fossilised ablatives passing into Romance, usually as prepositions or adverbs, e.g. It. *senza* < *absentia*, *-mente* as an adverbial ending (see e.g. Lloyd 1987: 277, Maiden 1995: 98). *Nocte* itself is not a particularly well chosen example to show the survival of the accusative form, because it might in theory have been a fossilised ablative of time.

There are also Romance personal names that derive from the nominative/vocative (?)⁴ of Latin names, such as Fr. *Charles* < *Carolus*, *Sartre* < *Sartor*, *Georges* < *Georgius* (see Bastardas Parera 1953: 23–4 and Lloyd 1987: 275 for Spanish, Ewert 1943: 130, Buridant 2000: 82–3 and J. C. Smith 2011: 283 for French). Some Latin names produce in Gallo-Romance a personal name from their nominative form but a word of different type from their accusative (see J. C. Smith 2011: 285–7, citing e.g. *Iacobus* > *Jacques* alongside *iacobum* > *ja(c)que* ‘jerkin’). Names in Latin (and also Greek) have a tendency to be used in the nominative unresponsive to the syntactic context, and this tendency helps to explain why some nominative forms are reflected in Romance, against the general trend for the accusative to live on.

If the number of inflected cases in Latin was to be reduced, it is unsurprising statistically that the accusative form should have been favoured for inanimate nouns. Concrete inanimate nouns are far more often found in the accusative than the nominative in Latin, whereas personal names (and personal designations such as *mulier* and the other terms listed above) are frequently in the nominative (or vocative, which is often indistinguishable from the nominative). Here are some figures for inanimates from the three best-preserved letters of Claudius Terentianus (467, 468, 471). Concrete inanimate nouns occur forty times in the accusative but only five times in the nominative, and in four of the latter cases the verb is either *esse* or a compound of it. Otherwise inanimates are most often dependent on prepositions (about fourteen times), whether in the accusative or ablative. More comprehensive figures showing the high frequency of the accusative in Latin compared with other cases are cited by J. C. Smith (2011: 278). It should however be added that different categories of nouns may have their own favoured cases (see above on personal names). Place names, for example, are particularly frequent in the locative or directional cases (the two are not necessarily distinct), and accordingly we find that many place names came to be fossilised in one of these cases (e.g. *Aquis* > *Aix*, *Parisiis* > *Paris*, εἰς τὴν πόλιν > *Istanbul*) (see also xv.4–5).⁵

The opposition animacy versus inanimacy does seem to have played some part in determining the case form that was to survive in the different

⁴ See below, 3.1.1.1 with n. 11.

⁵ See e.g. Bonnet (1890: 570–1), B. Löfstedt (1959: 136–8), Adams (1976a: 58), Timpanaro (1978: 423–6). Prepositional expressions with εἰς in the late period could be locative as well as directional. The phenomenon of fossilisation is commented on by the grammarian Consentius: *GL* v.349.3–4 *interdum effertur nouo modo et quasi monoptota, ut Curibus Trallibus Turribus* . . . (see below, xv.4).

categories of nouns, but its importance should not be exaggerated (see the reservations of J. C. Smith 2011: 283, with some bibliography).

3 Nominative for oblique cases in names, headings, personal designations and appositional expressions, and naming constructions

In this section we deal with some of the main uses of the nominative that may be indifferent to the syntax of their immediate context. In the later part of the chapter, to some extent in 5 but mainly in 6, the acquisition by the accusative of nominative functions will be discussed.

3.1 *Names and personal designations in the nominative, after prepositions and in some oblique-case roles*

Several times in new non-literary texts there are examples of the nominative used after a preposition (*per*). We start with the archive of the Sulpicii and the Bu Njem ostraca. There are similar usages in the Albertini tablets, to which we will come below in a separate section (3.1.1.2). Two new examples are:

TPSulp. 51, 18 June AD 37, Puteoli
scriptura interior
 Cn(aeo) Acceronio Proculo C(aio) Petronio Pōntio co(n)s(ulibus),
 xiv K(alendas) Iulias.
 C(aius) Nouius Eunus scripssi me accepisse {ab}
 mutua ab Eueno Ti(berii) Cessarī Augusti
 liberto Primiano apssente per
 Hessucus ser(uum) eius et debere ei sesterta
 decem milia nummu . . .

The correct version of the text, written by a scribe, has *per Hesychum*. The nominative construction cannot have been anything but substandard.

O. Bu Njem 77, 21 January 259
 Octauio Festo dec(urioni) p(rae)p(osito) meo
 Aemilius Aemilianus mil(es) salutem
 transmisi at te domine per kamella-
rius. Iassuchan sbitualis tridici
vji. noue q(uae). f(iunt). modios centum octo
 consules. futuros post Thusco et
 Basso cos(ulibus). xji Kal(endas) Febrarias.

The two examples are not identical. In the first it is a personal name that is not inflected. In the second the African name *Iassucthan* is of indeterminate case because it has not been given a Latin inflection at all. Foreign names are often left uninflected in Latin (see e.g. Wölfflin and Miodoński 1889: 121 on *B. Afr.* 79.1, Havers 1928: 96, Svennung 1935: 174, Masson 1977, Herman 1996a, Biville 2007: 119–20; see also below, xv.5 on fossilised foreign place names). *Kamellarius*, however, is in the nominative even though it is juxtaposed with the preposition (on the unconvincing possibility that it might be a misspelt accusative plural see Adams 1994b: 99–101). *Kamellarius*, though a common noun, is animate, and it belongs in the category of professional designations, like *sartor*, *presbyter* and *curator*, which were listed above as having reflexes in the Romance languages derived from the Latin nominative rather than accusative form. On the other hand it is an appositional term, qualifying a name, and there is a construction referred to as the nominative of apposition (see below, 3.3). What would make this instance slightly unusual as an appositional nominative is its placement next to the preposition. Nominatives of apposition are by definition detached and they usually (but not always, as we will see) come at the end of the construction. The example above is one of two in the text that are identical: cf., in the same formula, *O. Bu Njem 78 per camelarius Iaremban*. Also relevant is the fragmentary text 80:

tr[ansmisi] at te dom[ine] . . .
us Fezinis filius s[
tridici.

Here the incomplete term ending in *-us* must depend on *per* (this group of tablets is highly formulaic) and belong either to a name, with *filius* in apposition to it and in the normal position for a patronymic, after the name (see Adams 1994b: 101), or to *camel(l)arius* (with or without an accompanying name).

There are some other instances of *per* with the nominative from eastern provinces, cited by *TLL* x.1.1169.45ff. under the rubric ‘cum nom. iungi videtur hic illic errore scribae vel lapidarii’, and by Adams (1994b: 102 n. 81), with similar scepticism. Galdi (2004: 396–8), however, is more inclined to take these eastern examples seriously, and he covers all possible explanations in his discussion. It is notable that in his first three examples it is a personal name that is in the nominative (Galdi’s third example, at *ISM* 5.62, is not cited by the *TLL*), and that in two of these an epithet in the (correct) accusative accompanies the name:

CIL III.14184.27 Aug. p. Max. tribuniciae potestatis cos p.p. restituit per L. Apronius pium leg. Aug.

10515 P. Sitti. Donatus Mustiolus et Faustina her(edes) per Siti[um (?) Theo]doretus patrem fecerunt.

These passages suggest a special status for the name, such that the writer leaves it uninflected (i.e. in the nominative or base form) while inflecting elements in agreement with it. A comparable inconsistency, but where the name and epithet are object of a transitive verb, is found in the Visigothic slate tablet numbered 40.11 (seventh century) in the edition of Velázquez Soriano (2004): 5 *ego adduxsi teste ipse Froila* ('I brought as witness Froila himself') (see the comments of Velázquez Soriano, 2004: 229, 517). Here the appositional object *teste* is inflected as an accusative, but the name and determiner are in the nominative. The name is of Gothic origin, and of the *-a*, *-anis* formation (accusative *Frolianem*) (on this example see further below, XVIII.1 (1), and on the formation 1 (7) with n. 1).

From early medieval texts names in the nominative following prepositions (including *per*) are cited by Bastardas Parera (1953: 24) and Westerbergh (1956: 250). In the Visigothic slate tablet 5 (of the sixth or seventh century) (Velázquez Soriano 2004) we find (11) *p(er) Sigerius*. There is also some contemporary Greek material that throws light on the special character of personal names (see below).

The writer of the first text above (*TPSulp.* 51), C. Novius Eunus, was a freedman of Greek origin, and the name that he does not inflect is itself Greek. This example calls to mind comparable phenomena in Greek papyri and inscriptions from Egypt of much the same, early imperial, date. In these personal names are not infrequently uninflected not only after prepositions (including διὰ, the equivalent of *per*, in similar contexts) but in various case relations to the verb, such as indirect object (dative) and direct object (accusative). Some material is cited below, classified into the three categories just mentioned. Most are from the ostraca of Mons Claudianus (*O. Claud.*), a corpus in which Latinisms have been found (Leiwo 2010a: 108, 110).

(i) preposition + nominative

Bernand (1988) no. 35 διὰ Δίδυμος [ἱερέως θρησκ]εύοντος, [π]ροσεδρεύοντος.

no. 39 διὰ Σαραπίων ἱερέως θρησκεύοντος, προσεδρεύοντος (cf. nos. 37, 38).

- O. Claud.* II.224.5–6 (mid second century) [κόμι]σον τὸ τρεικέ[ραμο]ν
 παρὰ Ἀρτε[μίδ]ωρος καμηλίτ(ου).
 233.6–7 ἐκομισάμ(ην) . . . παρ]ὰ Πανίσκος.
 238.3–4 κόμισον παρὰ Διόσκορος.
 257.5 καικόμισε παρὰ Σερῆνος ('I have taken delivery from Serenus of . . .';
 the verb form is for κεκόμισμαι).
 270.9–10 κώμισον παρὰ Νεμεσίων φαμιλιάρω.
 Baillet (1920–6) no. 1862 Ποτάμων ἱστόρησα σὺν Ποτάμων πατρί.

Sometimes the name is of Egyptian origin. Such names might be treated as indeclinable (see Gignac 1981: 103–4), but most could be fitted into Greek declensional types.⁶ Certainly a name with an -15 nominative, such as the following two, might have been inflected in oblique cases:

- O. Claud.* I.162.3 δέξει παρὰ Χεννᾶμις καμηλίτου.
 II.226.8 κομίσατε παρὰ Πουῶνσις τ[οῦ] φαμειλιαρικοῦ.

For the name in the second passage inflected in the genitive see *O. Claud.* II.376.7 διὰ Πουώνσιος.

There are ten examples quoted above. In most but not all the name is accompanied by an epithet, participial or nominal, and that epithet is inflected in an oblique case. *O. Claud.* 270.9–10 does not really violate the pattern. Νεμεσίωνος φαμιλιάρου would have been correct, but the writer has been content with the nominative form of the name while giving the epithet an oblique-case form, if not the correct one. There has been no collapse of the inflectional system: it is only the personal names that are uninflected, whereas the other elements are inflected in the usual way. All the texts cited are otherwise full of correct inflections.

The first two examples are from inscriptions in the temple of Nero at Akoris commemorating the flooding of the Nile, and the διὰ-expression records the priest officiating at the ceremonies. Bernand (1988: 45–58) prints eight inscriptions (29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39) that have such expressions in legible form (others must have been the same but are fragmentary), and in four of these (35, 37, 38, 39) the proper name (but not its epithets) is uninflected: note Bernand (1988: 55) on 38, 'Le nom n'est pas décliné, comme il arrive dans ce type d'inscription.' Contrast for example 34 ἐπὶ Διδύμου ἱερέως θρησκεύοντος.

Of the examples cited above from Mons Claudianus, three are from the archive of Dioscorus (224, 226, 233), which has other distinctive usages (see further below), one (238) is from 'correspondence related to Dioscorus' (so

⁶ See the material cited in this connection by Gignac (1981: 103).

the editor A. Bülow-Jacobsen), and another (270) is from the archive of Patrembabathes, which will also come up again.

(ii) nominative for dative

O. Claud. II.229.1–3 Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερεμη[σις] καὶ Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἀμφοτέροι[ς τοῖς] φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρ(ειν) ('Dioscorus to Dracon and Eremesis and Ammonianus, all his best friends, many greetings').

This too is from the archive of Dioscorus, and is the opening address of a letter. The names of the recipients are expressed in the nominative, but the appositional expression is in the dative. E. Harrison (2002: 52), commenting on such examples, says in her conclusion that 'the fixity of word order "does duty for case marking"', but that cannot be the whole story, because part of the address is correctly put in the dative case. Such an example could not be explained from the 'decline of the dative' in later Greek.⁷ The archive is full of datives.

The above is not the only letter in the archive of Dioscorus that has this type of greeting (see E. Harrison 2002: 45–6). 227 is the same, and 225 and 226 much the same, except that the name of the third recipient, in the nominative, has κουράτωρ, also a nominative form, immediately after it (on this usage see below, this section, and also 3.3), before the correct dative phrase ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις. Note further:

O. Claud. II.224.1–2 [Διό]σκορος Δράκων [ἄδε]λφῶ.
272.1–3 Πατρεμπαβάθης τοῖς] τρισι Βησαρίων καὶ .. εμων καὶ Ἑρμῖνος.

These are two further examples from the archives of Dioscorus and Patrembabathes, each again showing uninflected personal names juxtaposed with epithets/appositional phrases inflected in the dative. In the second the dative expression unusually precedes the names.

O. Claud. II.279.1–2 Ἡρακλείδης Πανίσκος τῷ φιλτάτῳ πολλὰ χαίρειν.

A different archive this time, but with the usual pattern showing a dative epithet alongside an uninflected name.

O. Claud. II.238.1–2 Ἐπώνυχε Πανίσκος καὶ Πατο[σ]ῖρις ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ('Eponychus to Paniscus and Patosiris both his brothers').

This greeting is from the letter, referred to above, forming part of correspondence related to Dioscorus. The sentence has the nominative of the

⁷ See e.g. Browning (1969: 42–3) and particularly Horrocks (2010: 496) s.v. 'dative case'.

recipients' names and dative of the appositional phrase, but also an oddity. The name of the sender is in the vocative. This last form (for the expected Ἐπώνυχος) is not amenable to explanation as merely showing ο > ε in an unaccented syllable (a common change: see Gignac 1976: 289), as e.g. the (dative) φίλτοτε at 255.2 (see the editor ad loc.) and 256.2 might be explained, because there is no final ς. Names in other languages are not infrequently fossilised in the vocative, and this may be a stray manifestation of the tendency to give vocatives a special status (see below, 3.1.1.1 for bibliography on this subject).

O. Claud. 11.374.1–2 Σεραπίων κουράτωρ πρα[ισιδί]ου Ψαιμα Σερῆνος κουράτωρ μετάλου Κλαυδιανοῦ χαίρειν.

On the non-inflection of the second occurrence of κουράτωρ, with the name of the recipient, itself in the nominative rather than the dative, see below, 3.3.

For a nominative used for the dative of the addressee of a letter without an accompanying epithet note:

M727 (Cuvigny 2003: 464) Σοσιανὸς Ἀσπιδοῦς χαίρειν (for Ἀσπιδοῦτι).

Examples of comparable types to those discussed above can be found in other corpora of papyri: e.g.

P. Oxy. 10.1335 τῷ κομ(ίτι) Διογένης (5th century).
14.1777 κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Τύραν<ν>ος.⁸

(iii) nominative for accusative

O. Claud. 11.279.12 ἀσπάζομαι τὸν φίλον σου Ἑρμῖνος.

Here, as in a few of the examples above, the correctly inflected epithet precedes the name in the nominative. In this position one might be tempted to regard the name as a nominative of apposition (see below, 3.3 on this construction). However, not all nominative names with an object role can be explained thus. Note the following:

O. Claud. 11.225.13–14 ἀσπάζομαι Πετοσῆρις.
225.18 ἄσπα[σαι Σαρ]απάμων (for -άμμωνα).
258.3–4 ἀσπάζομαι Ὠρσενούφης καὶ Μαρχῖνος καὶ Λέων.⁹

⁸ Material is collected by Schmidt (1922: 113). This includes a case of the nominative of names after a preposition.

⁹ See also *P. Oxy.* 8.1160.3–6, quoted by Schmidt (1922: 113).

The third passage is from a letter of Titianus, which starts with a correct greeting (not quoted) containing the name of the recipient in the dative, but then (above) the writer greets a string of individuals, using nominatives expressing the objects of the verb. A few lines later the same verb is used with a correct accusative of a pronoun: 8–9 ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς Ἀλέξανδρος.

In these three cases the names are the primary (and indeed only) complement of the verb, and it becomes likely that the first example in this section, despite its resemblance to a nominative of apposition, exhibits the same phenomenon as that in the above examples, but with its epithet given prominence by anteposition.

3.1.1 Explanations

Material of this type cannot be reduced to a single explanation. Two main factors will be discussed in the following two sections below, but there are several others that might be mentioned in passing.

First, the possibility should be considered that sometimes the use of nominative forms for oblique cases may be related to poor learning of a second language: a writer might have learnt a base form (the nominative) and little else.¹⁰ But that would not account for the above examples. The writers used oblique cases freely except in one category of words, personal names. There is nothing chaotic about the use of cases, as might have been expected if imperfect learning were an influence.

Second, as we have noted (3.1), foreign names may be used in a single form because they are not easily inflected in the borrowing language. But that would explain only some of the above nominatives, because the names are often of Greek or Latin origin, or, if foreign, readily inflected as Greek.

Third, it might be suggested that in compound phrases, in which names are combined with epithets or appositional expressions, writers did not feel the need to inflect all the elements. B. Löfstedt (1959: 133), for example, notes from medieval Latin cases of ‘double-barrelled’ names of the type (*regnante*) *dominus Leoprando*, on which he comments: ‘*dominus Leoprandus* is considered and treated as a single expression, and the first half therefore ceases to be declined’. But an explanation along the lines suggested by Löfstedt’s medieval examples will not account for the data above. In quite a few cases (including that in the Latin legal document in the name of C. Novius Eunus) the uninflected personal name is not accompanied by

¹⁰ See Fewster (2002: 238–40), Adams (2003a: 236–7); also, on the constant use of the nominative in some African texts, Adams (1994b: 96–102).

an epithet that marks the case. Moreover if there is an epithet it need not come at the end.

Fourth, E. Harrison (2002: 52) suggested (see above, 3.1 (ii)) that the word order (of greetings) was felt to be sufficient to establish the case of the name. But that too is an unsatisfactory explanation, because often, as we have seen, inflected elements (such as ᾠδελφῶ and other such epithets) are juxtaposed with personal names, and their case role too might just as easily have been deduced from the context and word order. The letters in which our examples are embedded are full of oblique-case inflections even in fixed phrases and in contexts in which the function of a term would have been obvious even were it in the nominative.

The other two factors referred to above are as follows.

3.1.1.1 The special character of names

There is no alternative but to allow that there was something special about names that prompted their occasional non-inflection (on this subject see e.g. Mohrmann 1933: 30). Names, both personal and also toponyms (see above, 2, and xv.4–5), are sometimes fossilised in a case that is often used. In African Latin there is some evidence for the fossilisation of personal names in the vocative (see Adams 2003a: 512–15), and there was also borrowing of Latin names from the vocative form in Etruscan (see Adams 2007: 97–100 with bibliography). In one of the Greek texts quoted above (3.1 (ii)) we saw a vocative form used with nominative function. On vocative for nominative see in general Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.309–10) with Langslow (2009: 388–90), the latter with additional material in footnotes. In French, as was noted above (2), though most nouns reflect the accusative form ('cas régime'), names such as *Charles* derive rather from the nominative ('cas sujet') (< *Carolus*), and that implies that the nominative had a special status in personal names. The nominative was felt to be the essence of the name, and it came to be used with vocative function as well.¹¹

One explanation of at least some of the nominatives above is therefore as follows. There was a weak tendency for the nominative of Greek names at this period to be treated as an invariant form, in line with a widespread habit that speakers have in inflecting languages of privileging one or two case forms of personal names and toponyms. This need have been no more than a tendency in Greek, characteristic for example of some idiolects. We have seen that the phenomenon is a feature of some archives in the

¹¹ See e.g. Hassall and Tomlin (1987: 360–1) (text no. 1) *tibi rogo Metunus, Tab. Vindoniss.* 30.4–5 *tum, faustus Tullus, [qui de] amoribus ig(n)oras*, V.S. There are various inscriptional examples from Pompeii that take the following form: *CIL* iv.4844 *Latimius, ua(le)* (see Svennung 1958: 271).

ostraca from Mons Claudianus. There are others in which it does not occur, and that suggests that the practice was located in the speech either of individuals or those of a certain social class. Similarly in the Latin inscriptions of Africa the nominative use of the vocative of names is by no means widespread, but it does turn up. In the Latin tablet from the archive of the Sulpicii quoted at the start of 3.1 the name is Greek (as was the writer of the text), and the use of the nominative may be a reflection of what was happening in (some) contemporary Greek. However, the Latin examples from the eastern Empire suggest that varieties of Latin had the same feature independently, and a few centuries later evidence is more abundant in some early medieval corpora. Eunus' expression would definitely have been considered substandard and stigmatised, and it was corrected by the scribe in the other version of the document.

We may note a nominative in a Bath curse tablet: *Tab. Sulis* 99 *exēcro qui inuolauerit qui Deomiorix de hospitio suo perdiderit*. Tomlin (1988: 235) translates: 'I curse (him) who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house.' The second *qui*-clause is not coherent, but Tomlin is right to say that the 'nominative (*Deomiorix*) is a solecism for whatever oblique case(s) would be required by *involaverit* and *perdiderit*'. Three factors may have been influential here, including the one that we have been dealing with in this section, that is the special character of names. Second, the name is foreign, and the writer might have been uncertain of the oblique cases. Third, clarity was probably a special determinant of nominatives in curse tablets, in which the writer would wish to leave no room for any misunderstanding of the identity of the victims of the curse or crime (see Havers 1928: 96–7).

A syntactic and structural feature of a few other curse tablets is relevant to the first and third factors just listed. A curse may begin with a heading consisting of the name of the victim in the nominative, standing outside the syntax of the rest of the tablet. The curse tablet Audollent (1904) no. 135 begins *Malcio Nicones oculos* . . . The text continues with a long list of anatomical terms in the accusative, object of the verb phrase *defico in as tabelas*.¹² The person cursed is Malchio (nominative) son of Nico (see Solin 1995: 572). The person as well as the body parts is cursed, but the name goes into the nominative and the anatomical terms into the accusative. Strictly the initial name might have been in the genitive (see Jeanneret 1918: 132–3). Side b of the same tablet has the same structure. A nominative name *Rufas* (sic) *Pulica* is followed by accusatives (*manus detes oculos* . . .) and then *defico*

¹² According to Audollent the text reads *deioo* for *defico*.

in as tabelas. In this tablet the fact that the names form headings is an additional determinant of their non-inflection; we will return to this factor at 3.2.

3.1.1.2 The mechanical composition of formulaic texts

We move on to the second of the factors flagged at 3.1.1.

There are numerous examples of nominatives after prepositions in the Albertini tablets (see Courtois *et al.* 1952), legal documents mainly to do with the sale of parcels of land from Vandal North Africa, dated to 493–6. These, though often again having names as the uninflected elements, suggest a different explanation of at least some nominative forms. See for example VI.27 *ego Lucianus magister petitus a Martialis benditor*, VII.24–5 *petitus a Victorinus et Fotta uenditores*, IX.24 *ego Lucianus petitus a Maxinus benditor* (cf. V.40). A partially correct construction is found at X.18 *ego Quadratianus magister petitus a Quintiano et Gilesa uxor eius* (note the incorrect nominative of apposition *uxor* at the end of the construction). A variant is at XII.17 *petitus a Bictorinum et Focta iugalīs*.

Uninflected nominatives are not only used after prepositions in this corpus. Note the following passage (XIV.1–9):

anno dodecimo domini regis Gunthamundi sub die xii k(a)l(endas) martias
uen[dentib]s Messius Victorinus et Fotta uxor eius ex culturis suis Mancianis
sub dominio Fl(aui) Gemini Catullini fl(am)i(nis) in perpetum in locis et
 uocauilis suis locus qui apell[atur] in pullatis frustellum unum in quo sunt
 oliue arb arbores tredecim inter adfin[es] a marino et septentrione Victorinus
uenditor ab africo Saturninus a choro hh(eredes) Venenati . . . et ex hac
 die emit Geminus Felix folles pecunie numero trecentos quos acceperunt
 Victorinus et Fotta uxor eius et secum sustulerunt.

In the twelfth year of our lord king Gunthamundus twelve days before the kalends of March, with Messius Victorinus and his wife Fotta selling from their cultivated fields acquired by the law of Mancius, under the jurisdiction of Flavius Geminus Catullinus, the permanent flamen, in the places with their names, the place which is called 'In the friable fields', one strip in which there are thirteen olive trees, within those bordering on them, to the north-east and north Victorinus the vendor, to the south-west Saturninus, to the north-west the heirs of Venenatus, . . . and from this day Geminus Felix has bought (this place) for 300 *folles* of money, which Victorinus and Fotta his wife have received and removed with them.

The first underlined expression is a formulaic ablative absolute introduced correctly by *uendentibus* (elsewhere sometimes in the singular, *uendente*), but then the names of the vendors are in the nominative instead of agreeing

with the participle. Sometimes this construction is correct or largely correct, as at IV.2–3 *bendente Iulio Restituto et Dona[ta] uxor eius*. Here the only lapse lies in the use of the appositional nominative *uxor*. But frequently the ablative participle is followed by nominatives: cf. e.g. VI.3 *bendentibus Iulius Martialis et Donatilla iugalīs eius*.

In the second underlined construction (*Victorinus uenditor* etc.) the names and their epithets should strictly be accusatives in apposition to *adfinēs* and dependent on *inter*. For a partially correct variant on this formula which gradually breaks down see *Tabl. Alb.* XVI.8–11 *inter adfinēs eiusdem loci qui iungitur a meridie Victorino a corro Vigilliano uenditor ab africo Vigillianus* ('within those bordering on this same place, which is joined to the south to Victorinus . . .'). The construction (*Victorino* and *Vigiliano* are datives attached to *iungitur*) is correct as far as *Vigilliano*, and then the drafter lapses into the nominative, both in the appositional *uenditor* and in the next name. A comparable breakdown, also with a lapse into the nominative, is at XVIII.17–18 *in nomine Victorini et Donata uxor eius emtores suos* (with as well an accusative at the end).

In these texts the treatment of names does not differ from that of epithets, and it is necessary to find a different explanation of the nominatives from that proposed in the last section. The Albertini tablets are highly formulaic, the only variables being the names of those involved in the transactions and the designations of the property changing hands. Model documents must have been provided for those buying and selling land, with blanks left in the text where the variable elements were to be inserted. Those filling in the blanks sometimes remembered to inflect the names and epithets according to the context, but as often as not they merely wrote in the base form of the name, the nominative, without bothering about agreement. Alternatively they sometimes began by inflecting correctly but then abandoned the effort halfway through the construction and fell into the nominative. On this view incorrect nominatives in the corpus are not to be accounted for linguistically but as representing a careless filling out of forms. There are other features of the texts too that have to be explained from careless composition. On the other hand it must be significant that when a construction breaks down it is the nominative form of the name into which the writer lapses, a fact which suggests that the nominative was felt to be the proper form of a name.

At this point we may return to the second example cited at the start of this discussion of the nominative (that from the Bu Njem ostraca) (3.1). There too the use of *per* + nominative may reflect the mechanical composition of a formulaic text. The letter in which the construction occurs was of a

standard format at Bu Njem, provided for those charged with dispatching goods back to the camp (see Adams 1994b: 93–6, 101). Here too writers must have been filling in blanks. *Transmisi at te domine per* was a formulaic element, and some writers inserted a nominative in the blank.

3.2 Focal nominative headings

At the end of 3.I.I.I we cited a curse tablet with asyntactic nominative names at the start, and suggested that a combination of factors must lie behind the construction, namely the special character of names and the fact that the names served as a heading. It is worth expanding on this second factor.

In literary language there are sometimes asyntactic nominatives at the start of a sentence or clause, usually picked up later in the sentence by a resumptive pronoun in the case demanded by the syntax.¹³ This construction seems to be used particularly to mark a change of subject or to focus the term in the nominative. Not infrequently the term is a name, and such usages are hard to distinguish from asyntactic nominatives determined by the special significance of the nominative form of names. Sometimes, however, either personal designations or even terms designating inanimates are used thus in the nominative. In these cases it would seem to be rather the focal character of a detached initial nominative that has motivated the usage. Here are a few examples:

Plaut. *Capt.* 807–10 tum pistores scrofi

asci, qui alunt furfuribus sues,
quarum odore praeterire nemo pistrinum potest,
eorum si quouisquam scrofam in publico conspexero,
ex ipsis dominis meis pugnīs exculcabo furfures.

Here the parasite Ergasilus speaks like an aedile, as another speaker remarks (823). He begins with a nominative identifying the group for whom his ‘edict’ is intended. This nominative is left hanging and not integrated into the syntax of the sentence. It is picked up in the third line by a resumptive pronoun in the correct case. This is the first of three sentences with the same structure (the last without a resumptive pronoun), all with the topical group (new to the context) expressed in a hanging nominative. A single instance of the construction might have been put down to a momentary anacoluthon, but its repetition shows that it was deliberate.

For personal names used in this way in historical writers see:

¹³ On detached nominative headings see e.g. Havers (1928: 111–13), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 29), Adams, Lapidge and Reinhardt (2005: 17–21), Adams (2005b: 92–3).

Cato *Orig.* 83 Leonides Laco, qui simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius uirtutes omnis Graecia gloriam atque gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae decorauere monumentis.

B. Afr. 25.1 dum haec ita fierent, rex Iuba cognitis Caesaris difficultatibus copiarumque paucitate non est uisum dari spatium conualescendi augendarumque eius opum (without a resumptive pronoun).

For a Ciceronian example, this time with an inanimate subject, see *Fin.* 3.II:

ceterae philosophorum disciplinae, omnino alia magis alia, sed tamen omnes quae rem ullam uirtutis expertem aut in bonis aut in malis numerent, eas non modo nihil adiuuare arbitror neque confirmare quo meliores simus, sed...

3.3 Personal designations and the nominative of apposition

It was noted above (2) that the nominative forms of various personal nouns (our 'personal designations', embracing mainly kinship terms, professional denominations and titles) survive in some Romance languages rather than the accusative. We have alluded to one such term, *curator*, which occurs as a loan-word in Greek tablets of Roman military provenance in an unconstrued nominative form (see above, 3.1 (ii)). The nominative has a Romance reflex (> It. *curato*).¹⁴ The fossilisation of the nominative form of the word in several Greek texts from Mons Claudianus may well reflect its use in contemporary (military) Latin: e.g. *O. Claud.* II.374.1-2 Σεραπίων κουράτωρ... Σερχήνος κουράτωρ, where the second expression designates the recipient of the letter and should be in the dative. See also 224.10, 225.2, 226.4, 373.4, 376.3, 381.4.

Such animate nouns, like names, are far more likely to be used in the nominative in a text than inanimate nouns, concrete and abstract, and that fact provides at least the background to the partial survival of the nominative form. There is another possible influence. Personal designations, notably kinship terms and titles, are especially common in the construction referred to as the 'nominative of apposition' (in which a word in the nominative is in apposition to a word in an oblique case), and that usage may have contributed to the fossilisation: if a nominative was habitually used in unconstrued form in appositional constructions it might from there have been transferred into other contexts. Some illustrations of the nominative of apposition are given below, with bibliography. The construction is

¹⁴ See Adams (1994b: 102 n. 85), with bibliography.

attested quite early, but several of the republican examples have not always found favour. It was long-lived, as in Old French the Subject Case may be substituted for the Oblique Case in appositions (see Sornicola 2008: 237, 247–8).

There is an instance at Cic. *Phil.* 2.58 *sequebatur raeda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi* (discussed by E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.82–3, Norberg 1943: 65–6). This might perhaps be interpreted as a sort of *constructio ad sensum*, based on the implication of the preceding phrase (= *lenones in raeda*: see Löfstedt). Note however Ramsey 2003: 246: ‘looks suspiciously like a marginal notation (expressing some reader’s indignation) that has been intruded into the text’. Against this it might be argued that the nominative has been used to focus the condemnatory phrase by detaching it from the syntax (compare the detached nominative headings discussed at 3.2). *Comites nequissimi* might also be construed as a reduced sentence without copula, with strong punctuation such as a colon placed after *lenonibus* (on this explanation of a type of apposition see below, 6.2, p. 238). There is no need to suspect the text.

On one interpretation an earlier instance is found in one of the Scipionic *elogia*: CIL 1².9 *hunc oino... cosentiont... | duonoro optumo fuisse uiro | Lucium Scipione, filios Barbati. | consul, censor, aidilis hic fuet a[pu]d uos* (‘they agree that he alone was the best of good men, Lucius Scipio, the son of Barbatus...’). Some editors prefer to put a full stop after *Scipione* and to construe *filios Barbati* as part of the next sentence. If so it could be taken in one of two ways. It might, first, be part of the predicate and coordinated with *consul, censor* etc. This interpretation fits badly with the verb phrase *hic fuet* (‘He was, among you, son of Barbatus, consul, censor...’). Second, it might be sole subject (or in apposition to the subject contained in the verb), with the titles alone forming the predicate (‘He, son of Barbatus, was consul, censor...’). A filiation goes most naturally in Latin with a name.

A particular type of appositional nominative turns up from early Latin and is well represented in classical literature, namely that in which an epithet or phrase in the nominative stands in apposition to a vocative. Note e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 691–2 *mi Libane, ocellus aureus*, Livy 1.24.7, in a formula, *audi tu, populus Albanus*, Augustus ap. Gellius 15.7.2 *aue, mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus*.¹⁵ There was nothing substandard about this pattern, but it does show the detached character of an appositional phrase.

¹⁵ Further examples may be found in Svennung (1958: 246–7), and not all of them from Plautus (see e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.834–5, with Austin 1977: 257). See also E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.99–100), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 25). *Populus*, however (in the passage of Livy), one would not expect to find in the vocative. See Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.297) = Langslow (2009: 373), Havers (1928: 104).

At Tac. *Ann.* II.16.1 (*uno reliquo stirpis regiae, qui apud urbem habebatur, nomine Italicus*) *nomine Italicus* is logically in apposition to *uno reliquo*, and strict agreement might have had *Italicus* expressed in the ablative, but the string of ablatives would have been difficult to disentangle, and Tacitus has allowed the phrase to be construed within the *qui*-clause.

Definite cases of other types are of imperial date. For kinship terms note e.g. Audollent (1904) 270.11–12 ανιμα ετ χορ ουραθουρ Σεξιτιλι Διονισιε φιλιους, same text, 19–21 ομνια μεμβρα θοθιους χορπορις Σεξιτιλι Διονισιε φιλιους (*filius* unconstrued in both passages) and *CIL* VI.3283 *curantae* (sic) [*F*]rontinio Frontone (*h*)eres *ipsius* (these cited by E. Löfstedt 1911: 50–1). For titles see e.g. *CIL* VI.9927 *Iulia . . . Lucilio . . . digno feci, omnium hominum sodalicii magister et hortator*, VI.3910 *Flauio Euprepeti . . . medicus duplic(arius)*, III.6612 *Q. Valerio, tribunus militum* (from E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.82). Several of these examples were taken by Löfstedt from Konjetzny (1908: 308), who also offers a long list of military inscriptions recording the *patria* or *origo* of the referent by means of an expression such as *natione Mesacus* standing in apposition to a name in the genitive or dative.

Further examples of much the same types are collected in various places by Galdi (2004) from eastern inscriptions, for example at 34 (*filia* in apposition to a name in the dative), 112–13 (*filius* in apposition to a name in the dative, various military titles – *ueteranus*, *tribunus militum* – in apposition to names in the dative, and an *origo* – *natione Bessus* – in apposition to a name in the dative), 116 (a civil title, *dumuer* (sic), following a name in the dative), 198 (among other things an imperial title, *uictor*, following a name in the genitive), 211–12 (among other things two civil titles in apposition to a name in the dative), 246 (the imperial titles *uictores* and *triumphatores* following names in the dative) (see further Galdi 2004: 392). Westerbergh (1956: 250) cites instances of *filius* in the appositional construction after a preposition.

A special type of incongruence is that in which the appositional terms comprise a list, as at Pallad. 4.13.2 *in forma haec sequemur, uastum corpus et solidum, robori conueniens altitudo, latus longissimum, maximi ac rotundi clunes, pectus late patens et corpus omne musculorum densitate nodosum, pes siccus et solidus et cornu cancauo altius calciatus* (here *haec* is accusative but the appositional items listed are in the nominative, as the underlined parts show), *CLE* 1788 *cum ministeria tria, Fortunata Augendus | Augenda, CIL* VI.10052 *uicit Scorpis equis his: Pegasus, Elates, Andraemo, Cotynus*.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Konjetzny (1908: 308), quoting alongside this inscription another in which the agreement is correct.

(Juv. 3.76–7 does not belong here, because the list of nominatives can be construed as appositional to *Graeculus esuriens* at 78, which is the subject of *nouit*.) This type is only superficially comparable to those above. Although the nominative components of a list might technically be in apposition to an anticipatory term itself not in the nominative, lists, particularly if they are long, take on a free-standing character (marked in modern languages by punctuation, such as a colon) (see below, 5). Also, in two of the lists above the components are names, and names constitute a special case (above, 3.1.1.1, below, 3.4).

It was remarked at the start of this section that among the Romance nouns that reflect Latin nominatives rather than accusatives there are professional designations and kinship terms of the type that are often in apposition. These include terms attested in the unconstrued nominative of apposition in Latin. For example, Fr. *filz* reflects *filius* not the accusative form, and *filius*, as we have just seen, is particularly well represented as a nominative of apposition where another case form was expected. The fossilisation in the nominative of terms such as this is likely to have been facilitated by their frequency in the construction nominative of apposition. One might object that apposition is not all that common and its influence on language development unlikely to be marked. However, Bauer (2008: 44) has recently pointed out that there is a striking increase in the incidence of appositions in later Latin, which is not genre-related, and she adds that this increase resulted in a 'rich Romance word formation process'. Westerbergh (1956: 249) took a similar view to that advanced here. She refers first to the 'nominative of apposition', a construction which appears chiefly in 'titles, denominations of relationship and proper nouns', and then adds that in the *Chronicon Salernitanum* there is as well a trend to generalise the nominative of similar nouns in any function. The stereotyped nominatives for other cases cited from the *Chronicon* and elsewhere by Westerbergh (249–50) consist mainly of personal names, titles or professional designations, such as *princeps*, *imperator*, *triumphator* and *episcopus*.

Some other kinship terms, *pater*, *mater* and *frater*, are already common as fossilised nominative forms in constructions other than the appositional one (as object of verbs, after prepositions) in the early medieval *Edictus Rothari* (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 215–17). Löfstedt ([1976] 2000: 178) gives further examples from Spanish medieval documents, including *mater* for *matrem*, *soror* for *sororem* and *uxor* for *uxorem*. The Spanish medieval documents discussed by Bastardas Parera (1953: 23–7) under the nominative with the function of other cases contain (in other uses than the appositional construction) personal names, *Deus* (dependent on the preposition *ad*),

a form that passed into Spanish (*Dios*: see Bastardas Parera 1953: 24), *mulier* ‘wife’, *uxor*, *pater*, *rex* and also *homo* (Bastardas Parera 1953: 25; this nominative too has a Romance survival: above, 2).

The classical evidence for a nominative of apposition presented at the start of this section is slight, except in the case of terms appositional to vocatives, and the certain instances of the construction in later Latin are all in low-register texts or are medieval.

See further on the nominative of apposition Havers (1928: 105–7), Mohrmann (1933: 32), Norberg (1943: 65–9), Westerbergh (1956: 249), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 28), Herman ([1966] 1990: 322–3), (1997: 25–6).

3.4 *The nominative and naming constructions*

The nominative is sometimes used in disregard of the syntax in naming constructions (one type, for example, is of the structure ‘they call such and such X’; another is ‘it/he/she has the name X’; in both cases X might have been expected to be in the accusative). The name (in the above sentences X) need not be that of a person and it need not be a personal noun; it may be a thing that is named. The principle is much the same as that seen at 3.1, 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2 above: the nominative was felt to be the true form of the name of a person or object.

We may start with Audollent (1904) no. 96.B *inimicorum nomina ad inferos* [sc. *defero*], *Optatus Silonis*, *Faustus*, *Ornatus*... (with many other names, all of them in the nominative, following) (see Jeanneret 1918: 132). On the one hand this is a list, and we have observed above (3.3) that lists have an independence and that names may be strung together in the nominative (see further below, 5). But a significant component here is *nomina*. In the expression ‘the name X’ X is often used in the nominative, with the case of the expression residing in *nomen* alone and the name given its base form. For other examples in curse tablets see Corell (1993) *dis.inferis.uos.rogo.utei recipiates. nomen Luxsia.A(uli).Antesti.filia*, Audollent (1904) no. 102A.1–2 (see Kropp 2008, 5.1.4/9) [*Se*]uerinus et Sa[ntius] [*defe*]ro in[f]le[r]is *nomina*, *Tab. Sulis* 8 a *nomina*[i]bus *infrascriptis* deae exactura: *Senicia(n)us et Saturninus* <*sed*> et *Anniola* (‘it is for the goddess to exact (them) from the names written below: Senicianus and Saturninus and Anniola’). There are lists in three of these passages, but that is not the case in the second, and only the second explanation above is appropriate.

There is a superficially similar use of the nominative when a noun is quoted or commented on, as at Plin. *Epist.* 3.2.2 *Maturus Altinatum*

est princeps; cum dico princeps, non de facultatibus loquor. Pliny first uses *princeps* as subject of a verb, and then picks up his own wording, quoting the term in the nominative rather than adapting it to the syntax. Here there is no supporting term comparable to *nomen* above. This construction is not invariable when a word is cited. Fordyce (1961: 379) notes that 'Latin idiom normally brings a quoted word, when it is declinable, into the grammatical structure'. A good example (among several) cited by Fordyce is at Ovid *Met.* 9.528 *scripta soror fuerat, uisum est delere sororem* ('I had written "sister" and decided to delete "sister"'). See also the material cited by Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.254). Both constructions coexisted in the literary language, and neither was substandard.

Types of words other than nouns that are the subject of comment or quotation may also be used without accommodation to the context. A quoted verb, for example, may be embedded in a remark. Note e.g. Cic. *Sen.* 70 *neque sapienti usque ad plaudite ueniendum est* (*plaudite* is the 'final curtain', the address of the audience at the end of a play by Terence and in some cases Plautus: see Powell 1988: 243). Slightly different is Livy 6.35.9 *faxo ne iuuat uox ista ueto, qua nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis*. Oakley (1997: 672) notes that *ueto* stands outside the grammar of the sentence and is equivalent to *uetandi*. Here *uox ista* supports the quoted word, though we have seen that where quotation, as distinct from naming, is at issue a supporting term is not obligatory.

Sometimes the quoted word is a vocative, and in these instances its detachment from the syntax is easier to understand: it may be seen as direct, quoted, speech. Again there is an alternative construction, with the vocative of direct speech converted to the case appropriate to the context of its citation. For the vocative type see Virg. *Ecl.* 6.44 *ut litus Hyla, Hyla omne sonaret*, *Aen.* 4.383 *spero equidem . . . nomine Dido | saepe uocaturum*, Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.37 *saepe uerecundum laudasti, rexque paterque | audisti coram*. For a vocative adapted to the syntax note Virg. *Aen.* 2.769 *maestusque Creusam | nequiquam ingeminans*, on which Austin (1964: 277) remarks: 'The actual cry "Creusa!" is assimilated to the construction.' Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.30 *Ciceronem exclamauit*, and for further examples Pease (1935: 327), Fordyce (1961: 379), Austin (1964: 277).

We return to the *nomen*-construction. It was not substandard but occurs in high literature (see Baños Baños 2009: 115 on the 'metalinguistic' nominative). Note for example Ovid *Met.* 15.96 *at uetus illa aetas, cui fecimus aurea nomen*. Since *aurea* is in apposition to the accusative *nomen* one might have expected *auream*. The role of *aurea* and function of *nomen* would be brought out for an English speaker if *aurea* were put in inverted commas

(so the quoted words in the passages in the last three paragraphs might be given inverted commas). Ovid is commenting on the word *aurea*, and it is not made part of the syntax of the clause but is detached and expressed in its base form. The construction is not the same as the nominative of apposition seen at 3.3 above. The sentence of Ovid would not be meaningful if *aurea* were omitted, because it is an essential part of the name of the *aetas*, whereas in the nominative of apposition the appositional term is often a superfluous element.

The phrase *nomen habet* is found several times in Ovid with the same use of the nominative: e.g. *Met.* 1.169 *lactea nomen habet* (cf. 6.400, 15.740; see Bömer 1969: 77, 1983: 283). Again however there was variability in the literary language. *Nomen habeo* may instead show an accusative in apposition to *nomen* (e.g. *Sall. Hist.* 3.79 *nomen Danuuium habet*, of the Danube, *Danuuius*) or a genitive of definition dependent on *nomen* (see e.g. *Cic. Off.* 1.63 *audaciae potius nomen habeat quam fortitudinis*).¹⁷ In a military document at *P. Oxy.* 7.1022 = *CEL* 140 a list of six recruits who have been approved in a cohort is preceded by the phrase *nomina eorum . . . huic epistulae subieci* ('I have appended their names to this letter'). The names then follow in the accusative (*C. Veturium Gemellum annor. xxi . . .*), the case determined by that of *nomina*. On the other hand for prose examples of the same type of nominative as the Ovidian (whether with *habeo* or another verb) see *Suet. Claud.* 24.3 *Gabinio Secundo Cauchis gente Germanica superatis cognomen Cauchius usurpare concessit*, *Gell.* 9.11.8 *atque ob hanc causam cognomen habuit Coruinus*,¹⁸ *Varro Rust.* 2.1.10 *et quod nomina multa habemus ab utroque pecore, a maiore et a minore – <a minore> Porcius, Quinius, Caprilius; sic a maiore Equitius, Taurus, <Asinius>*.¹⁹ On constructions of the type *in nomine Felix, signum Secundanus* in the much later *Albertini tablets* (v.47) see Väänänen (1965: 42).

In the examples above with a nominative it is *nomen* that supports the base form of the noun in the definition, just as in the passage of *Livy* it is *uox ista* that supports the form of the verb in the citation. There are parallels in the methods by which grammarians and others refer to words, but with some variability of usage.

Grammarians commenting on words or word forms often have to state the form of the word in which they are interested without construing it according to the syntax of the phrase, or the point would be lost. The form may be used out of syntax, introduced for example by a preposition but

¹⁷ See the examples at Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.421).

¹⁸ See further Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 27).

¹⁹ The last is cited by Havers (1928: 100).

not made to depend on it (cf. Cicero's use above of *plaudite* following the preposition *ad*). Nonius p. 777 Lindsay (*senati uel senatus, pro senatus*), for example, is commenting on the genitive forms of *senatus*, and if the final word were expressed in the ablative dependent on *pro* the remark would be meaningless. Nonius constantly uses *pro* in this way. Varro has similar prepositional usages: note *Ling.* 6.79 *lucere ab luere (dicitur)* (see Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.255).

Pompeius often uses the nominative of a word or name that he has cited as a base form, outside the syntax: *GL* v.141.34 *nescio qui dat mihi lectionem aliquam, et inuenio puta Publius Lucius Sallustius. hoc inuenio, 145.6–7 si dicis fonticulus, quare? quia est fons. si dicas monticulus, quare?, 147.9 si autem dicam Atreius, 147.19 si dicas magnus uir, magnus exercitus, magnus gladius.*

On the other hand Pompeius at 154.12–13 has an equivalent to the uses of *nomen* and *uox* seen above to support a citation: *'tu' ait, 'utere semper hoc uerbo, pissimus'* (an allusion to *Cic. Phil.* 13.43, but this is a paraphrase).

An alternative construction available to a grammarian was a grecising one, whereby the word or word form under discussion was made to follow a neuter pronoun functioning as the Greek definite article (τὸ ἵππος 'the word "horse"', as distinct from ὁ ἵππος 'the horse'). The pronoun could be given the case required by the syntax and the term under discussion left in the required form. Thus, for example, *Quint.* 1.4.8 *in his seruus et uulgus* (see Colson 1924: 40). Here the juxtaposition of consonantal and vocalic *u* is at issue, and if *seruus* had been given an ablative form the point would not have been clear, though *uulgo* would have been acceptable. Colson (1924: 40) observes that wherever possible Quintilian adapts the word he is interested in to the construction (citing 1.4.13 *et fit a 'lauando' 'lautus'*), but that otherwise he regularly uses an equivalent to the Greek definite article (*in his* = ἐν τοῖς). This quasi-article construction is very similar to that with *nomen*: the demonstrative/article supports the cited word and allows it to remain in its base form or the form under discussion. For a literary instance of a nominative standing strictly in an object relation to a verb but supported by a demonstrative conveying the case see *Catull.* 86.3 *totum illud formosa nego*.

We have noted that the citation of a word and the naming of something are superficially similar. The similarity should not be pushed too far. On the one hand a word may be quoted in any form in educated varieties of the language without the need of a supporting term, whether a noun or article-like demonstrative. This may be seen, for example, from Cicero's use of the imperative *plaudite* following a preposition, or from Pliny's citation of *princeps* in the nominative. There were alternative methods of citation,

such as by converting the term cited to the syntax of the context in which it was cited (see above, for example, on alternatives to the vocative) or by providing a supporting phrase, such as Livy's *uox ista*. On the other hand naming seems to have required in educated Latin either a supporting term such as *nomen* if the base form (the nominative) were to be used outside the syntax of the sentence, or the conversion of the name to the case appropriate to the immediate context.

In low-register texts, however, the rules in naming constructions were less strict. Nominatives turn up in the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* in naming constructions of the type *quod appellamus/uocamus/dicimus* + nominative instead of accusative: 7.7 *nunc est come, sed grandis, quod nos dicimus uicus*, 15.3 *id est quod uos dicitis latine hortus sancti Iohannis*, 30.1 *in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior* (see E. Löfstedt 1911: 50). The nominative is usual in this construction in the *Peregrinatio* (see van Oorde 1929: 53, III; also 28); for the classical construction see only 27.9 *quos dicunt hic ebdomadarios . . . quos appellant ebdomadarios*. The practice of the *Peregrinatio* is the more remarkable in that the accusative in such a syntagm is the norm throughout Latin (see *TLL* V.1.981.17ff., s.v. *dico*, II.274.43ff., s.v. *appello*). Löfstedt (1956: 1.78) also quotes an example from Augustine: *Serm. 8.II.4 quod alius euangelista dixit spiritus dei, alius dixit digitus dei* ('What one evangelist called the "spirit of God" the other called the "finger of God"'). This last nominative is not identical to that seen earlier in Pliny in conjunction with the same verb (*cum dico princeps*), because *dico* has a single complement in Pliny (and means therefore 'say') but a double complement (*quod*, and then *spiritus dei* | *digitus dei*) in Augustine (and means 'call'). It is in the latter construction that the standard language used the case appropriate to the context.

Another type of substandard naming construction (cited e.g. by Havers 1928: 95) is that seen at *CIL* XIII.1968 *ad flumen Macra*. This example is not a good one, because there may only have been omission of *-m*, but cf. *Appendix Probi* 134 *uico capitis Africae non uico caput Africae*,²⁰ *CEL* 156 = *ChLA* 3.204 *ad statione liburnes Fides*. In standard Latin when a place, town or ship is referred to by name, the name may be used on its own (*Roma*, *Carthago*), or its character may be specified by a common noun such as *oppidum*, *urbs*, *liburna*. In the latter case the name is juxtaposed with the noun, and either placed in the same case (*urbs Roma*, *oppidi Carthaginis*), or made to depend on the noun as a genitive of definition (*in liburna Neptuni*, *oppidum Carthaginis*). The alternatives are set out and distinguished by the

²⁰ See Baehrens (1922: 93–4), comparing *rue Richelieu* for *rue de Richelieu*; also E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.78–9), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 27), Väänänen (1981a: 156).

TLL ix.2.758.35ff. s.v. *oppidum*. That the attachment of an unconstrued nominative to *flumen*, *uicus*, *liburna* etc. was substandard may be deduced from the distribution of the construction. It is also condemned by the *Appendix Probi*. With the method of naming the *liburna* just seen cf. the correct construction at Terentianus 467.25–6 *in liburna N[e]ptuni* (genitive of definition).

4 Conclusions: the nominative used out of syntax

This chapter so far has been concerned mainly with nominatives used out of syntax.

Some Romance personal names and designations reflect Latin nominative (rather than accusative) forms, and we have seen that this phenomenon is foreshadowed in various ways in Latin texts. If the nominative form of a name happened to outnumber markedly its other case forms in texts because of the way in which people use names, that might induce us to think that, if most case inflections were to be lost, the nominative form of the name might be expected to live on. However, the numerical superiority of the nominative form (if it happened to be true: persons are often named in the accusative as well in Latin texts, not to mention the vocative in speech) would have little explanatory power. If, however, the nominative form in Latin texts were already showing a tendency to encroach on the territory of other case forms, perhaps because it was felt to be the proper form of the name and could be adopted even when not determined by the syntax, then we might have a better indication that it would be the nominative form that would live on, at least in some places or some lexical items.

As early as the first century AD we find a nominative name dependent on a preposition, and this usage recurs in late Latin in inscriptions and low-register writing tablets and in early medieval Latin, and also in imperial Greek in Roman contexts. The scribe who wrote the correct version of the document of C. Novius Eunus did not retain the nominative, and the restricted distribution of the nominative with prepositions establishes that it was long substandard.

But even in the high literary language there are hints that the nominative form was felt to be appropriate when something was named. In the Augustan period there are some instances of the nominative in naming constructions in contexts in which the accusative would have been logical. These nominatives were admitted only under restricted conditions, that is when the name was supported by a juxtaposed term (*nomen*) expressing the case. Nor was the nominative obligatory in such contexts: the thing

named might instead agree in case with the appositional *nomen*, or depend on it as a genitive of definition. The nominative construction with *nomen* was an occasional variant, permitted presumably because of a feeling that the true form of a name was its nominative.

In later Latin in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, a text with many departures from literary norms, a new development is observable in naming constructions of the type 'they call something X'. Throughout Latin in such structures X is always in the accusative, but in the *Peregrinatio* the nominative is the norm, with hardly any sign of the accusative construction. There is no supporting term comparable to the use of *nomen* discussed above. Given the reputation of the *Peregrinatio* as a low-register text we should probably say that lower sociolects were ahead of higher in fossilising nominative forms in indifference to the syntax when something was named. Moreover in the *Appendix Probi* another nominative naming construction is castigated, that whereby the name of a district (or, one might add, river, town, ship) is tacked onto the word for district (river, town, ship) in the nominative where a logical apposition would have required another case. However, it would not be convincing to suggest a rigid distinction between the literary and the 'vulgar': we saw the same naming construction in Augustine as that in the *Peregrinatio*, just as Cicero himself apparently admitted an illogical nominative of apposition in one place, possibly for a special reason (to focus an abusive phrase). The model of social variation seen in Part 2 (see XI.1), whereby stigmatised variants are used by all classes but more frequently in lower sociolects than in higher, is relevant to this case as well.

In early medieval Latin various personal designations such as *pater* and *mater* are attested in the nominative with roles other than that of subject of a verb and in constructions other than the appositional one. These usages are anticipatory of some Romance forms. Earlier the only unconstrued nominatives of such nouns that are in any way comparable are in the nominative of apposition. The distribution of this construction (if one or two instances in elite Latin are left aside it is restricted to inscriptions and non-literary documents) shows that it was substandard.

5 The nominative and accusative in lists

Lists have come up several times already (3.3, p. 218, 3.4, p. 220), and there is more to be said about them. Lists may seem unpromising as linguistic evidence, because they usually lack verbal syntax, at least of an overt kind. However, for that reason they do sometimes reveal concepts associated with case forms and their functions. This section is partly about personal names

in the nominative in lists, but the accusative comes up also. Something will be said about the cases adopted in lists for designating inanimate objects. Lists of names are attested particularly in curse tablets. Certain tendencies will emerge, which may throw light at least on the background to later developments in Latin and proto-Romance nominal morphology.

5.1 *Nominative and accusative forms of personal names in lists*

In curse tablets lists of names denoting the victims of the curse are regularly in the nominative. The early curse tablet *ILLRP* 1148 consists entirely of a long list of names in the nominative, without any verb phrase. The mixed Latin–Oscan *defixio* Vetter (1953) no. 7 = *ILLRP* 1146 = Rix (2002: 119) Cm 15 begins with five names in the nominative before the curse itself is uttered (see Adams 2003a: 127–8). Nominative lists are the norm in the Bath curse tablets (see *Tab. Sulis* 2, 3, 8b, 17, 30, 37, 51, 95, 96, 98; particularly striking are 98, with eighteen names, and 51). The only accusative list is at 53. A remarkable list is *Tab. Sulis* 9. This has at least nine names in the nominative, five of them accompanied by epithets (*uxor, seruus*), also in the nominative. Then the verb *dono* occurs at the end, though somewhat separated from the list and without an object as it stands in the extant text. This is the normal verb for ‘presenting’ the victims to the deity for vengeance (see *Tab. Sulis* 44, 61, 65). Loosely speaking the names stand in an object relation to the verb, but the nominative is explicable from the detachment of the names from the verb (cf. the heading nominative illustrated above, 3.1.1.1, and focal nominative headings, above, 3.2), and also from a sense that the nominative was the true form of a name and that the victim of a curse must be precisely named (see 3.1.1.1).

The Myconos *defixio*, of the republican period (for a text see Solin 1982; see also Adams 2003a: 680–1), differs from the above curse tablets in that the names (numbering more than twenty) are predominantly in the accusative. There is no verb phrase in the text of which the names are object, but it is easy to understand such a verb (e.g. *dono, defigo*), and that is the reason for the choice of case. But as early as line 3 there is a switch into the nominative (*N. Cottius N. f.*). This is followed by a return to the accusative, but later in the text the nominative resurfaces (six times). There is no difference in function between the accusatives and nominatives.²¹ In every instance the

²¹ It may be noted in passing that the Uley curse tablet published by Hassall and Tomlin (1995: 377), which has a list of names in the nominative and another in the accusative, differs in type, in that the nominative names are separated from the accusative by the verb *dona[t]*. It is to be assumed (with the editors) that the first group of persons was cursing the second (*Minura* in the accusative group might itself be accusative, with omission of *-m*).

name is that of a victim of the curse, and the underlying case role might be described as patient.²²

Various reasons (not mutually exclusive) may be suggested for the switches into the nominative. First, as was seen, the nominative was the usual case in lists of names in curse tablets. Someone adopting a different format might have lapsed into the usual pattern. Second, lists in general (as distinct from those in curse tablets) are variously in the nominative or accusative. Since a list by definition usually has no expressed verbal syntax to keep the writer in mind of the case structure, inconsistencies may creep in (see further below). Third, a feeling that the nominative was the essential form of a name may occasionally override the requirements of syntax.

However one is to explain the variation in the Myconos text, the fact remains that in what is an archetypal list there is haphazard alternation between the nominative and accusative. This was to remain a feature of lists in later Latin. It is a feature that is of limited relevance to developments in the language, because writers setting out a list may simply lose their sense of the syntax, and once an inconsistency was committed a correction was unlikely to be made, particularly if the text were carved on stone. In the next section we will deal with case variations in lists.

This section may be concluded with a few remarks about curse tablets in Greek. In these names are also listed in the nominative in contexts in which the accusative might have been expected (see Havers 1928: 95–7), and sometimes in alternation with accusatives. This can be seen from a number of the Attic curse tablets collected by Wunsch (1897). Here there are repeated lists of names in the nominative dependent on an expressed or understood verb (καταδῶ) (see Havers 1928: 95) or juxtaposed with words of other types in the accusative. For example, 38 has Φιλίππιδης Εὐθύκριτος Κλεάγορας Μενέτιμος καὶ το(ῦ)ς ἄλλο(υ)ς πάντας. 67a has names in the nominative and then καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνων. 42 has the verb καταδίδημι, then τούτους ἄπαν[τα]ς, which is followed by almost twenty names in the nominative.²³ There is perhaps more of a system to be seen here, with the names in the nominative but other terms in the accusative. Again there is a hint that the nominative form of the name expressed the essence of a person, and that if the curse was to be effective that form had to be used even if it stood outside the syntax of the clause.²⁴

²² Jeanneret (1918: 133) also cites Audollent (1904) 139 for accusative names followed by *item Vennonnia Hermiona*, *item Sergia Glycinna*, but here final *-m* might simply have been omitted (so Audollent).

²³ Further material from this corpus is cited and discussed by Havers (1928: 95).

²⁴ See the discussion of Havers (1928: 96–7).

5.2 Case variations in lists

Case variations between nominative and accusative, either in a single list or from list to list, may reflect the influence of two competing tendencies. On the one hand the nominative may be used in a list without verbal syntax because that case was felt to be the base form of a noun or name (particularly the latter). On the other hand it is easy to understand a verb as governing the nouns in a list: items are usually listed precisely because they have to be put to some use or other and are implied patients of a verbal activity. Objects to be used in the construction of a mill have to be gathered, and they may be named in the accusative as an implied instruction to the maker to acquire and use them.

Here are parts of two lists from Vindolanda:

Tab. Vindol. 597b *ollas refectas n(umero) ii* (the preceding line in this list uses the nominative instead, with no distinction of function (*pestlus n(umero) i*): see Adams 2003b: 547)
 604.ii.3 *Prudenti clauos n(umero) xxx* (contrasting with the nominative in the same document (i.3) *in calciamentis clauis n(umero) xxv*: Adams 2003b: 547).

In both there are variations between nominative and accusative that have no function. In the second example the same word appears in the two cases. For another list (a recipe) with alternations between nominative and accusative see Apicius 1.1 (with Gerola 1949–50: 219).

As for variations from list to list, that is a feature that can also be illustrated readily from Apicius. Lists of items forming a recipe may be in either the nominative or accusative.²⁵ Note on the one hand 9.10.3:

ius in sarda: piper, origanum, mentam, cepam, aceti modicum;

and on the other 9.10.6:

ius in mugile salso: piper, ligusticum, cuminum, cepa, menta, ruta, calua, caryota, mel, acetum, sinape et oleum.

There may of course be problems for an editor caused by random omission or addition of *-m* by scribes, but not all such variation can be explained away. Note on the one hand the following verbless accusative lists, where not all elements are in the singular:

²⁵ For the 'recipe accusative' see Adams (1995b: 447–8), and for the 'recipe nominative' see Svennung (1935: 666) s.v. 'Nominativ, . . . Rezeptnomin.'

Cato *Agr.* 13 in torcularium in usu quod opus est: urceum, ahenum 1 quod capiat q. v, uncos ferreos III, orbem aheneum 1, molas, cribrum 1, incerniculum 1, securim 1 . . . (the list continues in the accusative until the end of the chapter, with no expressed verb)

CIL IV.5380 pisciculum II, cepas v, palmas 1 (described by Väänänen 1966: 117 as 'liste de rations'; similar examples are cited)

Pelagonius 198 ad neruorum dolores uel ad aquatilia ex collectione sine ferro aperienda: cerae p. s., adipis taurinae, galbani, bidellae, piperis albi, hammoniacy quadrantes, pollinem turis – IIII, bacas lauri –.

These lists may be contrasted on the other hand with that seen above (3.3, p. 218) in Palladius, where the items are in the nominative, even though an anticipatory term in the accusative ought to have determined the accusative in the appositional list.

Alternations between accusative and nominative are scattered about in lists in texts of a variety of types. Here are some examples from non-literary documents, some with a verb requiring an accusative but with lapses into the nominative, some without verbs. It will be seen that the unexpected nominatives here are not in personal names. Names may have had a tendency to be used in the base form, but alternations in lists are varied and the word type does not seem to be the only determinant of case.

In a letter of Terentianus (468.17) *uitriae* is juxtaposed with *suntheseis* ('sets') in a list of items in the accusative standing as object of a form of *habeo*: *in qua ha[bes] sunthe[seis] uitriae et phialas quinarias . . . et calices paria sex et chartas*. *Vitriae* must be nominative.²⁶

There is another such lapse in an Egyptian marriage contract containing a dowry list (*P. Mich.* VII.434 and *P. Ryl.* IV.612, = *ChLA* 4.249).²⁷ Line 13 runs: *et osyprum et arca [. . .]s lecythoe duae et cadium*. The list continues in the accusative. *Arca* could be taken as an accusative with *-m* omitted, but *lecythoe duae* can only be nominative.

The Johns Hopkins *defixiones* have a long list of anatomical terms in the accusative,²⁸ which are objects of the verb phrase *do tibi*. After fifteen such terms *uenter* and *umbilicus* appear. These are not (with Sherwood Fox) to be taken as neuters. The correct explanation is to be found in Jeanneret (1918: 82, 133); see also Petersmann (1973a: 81). The writer has switched into the nominative form. Jeanneret (1918: 82) cites another curse tablet

²⁶ For an alternative explanation see Adams (1977a: 43).

²⁷ See Adams (2003a: 627); also (2003b: 548).

²⁸ For these *defixiones* see Sherwood Fox (1912); also *CIL* I².2520. The corpus consists of five texts cursing different people. All the texts were the same, apart from the names of the victims, but each is fragmentary. A composite text can be reconstructed from the fragments.

(Audollent 1904 no. 135, from Mentana) with similar oscillations between nominative and accusative in anatomical terms.

One of the Visigothic slate tablets (of the sixth or seventh century) edited by Velázquez Soriano (2004) (no. 53) has a list of domestic animals containing the following items: *ecuas maiores . . . VII nouellos . . . [. . .]res III trimos duos . . . VII uitelli anni[culi] XIII feminas annic[ulas] . . . [. . . ui]telli anniculi masculi tres*. The feminine plurals all end in *-as* whereas in the second declension *-i* and *-os* alternate (see Herman 1995: 72–3). It would not do to draw conclusions from the variations about the character of masculine plural nominative morphology in Spain at this time, because lists, as we have seen, traditionally show variations between nominative and accusative, and there is no reason to think that the *-os* forms would have been regarded as alternative nominative forms. In this corpus in the feminine declension the classical nominative plural ending *-ae* (or *-e*) is not found and *-as* is the normal ending (Herman 1995: 72, Velázquez Soriano 2004: 513–15).

5.3 *Motivated nominatives and accusatives in lists*

Frequently there is an obvious rationale behind the choice of the nominative of a personal name in a list without expressed verbs. The person named may be the agent in an activity that is implied by the nature of the document. The potters' records from La Graufesenque in southern Gaul (both those in Celtic and those in Latin) contain in the left-hand column names of potters in the nominative (usually with a *-us* ending in Latin and *-os* in Gaulish) and in the right-hand column designations of vessels along with a numeral (for Latin texts with this pattern see Marichal 1988 nos. 47, 74: e.g. 47.5 *Galus catila* + numeral). *Gallus* 'made' or 'submitted for firing' a certain number of *catila*. *Galus* expresses the agent of the implied action, and *catila* the patient. The latter may be accusative, though the form (being neuter) does not reveal the case. If it is taken as accusative, the pattern is a common one: the juxtaposition of nominative (of the personal name) and accusative (of the object acted on) makes a distinction between agent and patient.²⁹

Sometimes a document has a preamble containing the verb phrase that is later understood throughout the list. *Tab. Luguval.* 16, for example,

²⁹ The tablets of La Graufesenque are mainly in Gaulish. There is some evidence that the designations even of the objects fired may be in the nominative, and traces of the nominative appear in the Latin texts as well (Adams 2003b: 548). These documents are best treated as special cases, given their Celtic background.

is a record of missing lances. The lancers who have lost or do not have lances are expressed throughout in the nominative, and the designation of the item lost follows immediately in the accusative (e.g. 16.26 *Felicio lanciam [pug]natoriam*). At the start of the document the writer states that he has appended the names of those lacking lances, and then uses a specifying relative clause of the structure *qui... non habebant* (where the gap is occupied by the types of equipment missing). This verb phrase can be understood in the rest of the document.

The document about the missing lances is typical, in that it has personal names in the nominative and common nouns in the accusative, with the verb easy to supply. At *Tab. Vindol.* 181 (lines 11–15) similarly names in the nominative are at the beginning of the entry, followed by an expression signifying a sum of money: e.g. 11 *Ingenus (denarios) vii*. The intended verb is specified at line 10: *reliqui debent* (see Adams 1995a: 115). The account *Tab. Vindol.* 184 repeatedly has entries of the following form: 20–1 *sagaciam (denarios) v (asses iii) Lucius scutarius*. The object must have been bought by the person named in the nominative at the price stated. For another Vindolanda text apparently showing this same systematic variation, between nominative of the person and accusative of the object involved in the transaction, see 590 with Adams (2003b: 549).

5.4 Some syntactic slippage

Of particular interest is a passage of *Tab. Vindol.* 185 (20): *axes carrarios duos ad raedam (denarios) iii (s)emissem*. A sum of denarii was paid for carriage axles. The opening accusative cannot be readily related to the structure of the rest of the account. This text seems to be a list of payments made on a journey, with a verb of giving or paying out easy to supply. Thus 185.24 *Çataractonio locario (denarii) s(emissem)* ‘(I paid) at Catterick for lodgings, half a denarius’. The dative (final) is used of the object for which the payment was made, with the denarius sign functioning as object of the understood verb of paying. But line 20 above does not have that structure at all. The *axes carrarios* were obviously acquired for the sum stated, but the accusative does not fit into the same structure as the dative *locario* and other datives in the account. Should one understand a different verb and structure in this case (e.g. ‘(I bought) carriages axles by means of X denarii’)? A simpler explanation would be that the accusative was a case which in lists might sometimes be given to the nouns signifying the object(s) bought/sold, even in contexts in which the accusative could not be derived from the verb expected (see Adams 1995a: 114).

Exactly the same variation as that above between *locario* and *axes carrarios* is found in another Vindolanda document (*Tab. Vindol.* 181.3–4), a ‘cash account recording sums received and debts outstanding’ (editors):

lignis emtis (denariōs) vii
sticam (denariōs) iii.

Note Adams (1995a: 115): ‘In this part of the account receipts are recorded. Thus in each of the next four lines we find *ab* + name (e.g. *ab Alione ueterinario*) followed by a quantity of denarii, = “(received) from X, Y denarii”. Line 3 obviously means “for timbers purchased, (received) 7 denarii”. The next line must describe a comparable transaction (= “(for) a cloak, (received) 3 denarii”), but here the writer has lapsed into a syntactically unmotivated “accusative of the thing sold, acquired”.’

Thus the accusative was capable of being used of the object of the transaction, even if it could not be explained easily from the ellipse of a verb. Earlier we have seen a complementary tendency for the nominative to be treated as the natural case for personal names. Taken together the two tendencies might seem to foreshadow later developments, leading to the emergence of the accusative as the base form of nouns, particularly inanimates, with the nominative maintained, up to a point, as the base form of names and personal designations. But we have also seen in this section on lists that all is not quite as neat as this. Unexpected nominatives were not restricted to names, and unexpected accusatives were not restricted to inanimates. Note for example the following lists of names:

ILI (1963) 373 C. Sp(ectatius) Secu[ndinus] u(iuus) f(ecit) s(ibi) et Tut(oriae) Auitae . . . et Rusticio Tutori nepoti et Rusticium Albinu f(iliu) (see Adams 2003a: 477).

397 D. M. Nundinus Respecti u(iuus) f(ecit) sibi et Secundinae . . . et Firminam fil(iam) an(norum) xl et Iun(ius) Lucillianus an(norum) lx (for further examples see Galdi 2004: 461–2).

In both these examples there is an expressed verb, but the case marking of the names goes astray. The verb is *fecit* and the names that follow ought to be in the dative. In the first text there is a switch into the accusative and in the second into the accusative and then nominative. The variations cannot be explained as systematic. The nominative and accusatives were the ‘list cases’ *par excellence*, and there was some random variation between them, or between one of them and another case, admitted by writers who were not paying due attention to the context. It would not help our understanding of such examples to adopt the term ‘default’ case in reference to the accusative,

partly because the nominative as well as the accusative was used outside the syntax, and partly because asyntactic nominatives and accusatives fall into many different types, and the blanket term 'default' introduces an element of simplicity that the data do not justify (see further below, 7). We have not reached a state of the language in the material presented here where there are standardised asyntactic uses of accusative or nominative forms. There are a few trends observable, such as the use of nominative forms of names where another case might have been required logically, but a lot of inconsistent variation as well. However, the random variation observed particularly in this section is at least an indication that the old morphological distinction between nominative and accusative expressing distinct case roles was being undermined in particular contexts, such as lists. In the next section we will turn to a range of further contexts in which the accusative encroaches somewhat haphazardly on the nominative.

6 The accusative with nominative function or as a base form

There are many accusatives in late texts where a nominative seems to be required, or even another oblique case such as a dative or ablative (the accusative as a prepositional case is a different matter). Some instances have been seen already. The issue is complicated by the diversity of the material. Many special factors have to be allowed in explaining the evidence, and a single characterisation (e.g. 'the accusative as universal form, default case etc.') will not do. There is an attempt below to divide the material into categories, but it will become clear that even within categories some examples may admit of varying explanations.

The inconsistencies in late texts and the complexities of interpretation are as might have been expected. Long before accusative forms became standardised, a development that must have been very late (medieval period?), the accusative was sometimes entering the territory of the nominative and other cases ad hoc, in different constructions and with different determinants. Grammaticalisation of a new usage is often preceded by a period in which its precursors appear sporadically under the influence of various factors.

6.1 *Accusative of apposition* (?)

Words in apposition have a detachment from the term with which they should agree, and for that reason there was a tendency in Latin for writers to lapse into the nominative, the nominative being the base form of

a noun (see above, 3.3). Sometimes the accusative is used instead, and that might seem to offer a hint that the accusative was starting to overlap with the nominative as the base form. But the possible instances are often problematic, rather more so than those of the nominative of apposition. This point may be illustrated from a second-century legal text on papyrus:

SB III.1.6304 = *CPL* 193 idem consulubus aadem diem Domitius Theophilus scrisi me in ueditionem puellae Marmariae supra scriptae pro Aescine Aescine philium Flauianum secumdum auctorem exstitsse. acctum (see Adams 2003a: 62 n. 146, Kramer 2007: 136, printing *Aescini Aescini* rather than *Aescine Aescine*).

Here *pro* seems to be followed by an ablative *Aescinel-i*, then by an erroneous repetition of the same form where a genitive is expected, and finally by an accusative *philium* which is in apposition to the first name. But there are at least two other ways of explaining the structure. First, the initial *Aescinel-i* may be intended as accusative, with omission of *-m* (see Kramer 2007: 136), though the writer was obsessive about getting *-m* right, as he writes it three times where it does not belong. Second, there might have been a change of construction halfway through the prepositional expression, from *pro* + abl., correctly used at first, to the substandard variant *pro* + acc. (reflecting the rise of the accusative as the prepositional case). Such shifts do occur sometimes. A case in point is a text from Sacidava, reread and interpreted by Brennan (1979), which has the expression *coniux pientissima superstans cum filibus suuos*. Strictly apposition is not at issue but ordinary agreement, but there is a switch from the correct ablative to the accusative within the prepositional expression. Note also the following, more complicated, case: Thylander (1952) no. B.32 *concessam sibi partem monumenti a Corneliis Zotico et Epictetiano et Corneliā Draucen*. Here *a* + abl. seems to be followed by *a* + acc., but a nominative in an identical context at B.23 (*concessus ab Munatio Onesimo et Munatius Theodotus*) raises doubts about the straightforward applicability of an explanation from conflation of the prepositional cases ablative and accusative. In both sentences there is a list, and in both there is a breakdown in the syntax and a lapse into one of the two 'list cases'. These examples show again alternation of nominative and accusative in lists, but also the complexity of the overlapping factors that may have to be taken into account in explaining asyntactic nominatives and accusatives.

There are apparent cases of an appositional accusative in the Albertini tablets. However, at VII.17–18 –

Iulius Victorinus et Fotta uenditores susceperunt a Geminino Cresconio et Cresconia emptores suos –

the switch to accusative might be interpreted as of the same type (within a prepositional expression) as that seen several times above. The same might be true of III.33–4:

acceperunt a Geminio Cresconio et Çreşon[ia] entores suos.

But the following construction could not be explained in this way:

xviii.17–18 in nomine Victorini et Donata uxor eius emtores suos.

The first name is correctly inflected as a genitive. The second name is not inflected at all (i.e. it is in the nominative). *Emtores suos* is accusative, and appositional, and the possibility must be allowed that the other instances of the phrase in prepositional constructions (above) are also determined by a sense that the accusative case was appropriate in appositional expressions.

The compilation of the Albertini tablet was, however, so mechanical (see 3.1.1.2) that they are of limited value as linguistic evidence, at least in the matter of case syntax. It is possible that *emptores suos* appeared in a model document as a motivated accusative and was adopted willy nilly in inappropriate contexts.

Three apparent inscriptional examples of an appositional accusative are: *RIB* 1064 *D. M. Victoris natione Maurum*, *CIL* vi.3454 *D. M. Aurelie Gorsile coniugi bene merenti, . . . natione Acuicesem*, *AE* 1908 no. 235 *saluis ddd nnn Valentiniano Valente et Gratiano semper augustos* (the last cited by Galdi 2004: 458, with a few other instances). The first two examples here are in a context (indicating someone's *natio*) in which Konjetzny (1908: 308) showed that an unconstrued nominative is constant in inscriptions (see above, 3.3). Here then is a specific context in which an asyntactic nominative and accusative alternated.

The next example belongs to a special type:

CIL III.371 *Thalarioni puerum sum . . . presentibus collegibus suis, id est Perulam et Frontinum Superianum Maxentium et Vrsinum astantibus.*

Norberg (1943: 97–102) has a detailed discussion of *id (hoc) est* followed by an asyntactic accusative apparently in apposition to another case. He is inclined (100, 102) to treat such examples as accusatives of apposition, citing alongside them appositional accusatives in very late Latin in similar structures but without a preceding *id est*: e.g. *Jord. Get.* 6, p. 55.4–5 *nonnullae insule in eodem mare habitabiles sunt, ut in orientali plaga et Indico Oceano*

Hyppodem, Iamnesiam . . . This example and the other instances cited (100–1) may indeed be explained as free-standing appositional accusatives, albeit of very late date, but the sheer number of asyntactic accusatives following *id (hoc) est* collected in the chapter,³⁰ which admittedly in a sense are in apposition to nouns in another case, suggests that they may belong to a category of their own, with *id est* functioning virtually as a preposition governing the accusative. The example above, however, has the additional complication that the accusatives form a list (see 5.2). Many but not all of Norberg's examples are in lists. Note also e.g. *Tabl. Alb.* ix.5 *particella agri id est domos beteres*.

The appositional accusative must be mentioned in a full account of extended uses of the accusative, but it is weakly attested and apparent examples may often be explained in other ways.

6.2 Accusative (and nominative) 'in apposition to the whole of a sentence or clause'

There is another type of appositional accusative (and nominative: see below) that must be mentioned here (if only to be rejected), because it has been brought into the discussion of default uses of the accusative (see below).

A phrase may be used in apposition to the whole of a clause or sentence (see e.g. Draeger 1874: 625–6, Madvig 1876: 268, Kroll 1925: 21, Woodcock 1959: 10, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 429–30, and both Nipperdey 1884: 78 and Goodyear 1972: 226 on Tac. *Ann.* 1.27.1). The construction was a favourite of Tacitus. The case may be accusative or nominative, or indeterminate if the noun is neuter, as it not infrequently is, for example in Virgil and Tacitus (for the neuter see Lucr. 6.392, Virg. *Aen.* 6.223, 9.53, 10.311, Ovid *Met.* 8.773, Tac. *Ann.* 1.49.3, 6.37.2).

For unambiguous accusatives see e.g.:

Sall. *Hist.* 4.69.8 Eumenem prodidere Antiocho, pacis mercedem (cf. *Hist.* 1.55.12).

Cic. *Tusc.* 1.102 cuius hoc dicto admoneor, ut aliquid etiam de humatione et sepultura dicendum existimem, rem non difficilem.

Fin. 2.75 hoc enim identidem dicitis, non intellegere nos quam dicatis uoluptatem. rem uidelicet difficilem et obscuram!

Orat. 52 sed id mihi quaerere uidebare, quod genus ipsius orationis optimum iudicarem: rem difficilem, di immortales, atque omnium difficillimam.

³⁰ See also Adams (1976a: 86).

De orat. 2.79 deinde quinque faciunt quasi membra eloquentiae . . . rem sane non reconditam.

Tac. Ann. 1.27.1 postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumue Caesaris occurreret manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum.

2.64.3 enimvero audita mutatione principis immittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello.

In Cicero the construction is restricted to *rem*.

For the nominative see:

Cic. Tusc. 1.65 nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymeden ab dis raptum ait propter formam, ut Ioui bibere ministraret, non iusta causa cur Laomedonti tanta fieret iniuria.

Div. 2.79 discessit ab eo; luctuosa res.

Tac. Ann. 3.27.1 accitis quae usquam egregia, compositae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi iuris.

It has been implied that the accusative use above is a default one. Cenamo (2009: 309) states that the accusative in Latin is the functionally unmarked or default case, citing at this point Woodcock (1959: 10), who was commenting on the accusative used in apposition to the whole sentence. Earlier commentators were rightly clear that this accusative was motivated (as was Woodcock himself; he refers to an ‘extended use of the accusative of the internal object’), and that it differed from the nominative of the type above. Wilkins (1890: 42) on *Cic. De orat.* 2.79 (above) refers to ‘the accusative governed virtually by “faciunt”’. Madvig (1876: 268) on *Fin.* 2.75 (above) remarks ‘Accusativus autem eodem appositionis genere ad superiorem sententiam annectitur, quasi a verbo pendens’ (emphasis added), and paraphrases as ‘rem videlicet difficilem nos non intellegere dicitis’, thereby construing the accusative as implied object of a verb. Nipperdey (1884: 78) on *Tac. Ann.* 1.27.1 notes: ‘Der Akk. ist abhängig von dem allgemeinen Begriff des *facere*.’ Dougan makes several pertinent observations on the construction. In reference to *Cic. Tusc.* 1.102 (above) he says (1905: 135): ‘The acc. is governed by the idea of *doing* carried on from the verb from the preceding clause.’ On the nominative *non iusta causa* at 1.65 he says (1905: 83): ‘short clauses which contain a reflexion upon the matter of the preceding clause are sometimes subjoined in the nom. with ellipse of *est* or *erat*’, and adds that accusatives such as *rem non difficilem* at 102, ‘where a transitive idea is carried on to govern the accus., are dissimilar’.

We could go on. At *Cic. Orat.* 52, for example, *rem difficilem* can be seen as loosely appositional to the accusative *id*. At *Sall. Hist.* 4.69.8 *mercedem*

can even be read as appositional to the accusative name. Madvig, we saw, is able to explain the motivation of the accusative at *Fin.* 2.75, and, it might be added, with the punctuation adopted here (that of Reynolds, *OCT*) the accusative might also be interpreted as exclamatory. It is worth noting the similarities and decisive difference between Cic. *Tusc.* 1.102 and Tac. *Ann.* 3.27.1. In both places the phrase is in apposition to a passive construction (*aliquid... dicendum, compositae duodecim tabulae*), but in the first the appositional phrase is accusative and in the second it is nominative. But there is a distinction between the two contexts. In the first *aliquid... dicendum* is in an acc. + inf. construction dependent on *existimem* and the appositional phrase accordingly goes into the accusative because of the loose agreement with *aliquid*, whereas in the second the passive construction is direct and nominative, and the appositional phrase is itself nominative. In all instances above of accusative phrases with *rem* the accusative can be associated with a previous accusative, whereas *luctuosa res* follows an intransitive verb and there is no preceding accusative. Dougan's view that the nominative instances can be interpreted as reduced sentences with omission of the copula is undoubtedly right (see also above, 3.3, p. 217 on the Ciceronian phrase *comites nequissimi*, which can be taken in the same way). There are no grounds for viewing the accusative use as a default one, and the construction is not relevant to later developments. Moreover the accusative construction is more common in Greek than Latin (see the remarks of Conington on Virg. *Aen.* 2.223), and it has been suggested that the literary development of the usage in Latin (beyond the Ciceronian phrases with *rem*) may reflect imitation of Greek (see Kroll 1925: 21).

This case carries a warning. One should not classify uses of the accusative (or nominative) as default without examining examples in context to determine whether they may not in reality be motivated. In this type of apposition the nominative and accusative are differentiated and each has a traditional case role.

6.3 *The accusative as subject of passive verbs*

We come in this and the next two sections to a more interesting type of encroachment by the accusative on the nominative, that is the use of accusative forms as subject of either passive verbs or certain types of intransitive verbs. In these it might be said that the underlying case (patient) has surfaced. There is an extensive bibliography on the subject: see e.g. Norberg (1944: 21–32), Gerola (1949–50: 219–26), Plank (1985: 287–93),

Pieroni (1999), Rovai (2005), Cennamo (2009) and works cited below. The passive is considered first and in the next section we will move on to the accusative with intransitive verbs.

The interpretation of apparent accusative subjects with passive verbs is not straightforward, and there may be several ways of explaining an example (not least from textual corruption). What remains unclear is to what extent the corpus of examples reflects special factors such as anacoluthon, conflation of construction or textual corruption, and to what extent it reflects a genuine morphosyntactic development. Supposed accusative singular subjects in *-am* are particularly weak as evidence, given the haphazard additions and omissions of *-m*.

Per. Aeth. 25.3 may introduce the passive category:

primum aguntur gratiae Deo, et sic fit orationem pro omnibus.

A common word order in the *Peregrinatio* is VO where the verb is active, and in the passive that order is replicated often by placement of the subject of the passive verb (i.e. the underlying 'object' or patient of the action) after the verb. Note e.g. 19.16 *episcopus fecit orationem . . . et denuo benedicens nos facta est iterato oratio*, where there is first the active construction with order VO, and then the passive construction of the same verb phrase, with the same order. In 25.3 the underlying object is not only placed in object position but seems to have been inflected as an accusative in reflection of its case role (see Adams 1976a: 126).

There are various other ways of explaining the usage.

First, the text has not always been accepted at face value (see the remarks of E. Löfstedt 1911: 290–1). It is not unlikely that the single manuscript of the *Peregrinatio* has been vulgarised and is a poor representation of the author's Latin (see Haverling 2006: 347, 2008: 352).

Another way of describing the construction would be to say that there has been an ad hoc conflation of the passive with the active (see further below on the *Phys. Plin. Bamb.*). Norberg's (1944) second chapter is about the mixing of active and passive constructions and resultant accusatives standing as subject of passive verbs. He cites, for example (1944: 25), *Irin. Ant. Plac.* 9, p. 165.16 *multos* (cod. G) *languores sanantur in ipsis locis ubi cadit ipse ros* alongside 10, p. 166.4 *est ibi fons, aqua dulcissima, quae . . . sanat multos languores*. Given the presence of *medici* as participants in the first passage (at p. 165.14, not quoted here) the writer (if the spelling was his) might have considered *sanant* and changed constructions.

A third possibility is that the construction might be interpreted as showing an impersonal passive (*fit*) accompanied by an accusative object (see

e.g. E. Löfstedt 1911: 291, Cennamo 2009: 334, the latter with some remarks about various alternative interpretations).³¹ On this view it might be related to an alleged early use of impersonal passive + accusative (see E. Löfstedt 1911: 291–2, and for the construction Lindsay 1907: 53, Bennett 1910–14: II.261, Jocelyn 1967: 338). However, the credentials of this early construction are disputed (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 39, Wistrand 1972: 158–60, and particularly the detailed discussion of Calboli 1962: 6–56), as examples are almost invariably open to other explanations. Moreover it is a construction that cannot be related to a good deal of the later Latin evidence, which shows plural subjects with plural verbs (see the last paragraph) as well as singular or plural subjects with singular verbs. There are a few late examples that look very much like impersonal passives with an accusative object (e.g. *ILCV* 2013 *hic abetur reliquias martiris Bincenti*, with Gerola 1949–50: 225), but a systematic collection of the possible cases and discussion of the criteria that might be applied to distinguish such a construction from other aberrant passives would seem to be a desideratum.

Accusative subjects with passive verbs (but not necessarily with the same placement as that in the above passage of the *Peregrinatio*: see Pieroni 1999: 118–19)³² are not unusual in late texts. Westerbergh (1956: 235), for example, notes that there are 140 accusatives standing for the nominative in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, of which 25 per cent are subject of passive verbs. Pieroni (1999: 118) states that she has used a corpus of eighty-five examples of the accusative with passive verbs in late Latin, though she does not provide a list. Rovai (2005) quotes in an appendix all the passages he has considered, comprising more than fifty instances of accusatives with passives, in seven texts (the majority from the *Lex Curiensis*).

Some examples in the *Regula* of Benedict, a work not considered by Rovai, bring out the complications of analysis raised by such material:

18, p. 53 (Linderbauer) *inprimis dicatur uersum*.

17, p. 53 *completorios autem trium psalmodum dictione terminentur* (on the text see Linderbauer 1922: 255; cf. Norberg 1943: 38).

12, p. 51 *post quem dicatur centesimus septimus decimus et sexagesimus secundus, inde benedictiones et laudes, lectionem de Apocalypse . . . et responsorium, Ambrosianum, uersum*.

³¹ See also Pieroni (1999), who several times speaks of an ‘impersonalization process’, but without making the details clear.

³² Pieroni’s statement (1999: 122) that the ‘object is usually thematic when placed before the verb and rhematic when placed after it’ is less than clear. The example quoted to support this assertion shows nouns ending in *-a(m)*, but *-a-am* were subject to mechanical confusion.

In the last passage there is first a series of nominative subjects of the passive verb. The switch to accusative in *lectionem*, one might argue, was inspired by the ambiguity of case of the forms *benedictiones* and *laudes*; or was there an inadvertent switch at a remove from the verb to the case that expressed the underlying case role? Another possibility is that the mixture of cases reflects the typical feature of lists seen above, 5. A problem, however, for anyone attempting to analyse the language of this text is the messy manuscript tradition, and the distinct possibility that vulgarisms have been introduced by scribes (see R. Coleman 1999a).

Of similar type is the following, though here the first explanation just advanced would not work:

13, p. 51 dicantur . . . *tertia feria quadragesimus secundus et quinquagesimus sextus, quarta feria sexagesimum tertium et sexagesimum quartum.*

The earliest instance of an accusative subject of a passive verb, according to Pieroni (1999: 122, cross-referring to 118), is at Petron. 71.10: *faciatur, si tibi uidetur, et triclinia*. This case is so dubious that it should be excluded from the discussion. The emendation to *faciantur* is an easy one for a common type of corruption (*faciantur* is printed for example by M. C. Smith 1975 and Mueller 1995), and even if *faciatur* is accepted there are other ways of explaining it (see the discussion of Calboli 1962: 14–16, with bibliography). *Triclinia* might be feminine singular (see M. S. Smith 1975: 197), given that there are other feminines for neuter in the speeches of freedmen (see below, XIX.5).

The following examples (some but not all with a noun ending in *-am*) are slightly different from those above:

Mul. Chir. 125 hoc est maleos, quod dicitur subcutem.

210 quae latine obturationem uocatur (cf. Veg. *Mul.* 1.40.3 *quae passio graece emphragma, latine praeoccupatio dicitur*).

616 quod dicitur stremmam.

639 cataplasma frigidam imposito, quod dicitur anacollimam.

Tabl. Albertini XII.6 qui adpellatur gemione de silicione.

Expos. mundi 64 quae sic uoca<n>tur Cycladas insulas plurimas.

67 quae sic uocatur Sardiniam (see Wölfflin 1904: 576 on examples from this text, edited by Sinko 1904; for examples of this type see Ahlquist 1909: 22, Svennung 1935: 476, Josephson 1940: 179, Norberg 1943: 95).

The accusative is not the primary subject but is in the predicate of a passive naming construction, in which the nominative would have been the norm. An example such as the second might seem to be a prime candidate for

conflation of active and passive (= *quam latine obturationem uocant*). It has been seen (3.4, p. 224) that sometimes in naming constructions in which the verb is active the nominative is used for the expected accusative in the predicate (i.e. *quam latine obturatio uocant*). The nominative and accusative were prone to swap roles in different types (active and passive) of naming construction, and that suggests that the predicate of a naming construction was a special context in which the distinction between nominative and accusative was being lost. On the other hand one cannot but emphasise the weakness of the textual foundation for three of the above examples, where the 'accusative' ends in *-am*.

Some examples in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* are particularly susceptible to an explanation suggested above (conflation of active and passive: see Adams 2007: 506):

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 3.2 statim dolorem sedatur.
53.1 statim dolore sedabitur.

In this text *dolore(m)* is often used as the object of *sedare* when it is active (e.g. on the same page as the first, 3.8 *dolore capitis sedare*).

If the accusative is early in its clause or sentence and at a remove from the passive verb the writer may simply have lost track of the construction and neglected to put the verb in the active. In such a case the explanation from conflation also seems appropriate, or one may prefer to speak of anacoluthon:

Anthimus p. 18.11 cutem uero isocis ipsius quomodo frixum fuerit, penitus non manducetur.

Here are some further examples of the accusative with passive verbs:

Grom. p. 360.21 (Lachmann) talem terminum nomine bifurtium samartia uocatur.

p. 364.27 antiquae tamen mensurae conuenit ut terminos foris limites ponerentur (see Josephson 1940: 180).

Mul. Chir. 735 multo tamen uiriosius in eandem causam concitandam inuenitur triticum et farinam consparsam (Ahlquist 1909: 22).

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 67.9 donec locum confirmetur.

Mul. Chir. 890 *ficum contundito, usque dum minutum fiat* may be another case, but a neuter *ficum* is attested (*TLL* VI.1.651.10ff., but not citing the neuter from the *Mulomedicina*). On Fredegar 4.78, p. 160.16 see Norberg (1944: 25). There are many examples in the *Lex Curiensis* of accusatives with

passive verbs (Norberg 1944: 27–8). This work (*MGH, Leg. v*) belongs to the eighth century.

Anthimus p. 29.15 *lapidis puras efficitur*, cited by Svennung (1935: 475–6), is of different type (a grecism: see Adams 2003a: 496).

The conflation of active and passive constructions does not result exclusively in the conversion of a nominative into an accusative. In the ablative absolute an ablative may be so converted. At *Anon. Val. II.63* the manuscript B has the following: *postea uero accepta uxorem de Francis nomine Augofladam*. Here the active structure S + *accepit uxorem* seems to have determined the surface structure of what should have been an ablative absolute. This is a common feature of substandard texts (see Adams 1976a: 99). An example at Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* 4.36 (*extincto Mauricio eiusque filius* (= *filios*, a common misspelling)) recalls the structure of two sentences discussed above from Benedict's *Regula*. The writer (or scribe) used the correct ablative *Mauricio* in juxtaposition with the ablative participle, but further on when the influence of the ablative *extincto* was not so clearly felt the case role (as it would have shown up in the active structure) of the noun *filios* perhaps surfaced.

Önnerfors (1975: 9) suggested that accusatives for nominative in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (see above for examples standing as subject of passive verbs) indicate an Italian origin of the work. But the examples cited in this section are not exclusively from Italian texts (and see Pirson 1901: 189 on Gallic inscriptions). The *Mulomedicina* has been associated with Sardinia and Africa and the *Peregrinatio* with the north-west of the Empire.³³

The constructions seen in this section are 'errors', in that the writers who admitted them did not do so always, and there were others who never did. Sentences in which the nominative is first correctly used followed by a switch into the accusative are particularly revealing. The writer aspired to write according to a standard of which he was aware but could not achieve consistency. The initial, historically correct, part must stem from a sense that the nominative was what one should use (note Vegetius' avoidance above of the accusative construction where it appears in his source (*Mul. Chir.* 210), a sign that it was stigmatised: he does not admit it elsewhere), whereas the later accusatives seem to reflect a feeling that the nominative form was not quite right for expressing some of the underlying case roles traditionally assigned to the nominative.

³³ On the origin of the *Mulomedicina* and *Peregrinatio* see Adams (2007: 708–10) with cross-references.

It is difficult, even impossible, to distinguish between ad hoc contamination of active and passive, and a genuine structural change taking place in the language. The intrusion of accusative forms into the passive construction (and into other constructions where the nominative was the norm) may be a step along the way towards the replacement of the nominative forms by accusative, but it is no more than that. It must also be repeated that textual corruption is always a possibility, and a sceptic might be inclined to dismiss the textual foundation of accusative subjects with passive verbs entirely. If we were to do so we would be attributing the construction to medieval scribes rather than to late antique authors.

6.4 Accusative as subject of the verb 'to be' and intransitive verbs

Accusative forms in later Latin often stand as the subject of the verb 'to be'³⁴ or other intransitive verbs. Westerbergh (1956: 235) notes that in the *Chronicon Salernitanum* 50 per cent of the subject accusatives are with intransitive verbs, including *esse*, and she cites examples (235–6). Of Josephson's examples (1940: 176–82) of the accusative as subject many are with intransitive verbs. Rovai (2005) in the appendix to his article (79–81, 84–6) collects more than a hundred instances, forty-eight of them of the form *-as* and fifty-eight in other forms. Here are some instances of the accusative with *esse* and a few other intransitives:

Mul. Chir. 153 ustionem necessaria res est (but the first *ne(m)* may be anticipation of the start of the next word: see Ahlquist 1909: 22).

162 neruus, qui est ad articulum lumborum totiusque corporis dominatorem.

516 nascitur ei genuorum contractionem et claudicationem.

526 si sine uulnere erit, totam curationem haec est.

618 ut sanguinem exeat copiosum.

Bened. *Reg.* 17, p. 53 et missas sunt (see Linderbauer 1922: 253; but see also below, 6.6 on the significance of *-as*).

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 9.12 cui una parte capitis stupida est.

35.4 transit dolore.

Tab. Albertini IV.7–9 in quibus sunt... fici ar[b]ores quattuor pl(us) m(inus), siteciae arborem unam (here *sunt* is existential, = *il y a*: see Väänänen 1965: 38; for other examples see VI.6–7, X.5, XI.5–6; *arborem* is, however, in a list).

³⁴ In Old French the Oblique Case may be substituted for the Subject Case after the verb 'to be' (Sornicola 2008: 237).

Harris and Campbell (1995: 241) distinguish between intransitive verbs that are active (one might say those with an active subject) and intransitives that are inactive. Those of the active type 'are generally volitional, under the control of the nominal that is subject'. Examples given are 'run, chatter, play, dance'. Those of the inactive type are put into three classes:

Inactive verbs may be (i) stative verbs, such as 'exist' or 'be sitting,' (ii) changes of state, such as 'become' or 'wither,' or (iii) dynamic non-volitional verbs, such as 'close (intransitive)' or 'flow'.

There is a close relationship between the subject of inactive intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs. Harris and Campbell (1995: 241) mention Laz, a Kartvelian language, where one case form (traditionally called the 'narrative') marks the subjects of both transitives and active intransitives, and (more significantly for our purposes) another form marks direct objects and the subjects of inactive intransitives. Later Harris and Campbell (1995: 275) refer to a recognition in linguistic literature that there exists 'a syntactic relationship between direct objects and the subjects of certain intransitive verbs' (i.e. those that are inactive), and they observe that in two different syntactic frameworks, Relational Grammar and Government and Binding, 'this set of syntactic properties is accounted for in essentially the same way: the subjects of intransitive verbs of this type [i.e. inactives], termed unaccusatives, are underlying direct objects'. They go on to assert (279) that it is predictable according to a model of their own that the marker of a direct object might be extended to the subjects of intransitives, 'as long as the recipient is limited in the first instance to subjects of inactive intransitives'.

These remarks are relevant to later Latin, in which accusative forms start to appear (at least in manuscripts) marking the subject of inactive intransitives, particularly the verb 'to be'. Latinists have long remarked on the appearance of accusative subjects in late texts with intransitive verbs, without distinguishing between different types of intransitives (see e.g. Josephson 1940: 182, Norberg 1944: 28–9, Westerbergh 1956: 235–6). Others merely list accusative subjects without noting that the verbs are sometimes intransitive (Bonnet 1890: 522 n. 1, Ahlquist 1909: 22). Recently Cennamo (2009) has drawn on linguistic literature and classified late Latin examples according to the nature of the verb. She uses the term 'extended accusative', an expression coined in the 1970s, to refer to the accusative used as subject of certain intransitives, 'mainly denoting mental processes, involuntary actions and existence', a phenomenon that is said to be 'well attested cross-linguistically' (Cennamo 2009: 315). Various categories of

Latin examples are cited at e.g. 317–18, 318–19. There is also some sign of the ‘spread of the accusative from inactive, inanimate arguments to active, dynamic ones, initially inanimate and subsequently animate’ (Cennamo 2009: 323), and a final stage of the process is said to show up (324) in the use of accusative, animate subjects with transitive verbs. Herman (1997: 25) is cited for the example *CIL* VIII.7467 *filios et nepotes . . . memoria posuerunt* (see also below, 6.6 for an alternative way of explaining a ‘nominative’ use of a form such as *filios*; this example is in any case not a good one, as the inscription is fragmentary and its interpretation not completely certain). The frequency of this last type should not be exaggerated. Norberg (1944: 27–9) found that in the *Lex Curiensis* most accusative subjects are with passive verbs, a few are with intransitives, and only one is with a transitive verb (Norberg 1944: 29) governing an object,³⁵ but it is the form *barbarum*, which is of dubious significance: see the second point immediately below.

Various reservations must be expressed about taking apparent accusative subjects at their face value as reflecting a state of the language. Such reservations have long been felt and noted by scholars (see below, and also the previous section), but will bear repeating.

First, it would be misleading to imply that subject accusatives are common in late Latin or that there is an attested stage of the language in which they can be seen to be established, if still outnumbered. Examples are thinly scattered, and, worse, they tend to be in corrupt texts of which the manuscript or manuscripts cannot be relied on. This is particularly so of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a text that is so corrupt that we can rarely be sure what the author wrote. Much of the evidence cited, for example by Norberg, is from a single, very late (eighth-century), text, the *Lex Curiensis*, and Rovai and Cennamo also use this material. Cennamo (2009: 322) states, with reference to late Latin:

The accusative generally occurs with inactive/patient/theme subjects and the nominative recedes to the coding of active, dynamic arguments of intransitive situations (emphasis added).

There is no receding of the nominative at all, merely the occasional use of an accusative where a nominative might have been expected, and such examples may be subject to other explanations (conflations, anacoluthon, false addition of final *m*: see further below).

³⁵ Rovai (2005: 81–2) lists more examples of accusatives in ‘costrutti transitivi’, but in most cases the verb is an auxiliary (*possum*, *debeo*) and the interpretation of the accusative form dubious: the verb might be impersonal (with acc. + inf.) or the construction a conflated one in the presence of infinitives.

Second, examples consisting of nouns of the first or second declension, singular, are insecure as evidence for a morphosyntactic phenomenon, because the nominative and accusative forms were not clearly distinguished as a result of phonetic developments. Josephson (1940: 178) notes that most of the apparent examples in his material are second declension singulars, remarking that the nominative and accusative forms were easily confused. As an instance of an accusative case as subject of a transitive verb Cennamo (2009: 324) quotes Greg. *Hist. Franc.* 5.18, p. 221.16 *eice, eice haec a te, o sacerdos, ne faciat scandalum haec causam*. It will be noted that *haec* has the correct nominative form. Gregory was a learned writer (see e.g. Shanzer 2005) whose Latin has been vulgarised in the edition of Krusch (see Shanzer 2005: 306: ‘Krusch made Gregory look far more vulgar than he actually was’; see also the detailed and convincing discussion of this matter by Haverling 2008: 353–9), and it is unlikely that Gregory wrote *haec* and then *causam*, given that there is no more frequent scribal error than the omission or false addition of final *m*.

Third, it is often a moot point whether a particular instance of an accusative subject of an inactive intransitive verb may not reflect the unconscious and ad hoc influence on the writer of an equivalent transitive construction that he himself was in the habit of using, rather than a new grammaticalised usage (cf. 6.3 above on confluations of a passive construction with the equivalent active). Norberg (1944: 28), referring to cases of the accusative as subject of an intransitive verb, makes this point (‘In diesen Fällen kann jedoch die entsprechende transitive Konstruktion dem Verfasser vorgeschwebt und den Gebrauch des Akkusativs unterstützt haben’), citing e.g. *Lex Curiensis* 2.23, p. 324.5 *ille heres, cui talem seruuum in porcionem uenit* alongside *qui talem seruuum accepit*. Another of Cennamo’s examples (2009: 324) from Gregory of Tours may be cited here. *Hist. Franc.* 5.30, p. 236.5 is quoted in the form *ut nullum (puerum) . . . haberet accessum*, with *nullum* as subject. In the second edition of Gregory by Krusch and Levison (1951) the passage is printed in the form *ut nullus de anterioribus ad eam haberet accessum*, with a reference in the apparatus to Bonnet (1890: 397 n. 4). Bonnet rejected such an accusative use, explaining *nullum* as the result of a conflation of two constructions (‘il y a sans doute, dans l’esprit de Grégoire, confusion entre la construction par *ut* et la proposition infinitive’). A further example cited by Cennamo in the same place is an inscriptional one showing a variant of the epigraphic *se uiuo*-construction, with *uiuum* as subject. But this construction was little understood by stonemasons and there is chaotic variation in its forms (see the discussion of

Galdi 2004: 464–70), which undermines its use as evidence for structural change in the language.

Nevertheless, once allowance is made for special cases of these types, there remain some instances of accusatives with intransitive verbs in later Latin. In the list at the start of the section the accusative form could not be eliminated merely by the deletion of *-m*, and the same goes for a good deal of the corpus compiled by Rovai. What remains very dubious, however, is the extension of accusative subjects to transitive verbs. The evidence is very weak (see above on the *Lex Curiensis*, and n. 35).

6.5 Some accusatives in African curse tablets from Hadrumentum

The phenomena discussed in the last two sections may be further illustrated from some African curse tables, which are worthy of separate treatment, following a discussion by Herman (1987b: 103–6) (see also Sornicola 2008: 234). These are curse tablets from Hadrumentum (Audollent 1904 nos. 275–84; see also Kropp 2008a nos. 11.2.1/12 to 11.2.1/22), in which racehorses or drivers are cursed and the wish expressed that they fall, be turned or broken (*cada(n)t*, *uertat(n)t*, *franga(n)t* in different combinations). On the syntax see Jeanneret (1918: 134), Herman (1987b: 103–5). Names of the second declension in this corpus ending in *-u* might in theory be interpreted as nominatives with loss of *-s*; Kropp indeed restores them as nominatives. Herman, however, was surely right to treat them as accusatives (1987b: 103), because the same texts also have third declension names coordinated with those in *-u* and bearing unambiguous accusative forms with omission of *-m*.³⁶ Note e.g.:

Audollent (1904) 275... Lydu Alumnu cadant, Italu Tyriu cadant, Faru cadant, Croceu cadant, Elegantu cadant... Securu Mantineu Preualente cadant... Diuite Garulu cadant... Salutare cadat uertat frangat (another name e.g. in the list is *Supestite*).

278A Delusore cadant (note the plural verb).

276 Ganimede Cursore cadat.

There are various ways of explaining the accusatives. Audollent (1904: 358, on line 31) rightly describes *frangat* as intransitive (see Feltenius 1977: 59,

³⁶ Sornicola (2011: 35), discussing Herman's case study, states: 'Whether forms resulting from phonetic erosion of classical case structures can be considered "accusative" is doubtful.' She also says that the case value of third declension imparisyllabics in *-e* in the same tablets 'is even less certain'. These third declension forms cannot be anything but accusative.

92–3), and notes that there is a formula in the same corpus in which *frangat* is juxtaposed with the intensified compound *disfrangatur*, the latter with passive form. For the formula *cada(n)t franga(n)t disfranga(n)tur* see 275.31, 279.12, 282A.26. An intransitive use of *frangat* (= *se frangat*) is equivalent to a passive, and that is made clear by the juxtaposition. Curse tablets often have a simplex and intensifying compound juxtaposed in this way (e.g. Audollent 1904 no. 250A.22, B.9), and there is no functional difference between the intransitive *frangat* and the passive *disfrangatur* in this formula. Similarly an intransitive use of *uertat* is equivalent to a passive. Once this passive equivalence is seen it becomes obvious that these examples do not differ from the category seen above (6.3), in which the subject of a passive verb is sometimes inflected as an accusative. Nor is *cadat* fundamentally different, expressing as it does an event in which the subject is inactive (cf. 6.4), and in which there is always an implied (or explicit) higher agency or divine power envisaged as inflicting the punishment. The horses are in effect to be thrown down.

There are other possible influences. In many cases there are long lists of names, and we have seen a tendency for the accusative to be used in lists, in alternation with the nominative (see further below on the nominative in some comparable tablets).

Also, the texts resemble acclamations, and similar utterances might have been chanted at the races. There is not necessarily an intimate connection between the verb *cada(n)t* and the names, a suggestion prompted by breakdowns in agreement of number (the texts are mechanically written, sometimes with a plural subject and singular verb or singular subject and plural verb). The names could be conceived of as exclamatory, with a detachment from the verb: ‘Cursor! Let him/them fall.’

There is another group of curses with the same formulae (Audollent 1904 nos. 272–4, Kropp 2008a nos. 11.2.1/9 to 11.2.1/11; the comparison is made by Herman 1987b: 104) but containing nominatives both in *-us* and of the third declension instead of accusatives (e.g. *Salutaris*, *Amor*, *Comes*, *Pelops*). These nominatives do not justify emendation in the other group of texts (where the third declension forms cannot be got rid of without drastic change), but rather, considered alongside the accusatives, suggest that the accusative had encroached on the nominative as the case expressing the inactive subject of an intransitive or passive verb.

The suggestion on the basis of this small corpus that there was something special about African Latin, such that, for example, it was more advanced than other regions in the adoption of accusative forms for nominative (see Herman 1987b: 104–6), is not justifiable. We have seen comparable

accusatives from different parts of the Empire, and the limited data from the different regions are not enough to set up regional distinctions.

6.6 *Plurals in -as*

There are many nominative plurals in *-as* from different parts of the Empire: e.g. *CIL* III.3551 (Pannonia) *hic quiescunt duas matres duas filias* (see e.g. Norberg 1944: 27 n. 2, Gerola 1949–50: 207–19, Väänänen 1966: 84, 1981a: 108, Gaeng 1977: 46–51, 1984: 19–22, Mihăescu 1978: 219–20, Velázquez Soriano 2004: 515 n. 341, 513–15, Rovai 2005: 71–6, Adams 2007: 674–5 with n. 79). The form may be reflected in Old French and Old Provençal (see Elcock 1960: 62–4, Väänänen 1981a: 108), but there is not agreement on this point (Sornicola 2011: 27–8).³⁷ The Italian and Romanian feminine plurals in *-e* have been of disputed origin, whether continuing the classical *-ae* or derived again from *-as* (on this controversy, with bibliography, see Herman 1997, and particularly Maiden 2011a: 164, arguing for *-as*; the consensus is now in favour of *-as*). Many of the Latin instances of *-as* as a nominative could probably be put into one or other of the categories seen in the last three sections (see Gerola 1949–50: 219–67, and particularly Rovai 2005: 73–4, finding that in his corpus most examples of the form are with passive or intransitive verbs, as is the case with other types of accusative subjects; his corpus (83–7), however, is purely literary, and omits the large body of inscriptional material which would have to be taken into account in a comprehensive study), but the form is so frequent that it is likely to have had a different (purely morphological) cause, as reflecting the early spread in non-standard Latin of an Italic (Indo-European) nominative plural morpheme. There is already a possible example in a republican writer of Atellan farce, Pomponius: 140 Frassinetti *quot laetitias insperatas modo mi inrepsere in sinum* (see e.g. Adams 2003a: 118–19). This is not the only early instance. *Has* is at Pomponius 150 Frassinetti, and *hasce* at Cato *Agr.* 134.1 and *CIL* I².2685 (see Bakkum 1994: 34–6, Adams 2003a: 118–19).

Nominative plurals in *-as* seem to be found in the first century AD in the graffiti of La Graufesenque in both Celtic and Latin documents (see Adams 2007: 675), but these may be special cases. Since the Gaulish feminine nominative plural ended in *-as* (Lambert 1995: 55, 57), Gaulish influence might have been an additional external determinant of that ending in Gallic Latin.

³⁷ An alternative view is that in French and Spanish the plural of most nouns was formed by the addition of *-s* to the singular ending (see Penny 2002: 118), and a form such as Sp. *cabras* merely resembles the Latin accusative plural form.

The *-as* morpheme will come up in a different connection in a later chapter: in feminine plural place names in some late inscriptions the *-as* ending is multi-functional, expressing location, separation or motion towards (see xv.5).

In the Merovingian documents surveyed by Vielliard (1927) *-as* is not only the regular nominative plural feminine ending but it is also carefully distinguished from other case endings and therefore not to be considered a fault of syntax (so Vielliard 1927: 109). By this time it was clearly standard (at least in this area), whereas earlier it occurs mainly in low-register texts and inscriptions. It was noted above (5.2, p. 231) that it was also the norm in the Visigothic slate tablets from Spain. In the Oribasius translations *-as* outnumbers *-ae* as nominative plural (Mørland 1932: 105).

There are late texts in which nominative uses of *-os* stand alongside those in *-as*, for example Anthimus (see Liechtenhan 1963: 50), though the *-os* ending is far less common than the *-as*. Note e.g. *ILCV* 3052B *Iulia Crescensa, cui filios et nepotes obitum fecerunt* (see Herman 1995: 74); there seems to be much the same phraseology at *CIL* VIII.7467 (see above, 6.4, p. 247), but with problems of reading. If *filios* were to be explained syntactically here it would have to represent the extension of the accusative from the marking of the subject of inactive intransitive verbs to the marking of the subject of active transitives (see 6.4, p. 247). But it could just as well be explained morphologically, as motivated by the analogy of the long-standing alternative feminine nominative plural *-as*.

7 Conclusions

The main aim of this chapter has been to present the background to the survival into Romance of the accusative forms of many nouns instead of the nominative (though we must leave aside early Gallo-Romance, where there was still up to a point a case distinction, and Romanian), and, by contrast, of the nominative in some names and in a restricted class of personal designations.

The most revealing categories of asyntactic accusatives are the occasional uses of accusatives as subjects of passive verbs and of inactive transitive verbs. Also significant is the frequent use of the feminine plural ending *-as* in inscriptions. Whatever the origin of the last, it turns up relatively early and may survive in some Western Romance languages. It is possible that it acted as an analogy supporting a masculine nominative plural form in *-os*. The accusative subjects of passive and intransitive verbs may be explicable in some cases as ad hoc confluences of construction or the

like, but their frequency supports the idea that here we see the start of a tendency, with parallels outside Latin, for inactive subjects to be marked formally as patients (by the object case). A possible extension of this use of the accusative form, but very weakly attested, was noted, whereby an accusative may stand as active subject of a transitive verb. The evidence for such an extension is unfortunately ambiguous. If the accusative subject ends in *-as* we may have the old nominative morpheme rather than a genuine accusative. If it ends in *-os* the form may be based on the analogy of *-as*. If it ends in *-am* or *-um* there may have been superficial phonetic/spelling confusion. Note e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 55 *si iumentum morbum renalem temptauerit*. *Temptare* may be used of a disease 'attacking' the victim (Oder 1901: 442), and the disease is certainly the agent. But one cannot justifiably base assertions about linguistic history on these spellings in such a corrupt text. The scribe might have mechanically carried on the *-um* from the previous word or misunderstood an abbreviation.

Both the *-as* nominative plural and accusative subjects of inactive verbs appear at first only in inscriptions and low-register texts and must have long been resisted in higher sociolects. Vegetius did not take over accusative subjects from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (if we may make the assumption that our unsatisfactory late manuscripts of the latter work are a true representation of what the author wrote). By the early medieval period, however, there are signs that *-as* had become standard. Here is a linguistic development that had worked its way up the social scale.

There are some other uses of both the accusative and the nominative that show that the roles of the two inflectional categories were not as sharply distinguished as they had been in Classical Latin. Both cases are used asyntactically in appositional expressions where logically another case was demanded. In one such context the two case forms are used identically, that is in appositional expressions in inscriptions designating the *origo* of the referent. Another context in which the accusative and nominative interchange outside the syntax is in the predicate of naming constructions. The nominative is sometimes used for the accusative in active naming constructions, and the accusative is sometimes used for the nominative in the passive. Or again, in lists without expressed verbal syntax nominatives and accusatives may alternate without any distinction of function.

Phenomena of the types mentioned in the last paragraph are far from explaining why the accusative of many nouns became the base form and survived in Romance. They merely show that under certain circumstances in substandard texts there were functional overlaps between the two case forms that had not been present in Classical Latin. There are, however, a

further two weakly attested tendencies that are more suggestive of things to come.

First, names and personal designations are sometimes used asyntactically in the nominative, the former for example after prepositions and the latter particularly in appositional expressions. We have also seen hints, not least in curse tablets, that the nominative form was considered to be the essence of a name. These various uses help to explain the partial survival of the nominative of names and personal designations. Where names are concerned, another fact to be noted is that in the masculine second declension the nominative encroached on the vocative in later, particularly non-standard, Latin. Given that names are frequent in the vocative in any language, we have here another reason why the *-us* form might have had favoured status.

Second, whereas in lists the accusative use of an inanimate noun may often be justified as the object of an implied verb, there are uses of accusatives that cannot be explained in this way because the structure of the list strictly demanded another oblique case. The accusative is thus sometimes treated as the appropriate form for an inanimate item in a list, whatever its logical case role. In verbless lists with both personal names and objects the former tend to go into the nominative and the latter into the accusative. The two components are associated with particular cases, even when the accusative of the thing is not justified by the structure. Here is a sign of sorts that the accusative was especially favoured for inanimates. This second factor, however, is of secondary importance compared with the tendency for the accusative to be used to express the subject of passives and inactive intransitives.

There is a trend in the literature to refer to the accusative as the ‘default’ case, either by means of that adjective or a synonym (Calboli 1996 by contrast was concerned with a particular type of default accusative in Latin, that in the acc. + inf. construction, which is not relevant here). This view is put, with bibliography, by J. C. Smith (2011: 278). Note also e.g. Cennamo (2009: 308), stating that the accusative ‘also functions as the *ungoverned* case’, with reference to Vincent (1997a). There is a further reference to the ‘ungoverned or *asyntactic* uses of the accusative’ (at 2009: 309), and the following remark: ‘The accusative, therefore, qualifies in Latin as the functionally unmarked or *default* case’. Note too Cennamo (2009: 327): ‘there seems to be evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the accusative was the *functionally unmarked case in Latin*, alternating with the nominative in the encoding of non-active “neutral” participants . . . , those “at rest” in the clause, as in nominal clauses’; or again (329), ‘one might hypothesize that speakers tended to use the form in the accusative

as the basic lexical form'. The implication of such terminology is that the accusative was a sort of base form (see the last sentence), and that that was a reason why it was for the most part the accusative that survived.

There are two problems raised by the use of 'default, ungoverned' and the like of the accusative, and particularly by any attempt to use such a classification to explain the Romance survival of the accusative.

First, the nominative used asyntactically is every bit as common as the accusative. The nominative of apposition, for example, seems better attested than the accusative, and the nominative is regularly used outside the syntax to introduce the subject of a curse, or to focus the topic of a sentence (especially if there has been a change of topic) even in the literary language, including Cicero (see above, 3.2, and observe particularly that it is not only names that are used thus).

Second, 'default' accusatives are often, despite appearances, motivated, and distinguishable from the nominative. We saw this particularly in the use of the accusative (and nominative) in apposition to the whole sentence. Appositional accusatives and nominatives of this type still have recognisable accusative and nominative roles. Or again, there is little point in classifying accusatives such as the following as ungoverned (Cennamo 2009: 309): *CIL* IV.3525 *Puteolos Antium Tegeano Pompeios, hae sunt uerae colonia <e>*. These are correctly taken by Väänänen (1966: 116–17) as exclamatory, an ancient construction. If on the other hand it were conceded that the accusative is exclamatory here and claimed that this use of the accusative has a topic function that might be a factor in the later fossilisation of accusative forms, then it might be replied that an asyntactic nominative can be used with exactly the same function (see above, 3.2). Note Audollent (1904) no. 93A *Domitius Niger et [L]ollius et Iulius Seuer[u]s [e]t S[e]uerus Nig[ri] serus adue[rsa]r[i]i Bruttae et quisquis aduersus ilam loquit(us est) omnes per[d]es* (Jeanneret 1918 :132). Here the nominative names are outside the syntax, but resumed by *omnes*, which, though technically ambiguous in case form, could not conceivably be taken by a reader as other than an accusative. So in the inscription above the names in the accusative are resumed by the nominative *hae*, which also has the case appropriate to the expressed verb. There are loose uses of both the nominative and accusative, and no grounds for assigning the accusative in particular a default role. Where exclamations specifically are concerned, it must be noted that there is an exclamatory use of the nominative as well as of the accusative (see e.g. Baños Baños 2009: 117).

Blake (2001: 199) in his book on case defines 'default' thus: 'The default value or setting is the one that will be in force if no value or setting is specially

assigned.' Clearly on this definition 'default' would be inappropriately applied to an accusative if it had a specific accusative role in a context. An attempt has been made in this chapter to distinguish between different uses of both nominative and accusative, and to argue that the special character of personal names, the frequency of personal designations in the nominative of apposition, the use of the accusative to express the subject of passive and inactive intransitive verbs, and a slight tendency for the accusative of inanimates to be used asyntactically in lists, are all factors that contributed to the survival of many words in the accusative and some in the nominative.

We turn finally to social variation. There is not a rigid distinction between the high literary language and low-register texts and inscriptions in the admittance of the totality of the constructions that have been seen in this chapter. Asyntactic uses of the nominative in particular may be found in literary sources, most notably the detached nominative headings usually with a resumptive pronoun (above, 3.2) used to mark a new topic, the nominative in naming constructions supported by an appositional term, usually *nomen*, and even the nominative of apposition, attested (perhaps) once in Cicero. Certain accusative constructions that have been wrongly described as default uses, such as the accusative in apposition to the whole sentence or the exclamatory accusative, were at home in literary language. However, the most important innovations from the Romance perspective as maintained in this chapter (those listed in the second paragraph of this section) were in the pre-medieval period restricted to low-register texts and must have been of low social status for a long time, with the innovation eventually moving up the social scale. The uses of nominatives dependent on *per* and of the nominative in the predicate of active naming constructions were substandard or low-register, to judge from their distribution, and the nominative of apposition too, despite the apparent example in Cicero, is confined mainly to low-register texts. Isolated examples of these various constructions in literary language merely confirm that there are no absolute social distinctions in the language, and that stylistic considerations might sometimes motivate a writer to depart from standard patterns.

*Oblique cases and prepositional expressions***1 Background to the spread of prepositional expressions**

In the transition from Latin to Romance the inflectional cases declined and oblique-case functions came to be conveyed in most languages (Romanian is to some extent an exception) by prepositions (see e.g. Pinkster 1990a for a discussion of the process; on the complexities of the evidence and not least its textual basis, see Haverling 2006). It should be stressed that the conventional view in Romance linguistics is not that case was simply lost en bloc, but that there was a reduction in case forms from the five of Classical Latin to three ('where accusative and ablative, on the one hand, and genitive and dative, on the other, were no longer distinguished': Salvi 2011: 319), and that from this three-case system the Romance systems are derivable (see Salvi loc. cit. with bibliography, and the whole of his chapter). In late Latin documents it is easy enough to see signs of a falling together of accusative and ablative forms in some nouns in the singular, but not in the plural, and genitive and dative forms long remained distinct both in the singular and plural. What is most visible is the use from an early period of prepositional expressions alongside unaccompanied case inflections, and this chapter is mainly about that phenomenon. Various reasons have been advanced for the increasing importance of prepositions.

First, phonological developments and the resultant demands of 'clarity' are said to have been a factor. Väänänen (1981a: 112), referring especially to the accusative and ablative, states that '*des tours prépositionnels se substituent par besoin de clarté aux formes casuelles pures et simples*' (emphasis added). Penny (2002: 117) puts it thus: 'the inadequate distinctions existing in early Latin between one case and another led to the use of prepositions in a disambiguating function, a development which made the case-endings largely redundant and allowed further merger, as a result of phonological change, to go ahead unchecked'. De la Villa (1998: 291) says: 'It has always been argued and it is widely accepted that it was an

impulse towards a greater clarity of expression, often compensating for a phonological loss of morphemes, that favoured the substitution of bare cases by prepositional phrases . . . in Vulgar and Late Latin.' Aspects of this view are questionable (see the remarks of R. Coleman 1991: 335). If it were claimed that, say, the inflectional ablative case of Classical Latin had so many functions that there was a resultant lack of clarity, it could not be argued that the spread of prepositional usages resolved the ambiguities, because prepositional expressions themselves became as multi-functional as the inflectional cases had been. Buridant's account (2000: 469–75) of the 'préposition *de* et ses valeurs' in Old French runs to six pages, and embraces almost the full range of functions previously expressed by the ablative (and indeed genitive). In the final section of this chapter (7) we will illustrate the remarkable diversity of overlapping prepositional expressions in later Latin. In a single phrase there are often as many as three different prepositions attested with the same function.

Moreover prepositions were encroaching on purely inflectional usages long before there was a 'loss of morphemes' caused by phonological change (see e.g. Rosén 1999: 140–3, though not all examples cited there are convincing: see further below, 5.1). Already in Plautus, for example, the prepositions *in* (+ acc.) and *ex* (+ abl.) were in use alongside the unaccompanied accusative and ablative to express motion to or from a town (see xv.2), and it would not be maintained that phonetically the distinction between accusative and ablative forms had already been lost. The attrition of final *m* is sometimes seen as undermining the distinction between accusative, nominative and ablative singulars, but that view is not compelling for the earlier period. There is evidence that when *-m* was lost the final vowel of the accusative singular acquired (and retained into the Empire) a special character (possibly by nasalisation) that would have made the accusative singular ending different in speech from both the nominative and ablative (viii.1), the latter of which in any case in most declensions was marked by a long vowel. As for the plural, the oblique-case endings were less subject to phonological changes that might have motivated an increasing use of prepositions. Very late Latin may be a different matter. The complex system of case inflections must have been weakened by the loss of distinctions of vowel length in final syllables, the loss in some areas of *-s*, particularly after a short vowel, and vowel mergers (for further details see e.g. Wright 2011: 71). But although these developments must have had some influence in the long run, certain prepositions were in rivalry with unsupported case endings from the earliest Latin extant. We will return to this point in the next section.

Second, the movement towards prepositions has been seen as reflecting a general shift from synthetic to analytic forms of expression (see the remarks of Pinkster 1990a: 200–1). Although one must be wary of overgeneralising about such a structural revolution from Latin to Romance (see Vincent 1997b: 99–100, stressing that the terms ‘synthetic’ and ‘analytic’ only make sense if applied to individual constructions, as distinct from whole languages), it is certainly true that if the history of Latin/Romance over a millennium or more is surveyed there is apparent a notable move in case marking from synthetic to analytic structures. However, to put the change in these terms is purely descriptive and has no explanatory power, unless one wishes to draw the vague conclusion that there must have been unknowable forces at work leading inexorably to a predetermined goal.

It is facile to think that a change that was in progress already in 200 BC at the time of Plautus and was by no means complete in texts of about AD 900 could be ascribed to a single neat cause. Any attempt to find such a cause is bound to lead to generalisations that are partly at variance with the evidence, or, worse, to wild speculations that cannot be verified. The merest glance at the evidence shows that the determinants of a prepositional usage vary from case to case. For example, Plautus uses prepositions with the names of towns only when the town is relatively unknown. *Ad* was over a long period used with verbs of saying to impart a particular nuance (with which it was not interchangeable with the dative), but it was not used with verbs of giving. These two examples are so disparate that it would be impossible to find a generalisation that would cover both.

In this chapter no systematic attempt will be made to advance reasons for developments that only look structured if observed retrospectively at the two ends of a period of more than 1,000 years. Instead we will consider prepositional developments over a shorter period and their background and determinants. What will emerge is that no two instances are alike, and also that prepositional usages have sometimes been wrongly equated with plain cases. For example, the new uses that turn up in the historical period of *de* and *ad* and to a lesser extent *ex* with (quasi-)instrumental functions are often not straightforwardly interchangeable with the instrumental ablative at all: there was no structural transition in later Latin from e.g. instrumental ablative to instrumental *de* and *ad*. Each preposition underwent its own developments in specific contexts. Even when one or the other may seem loosely translatable as instrumental, examination of the context often shows that it still retains a primary sense. Writers who admitted the new uses of *de* and *ad* went on using the ablative as it had always been used. The structural change, whereby the unaccompanied ablative was dropped entirely, does

not show up at all in extant Latin. As for *ad* and the dative of the direct object, an analysis of the use of the preposition reveals that until the medieval period it was not equivalent to the dative at all, and that proto-Romance uses supposedly found already in Plautus are nothing of the sort.

De la Villa (1998: 291) referred to the substitution of bare cases by prepositions in Vulgar Latin (and late Latin). Since there is a view that educated written Latin under the influence of prescriptive grammarians remained fossilised during the Empire and was immune from change for centuries (see above, 1.3), it may be tempting to think that an increased use of prepositions would first have been a mark of lower, more vital, spoken registers, and perhaps have been regarded by purists as substandard (see also Pinkster 1990a: 207–8). But it is not possible to generalise about the status of prepositions en masse versus plain cases in the history of Latin. Prepositions and their functions must be assessed individually. There was not a progression from plain cases to prepositional usages occurring first in lower social or educational varieties of the language. Some new prepositional usages were indeed for a time restricted to low-register texts and avoided by purists, but on the other hand a high incidence of certain prepositions sometimes shows up in forms of the literary language, where it may represent a literary striving after the unusual rather than the intrusion of a habit from lower social dialects. The spread of a prepositional syntagm may alternatively be a feature of the language in general rather than of a restricted social or educational variety. A case study in the next section will show that we cannot locate change merely in lower sociolects, or assign it a late date and appeal to phonetic developments as its cause.

Another complicating factor is that the movement of the language was not uniformly in the direction of a greater use of prepositions. As Haverling (2006: 348) puts it, '[s]ometimes there is also a tendency to use case forms in functions for which Classical Latin preferred expressions with prepositions'. That is a subject that will not be dealt with here.

2 Prepositional expressions: republican and early imperial Latin

That some prepositional usages encroached on plain inflections even in literary Latin and at an early date (on the diversity of structures, prepositional and non-prepositional, in Classical Latin see the general remarks of R. Coleman 1991: 331, 336) may be illustrated from the separative constructions found with the compound verbs *egredior* and *exeo*. Both could be used either with the plain ablative or with a prepositional complement (*ex* + abl., or even *de*). Prepositions are usually avoided with names of

towns (*Roma egredior*) (but on Plautus and the striking practice of Livy see xv.2) and a small set of words such as *domo* (*domo exeo*), and such special cases are left out of consideration here. The construction without preposition is part of a phenomenon whereby the prefix of a verb may determine the case of a nominal complement of the verb (see e.g. Rosén 1999: 145), as in the expression from a prayer quoted by Cato *Agr.* 141.2: *agrum terram fundumque meum suouitaurilia circumagi iussi*. Here the case of *agrum* . . . *meum* is determined by *circum-*. This type of dependence is no doubt old (and the expression just cited must have been traditional in prayers). There follow some statistics from several texts of the republican and also early imperial periods showing the incidence of ablative and prepositional complements of *egredior* and *exeo*.

2.1 Plautus

In Plautus *egredior* is used only with prepositions (leaving aside *domo*): *Most.* 3 *ex aedibus*, *Rud.* 334 *e fano* (*ab* is also found a few times, with persons).

With *exeo*, *ex* is the norm (nine examples – leaving aside a metaphorical case – including *ex aedibus* and *e(x) nauī* several times). For the ablative see *Bacch.* 289 *portu eximus*. *Ab* is used with persons.

2.2 Terence

In Terence there is little of relevance. Neither verb is used with the ablative alone. *Egredior* is complemented by *e (nauī)* at *Heaut.* 182, and otherwise by *ab* with personal nouns/pronouns (three examples). *Exeo* is always accompanied by prepositions, but *ab* and *abs* not *ex* (except possibly once by emendation); the five examples are with names or pronouns, as *ab Thaidē* (*Eun.* 545), where the sense is *ex aedibus Thaidis*.

2.3 Caesar

With *egredior* Caesar has the ablative on its own three times (leaving aside special cases where the ablative was obligatory): *Gall.* 2.11.1, 4.21.9, 4.24.1 (in the last two places with *nauī*). *Ex* on the other hand is used eight times (at *Gall.* 4.26.2, 4.27.3, *Civ.* 3.106.4 in the expression *ex nauī*): *Gall.* 2.13.2, 4.26.2, 4.27.3, 6.31.4, 7.11.7, 7.84.1, *Civ.* 1.22.5, 3.106.4.

With *exeo* Caesar has *ex* four times (*Gall.* 1.5.1, 2.33.1, 7.20.10, *Civ.* 2.4.5), and also *de* once (*Gall.* 1.2.1). The ablative is not used at all (other than with *domo*).

2.4 *Ps.-Caesarian works*

In the pseudo-Caesarian works *egredior ex* occurs nine times (*B. Hisp.* 25.2, 31.8, *B. Afr.* 10.1, 25.1, 34.6, 48.1, 62.5, *B. Alex.* 20.3, 20.4 (in the last two places *ex nauibus*)), and there is also an instance with *de nauibus* at *B. Afr.* 11.2. The ablative is not used at all, except with names of towns.

Exeo ex occurs at *B. Afr.* 7.5 (*e nauibus*), *B. Hisp.* 4.2. There is no instance of the ablative. In this corpus with the two verbs there are eleven examples of *ex* and none of the ablative (apart from special cases).

2.5 *Cicero's speeches*

In the speeches of Cicero *egredior* is nine times used with *ex* and never with the ablative. For *e nauis* see *Verr.* 2.19, *Vat.* 12.

Exeo is used with *ex* seven times (omitting a few cases where the noun is metaphorical), and never with the ablative. Note too *Vat.* 31 *de balineis exeunti*, in contrast to *e balneo exisses* at *Deiot.* 42.

2.6 *Conclusions*

In these republican texts, embracing the high literary language and more mundane genres, *ex*-expressions with *egredior* and *exeo* predominate over the ablative by 51:4; there are also three cases of the emerging *de*-construction (see Adams 2003b: 567, 2011: 259 on these few cases of *de* for *ex* as the beginnings of a lexical change; also Wölfflin and Miodoński 1889: 21 on *B. Afr.* 11.2, and below, 6.4.3). The ablative complement was no more than an occasional relic, and the prepositional construction had good literary credentials. The figures reveal an early trend towards redundant marking of separation, by means both of prefix and preposition. Such redundancy cannot be dismissed as a feature of low social dialects.

Three texts from a different genre (historiography) present a different picture.

2.7 *Sallust*

In Sallust *egredior* is used five times with the ablative (omitting instances of *domo* and *Roma*) and never with *ex*. He does not have *exeo*.

2.8 *Livy*

In Livy there are more than forty examples of *egredior* with the plain ablative, but only a handful (nine) with the preposition *ex* (e.g. 10.20.8, 10.35.17

e castris, 29.28.10 *ex nauibus*). *Castris* without preposition is common (e.g. 33.29.6, 3.60.8, 28.14.6, 7.33.4).

2.9 Tacitus

In Tacitus there are fourteen examples of *egredior* + abl. (all in the historical works), and only one of *ex* (*Ann.* 15.17.2 *e prouincia*).

2.10 Conclusions

The practice of the historians (there is no need for statistics for *exeo* from the substantial corpora of Livy and Tacitus) is the reverse of that of Cicero and the other writers above. The obvious conclusion is that by the late Republic the ablative construction was perceived as archaic and suited to the archaising genre historiography. The prepositional construction was that of ordinary educated language. Since the construction was the norm already in Plautus it must have been very old, and too early to be ascribed to the influence of late phonetic developments.

At the end of the last section it was suggested that a high incidence of prepositions, far from reflecting the practice of lower social dialects, might sometimes be due to a striving for the unusual by artificial writers. In the next section we will illustrate this type of literary artifice.

3 Prepositional expressions and literary artifice

One writer who particularly exploited prepositions as a means to novelty of expression was the stylist Tacitus. We will consider uses of three prepositions here, *per*, *ex* and *de* (the last two in a sense different from that discussed above).

3.1 per

In Tacitus' historical works the instrumental and modal uses of *per* are exploited to an extent unparalleled in earlier prose. In various phrases and phrase-types in which earlier writers preferred the ablative Tacitus admitted *per* as well.

Silentio is common at all periods with modal force ('in silence, silently') with verbs such as *audire*, *attendere* and *praeterire* and with those denoting actions (e.g. *B. Alex.* 61.2, *Sall. Cat.* 1.1, 53.6, *Jug.* 106.4, *Sen. Contr.* 10.2.9, *Sen. Dial.* 4.14.4, *Epist.* 14.4, *Curt.* 4.13.33, 6.9.7). Tacitus himself uses

modal *silentio* a number of times, but in six places, five of them in the *Annals*, he replaces it with *per silentium* (*Hist.* 2.74.1, *Ann.* 2.38.4, 4.53.1, 11.37.4, 14.10.1, 16.25.2). Cf. on the one hand Cic. *Cluent.* 156 *uos attenditis et auditis silentio* and Tac. *Ann.* 1.34.3 *silentio haec uel murmure modico audita sunt* with on the other Tac. *Hist.* 2.74.1 *ut praeceuntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem per silentium audierint*. There is only one comparable case of *per silentium* in prose before Tacitus, and that is a special case: Livy 25.23.16 *armati tenui agmine per silentium eo deducti* (the juxtaposition of *silentio* and the adverb *eo* would have been confusing).

With verbs of killing the instrumental ablative *ueneno* is widespread in pre-Tacitean prose (e.g. fourteen times in Cicero's speeches, seven times in Valerius Maximus: 2.5.3, 2.6.8, 6.3.8, 6.5.1, 8.1.amb. 1, 9.1.9, 9.2.ext. 6), but *per uenenum* is nowhere found. Tacitus at *Ann.* 12.52.2 writes *per uenenum extinctus esset*, and at 14.63.3 *erepto per uenenum patre*. With the former cf. 3.19.3 *ueneno aut fame extinctos*. *Per uenenum* is particularly striking, because usually instrumental expressions with *per* are abstract, not, as here, concrete (see below, 6.2).

The expression *per gaudium* (modal) at *Ann.* 14.5.1 for *gaudio* cannot be paralleled before Tacitus in prose: *paenitentiam filii et recuperatam matris gratiam per gaudium memorabat*. For *gaudio* see e.g. Cic. *Cluent.* 14.

A favourite Tacitean phrase is *per artem* (-tes) (Gerber and Greef 1877–90: 11.1093b). It is all but absent from earlier writers (found only once: Vitruvius 2.1.7 *auctam per artes ornauerunt uoluptatibus elegantiam uitae*, *per artes* with *auctam* is set apart from *uoluptatibus* with *ornauerunt*), in whom *arte* is frequent in the same sense (cf. e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 4.103, *Har. resp.* 19, *Sest.* 120, Petron. 102.15, 132.6, Quint. 9.2.27, 9.4.116, 10.2.12).

Promissis (instrumental) is not uncommon before Tacitus with e.g. *corrumpere*, *excitare*, *impellere* and *inducere* (see e.g. Merguet 1877–84: 111.799b for examples from Cicero's speeches). Tacitus uses *per promissa* as well as the ablative (Gerber and Greef 1877–90: 11.1211a–b). Note the following pairs: *Hist.* 2.20.2 *temptata Othonianorum fide per conloquium et promissa* alongside 1.75.1 *promissis simul ac minis temptabantur*; *Ann.* 2.67.1 *Flaccus . . . per ingentia promissa quamuis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpulit ut . . .* alongside 11.29.3 *largitione ac promissis . . . perpulit delationem subire*.

Finally cf. Cic. *Balb.* 37 *si ad eam retinendam Gaditanos praemiis elicere non possumus* (cf. 22, *Tusc.* 5.20) with Tac. *Ann.* 4.30.3 *delatores . . . per praemia eliciebantur*. Here again *per* is used with a concrete noun.

Tacitus has taken conventional expressions normally containing an ablative, instrumental or modal, and replaced the ablative with a *per*-phrase not as a rule used in the expression. This practice is in keeping with his taste

for varying the mundane, and is far from reflecting a humdrum character of prepositional expressions. It is a type of linguistic experimentation.

3.2 *ex*

Tacitus makes some use of prepositional expressions with *ex*, in contexts in which a genitive would have been usual. Note *Ann.* 11.20.1:

ille re subita, quamquam multa simul offunderentur, metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud socios, nihil aliud prolocutus quam . . .

At the unexpected development, though many sensations swept over him (dread at the Commander, contempt from the barbarians, mockery from the allies), he made no utterance other than . . . (Woodman 2004).

Here *metus imperatoris* and *contemptio barbarorum* would have been possible, with *imperatoris* an objective genitive (his fear of the Commander) and *barbarorum* probably a subjective genitive (the barbarians' contempt for him). The interchangeability of *ex* with two different types of genitive in the same clause does not mean that *ex*-expressions already existed as genuine genitive equivalents (say, in colloquial usage). *Ex* still expresses its conventional idea of source in both phrases (his fear comes from the Commander, and contempt for him comes from the barbarians). We should say rather that Tacitus has exploited the semantics of the preposition to produce unusual replacements of standard uses of the genitive. This again is linguistic inventiveness (of rare type but not exclusively Tacitean: see Heubner 1963: 135, Goodyear 1972: 235). For *metus ab* see *TLL* VIII.909.65ff., *metus ex* 909.69ff., *metus de* Stat. *Theb.* 9.92. *Metus ab* is mainly in historians (Sallust and often Livy), and *metus ex* mainly in Tacitus (see further e.g. *Ann.* 1.29.3 *adiciendos ex duce metus sublati seditionis auctoribus*, where the sense may be rather 'fear on the part of the leader', i.e. with the phrase corresponding to a subjective genitive (see Woodman and Martin 1996: 454); 2.72.1 *per quae ostender<e> credebatur metum ex Tiberio*). *Ex* is often used with verbs of emotion and the like to express the source of the emotion (*TLL* V.1.1105.81ff., especially 1106.27ff. (verbs of hoping and fearing, rejoicing), e.g. Cic. *Att.* 2.16.1 *ex eo . . . maius aliquid timueram*, Livy 2.30.5), or with verb phrases, such as *metus ceperit* at Sall. *Jug.* 85.47 (*neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit*).

Exploitation of the semantic properties of a preposition to produce ad hoc alternatives to conventional uses of plain cases does not constitute colloquialism, and does not, at least in the short term, produce phrases

that are genuinely equivalent to the plain cases. The preposition retains its full semantic force (which may vary from context to context: see Woodman and Martin 1996: 454–5 on the variable implication of *metus ex* in Tacitus), and the writer might have reasons for choosing the prepositional phrase in a particular context, stylistic or semantic. There has been something of a tradition of latching onto prepositional phrases from early Latin onwards that might seem similar to Romance usages and seeing in them subliterate anticipations of Romance. The reality is that they may often be deliberate, semantically determined and literary.

3.3 de

We conclude this section with a different type of ad hoc prepositional substitute for a case in both Sallust and Tacitus. Note first Sall. *Cat.* 35.2:

satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decreui.

[B]ut I *have* determined to put forward, though from no consciousness of guilt, an explanation (Woodman 2007).

Conscientia might have had attached to it an objective genitive (cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 56), but that does not mean that *de culpa* is a real genitive equivalent anticipatory of the Romance outcome of *de* (cf. Kroll 1925: 11; also Ramsey 2007: 156 ‘a colloquial expression in place of the more usual obj. gen.’). *De* can be given one of its basic classical meanings (‘concerning, about’): ‘from no consciousness concerning my guilt’. The verb *scio* can be construed with *de* (*OLD* s.v. 6b), and it is no great step from there to the construing of a derivative verbal noun with the same preposition. There is no reason for describing such a usage as colloquial.

The following Tacitean usage can be explained in the same way:

Hist. 1.67.1 Heluetii...de caede Galbae ignari et Vitellii imperium abnuentes.

Ignarus normally has an objective genitive as complement. With *de* (‘ignorant about’) it is hardly attested (*TLL* VII.1.274.15ff.), but see Heubner (1963: 140), citing the analogy of *ignorare de* from Cicero (*Att.* 8.14.3).

3.4 Conclusions

There is a lack of uniformity to the stylistic level of prepositional expressions. Tacitus avoided prepositions with *egredior*, but had a taste

for modal/instrumental *per* where the ablative was established. A systematic study of prepositions in literary prose and poetry would no doubt uncover other idiosyncratic preferences in various writers reflecting not the influence of a submerged sociolect but a striving after the unusual.¹

In the next three sections we move on to the main prepositional replacements in the Romance languages of Latin oblique cases, dealing separately with the genitive, dative (mainly of the indirect object) and instrumental ablative. In the light of the above remarks about prepositional usages in the literary language one must be hesitant about ascribing any prepositional syntagm that might seem interchangeable with a plain case to lower sociolects. One should also be wary of equating a prepositional phrase with a particular case usage without asking whether the preposition might retain a traditional meaning. It will be argued below that prepositional uses both in Classical Latin and later are often not merely analytic substitutes for plain case uses. There has been a tradition of disregarding the semantics of prepositions in Classical and later Latin in an attempt to find early uses that anticipate Romance developments.

4 The genitive and prepositional expressions

In this section the only preposition dealt with is *de*. *Ad*, which may express possession as a replacement for the dative, will be discussed in the next section (5.5).

4.1 *The genitive and the Romance languages*

The inflected genitive, like the other oblique-case inflections, was largely replaced by the time of the Romance languages.² For the most part genitive uses derive from the Latin preposition *de*, though there are some variations.

In Old French there are three constructions marking possession, *de*, *a* (< *ad*) and juxtaposition without a prepositional marker (types *fiis de roi/a roi*; *li filz le roi*). See Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 104–5), Bourciez (1946: 365); for the distinction between them in Old French see in particular Väänänen

¹ Dahlén (1964: 47), for example, shows that Livy had a taste for *ad se* with the verb *uindicare*, whereas other writers preferred the reflexive dative of advantage *sibi* (or the verb without complement). On Livy's remarkable use of *ab Roma* see below, xv.2.

² There are a few relics of the inflected genitive in names of days of the week, plant names and a few place names: see Elcock (1960: 60–1); see too Elcock (1960: 82) on the survival of *illorum* (cf. below, xx.3.1); also Buridant (2000: 69).

([1956] 1981b: 104–7). For medieval Latin examples of juxtaposition without preposition see Bastardas Parera (1953: 47), Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 103). The form of the juxtaposed complement in Latin is referred to as the ‘universal case’ by Bastardas Parera and as the ‘oblique case’ by Väänänen, who notes (103) that it mainly has the dative/ablative form, ‘remontant sans doute au datif d’intérêt’ (see below, 5.5, p. 290). For a full account of this construction in Old French see Buridant (2000: 91–100), and for the uses of *de* in Old French, Buridant (2000: 474–5).

In Italian possession and the subjective/objective relation (i.e. the uses referred to as the ‘subjective/objective genitive’) are expressed by *de* > *di*, e.g. *il libro di Marco* ‘Marcus’ book’, *per l’amore di Dio* ‘by the love of God’ (probably subjective), *timore di Dio* ‘fear of God’ (objective) (Bourciez 1946: 530, Maiden 1995: 100). However, at an earlier period and to this day in southern Italy the ‘oblique case’ is used without preposition in the singular with genitive function (Rohlf s 1969a: 5–6, Ledgeway 2009: 125–6). On the other hand in Italian ‘destination’/definition (see next paragraph and below, 4.6) is expressed by *da* (< *de ab*: see Rohlf s 1969a: 219 and below, xxiii.1 on this compound): e.g. *terreno da viti*, *scatola da tabacco* (Bourciez 1946: 530).

In Romanian *de* is not used to mark possession (see Bourciez 1946: 588 on earlier Romanian, where there are traces of the construction). A case form, usually described as dative (see Bourciez 1946: 248, 588), survived with this function (*fiica regelui* ‘daughter of the king’, *stelele cerului* ‘stars of the sky’). Its source is the pronoun form *illui*, attached originally to the noun as an article (see Bourciez 1946: 248–9; also below, xx.3.1).³ It is also used to convey an objective relation when the dependent noun is personal (*frica Domnului* ‘fear of the Lord’: see Bourciez 1946: 248, 588). For a list of the functions that *de* does have in Romanian see Bourciez (1946: 588): partitive (*un pahar de vin* ‘a glass of wine’; it is however more usual to say *un pahar cu vin*, ‘a glass with wine’), expressing origin or material (*cununa de aur* ‘crown of gold’), as equivalent to an objective genitive (*pofta de mâncare* ‘desire of eating’) (by contrast when the noun in the subordinate position is personal the case form seen above is used), and particularly expressing what Bourciez calls ‘destination’ (we might say ‘definition’: see 4.6), as in **canis de uenatu* > *cîne de vînat* ‘hunting dog’.

³ Martin Maiden makes the point to me that since there is no inflectional distinction between genitive and dative it might equally be described as genitive. In the plural (e.g. *casa vecinilor* ‘the house of the neighbours’ alongside the singular *casa vecinului*) the genitive origin (*illorum*) is clearer (see the previous note).

4.2 *De and the genitive in Latin*

The synthetic genitive has numerous uses in Classical Latin, notably the possessive (*liber Ciceronis*), the objective and subjective (*metus hostium*, which may be analysed as either *hostes nos metuunt* or *nos hostes metuimus*), and the partitive (usually dependent on a quantity term such as *multum*, *aliquid*, *satis*). The types are not discrete. For example, in the expression *faecem uini* there is a partitive relation between *faecem* and *uini*. On the other hand the dregs ‘belong’ to the wine, and the genitive might be called possessive as well as partitive. *De*-expressions intrude into most of these categories (apart from that of the subjective genitive), but they should not be classified as grammaticalised genitive equivalents (see in particular the convincing discussion of Önnérfors 1963: 145–50). Caution is needed particularly in the case of those that appear to be interchangeable with the possessive and partitive genitives. Consider Varro *Rust.* 1.41.5 *potius in seminariis surculos de ficeto quam grana de fico expedit obruere. Grana de fico* in structure is not unlike *faecem uini* above, and the translation ‘seeds of the fig’ might seem appropriate. The seeds are part of the whole, or they ‘belong’ to it. But the parallel phrase *surculos de ficeto* suggests that the role of *de* is not quite the same as that of a genitive. *Ficetum* does not mean ‘fig tree’, as it is translated in the Loeb edition, but is a fig plantation or orchard (with a suffix that indicates a place where a particular plant grows). ‘Shoots of a fig planation’ is not as appropriate a translation as ‘seeds of the fig’ had been in the other case because, whereas seeds are an intrinsic part of a fig, shoots are not a necessary part of a fig plantation. They may be found there, but not all the time. The force of the *de* is to stress separation or source: shoots ‘acquired/taken from’ a fig plantation. *De* retains its original local sense. Although in the phrase *grana de fico* it appears in a context in which it might have been replaced by a genitive, it has the potential to add something to the meaning. In recipes in such expressions the *de* implies that the referent should first be extracted from a source. The preposition is separative and by no means a grammaticalised substitute for the genitive.

Note too Pelagonius 242 *astulas de fico putres, id est de medio arboris, siccas comburito* (with Adams 1995b: 433). Rotten splinters are not an intrinsic part of a fig tree, and the second clause explains to the reader from what part of the tree they are to be extracted. A genitive would be inappropriate in the *id est* clause. The *de*-expressions indicate source/separation.

The encroachment of *de* on uses of the genitive is not to be seen as vulgar, but as a long-term development that took centuries to be completed.⁴ The fact that it has an outcome in Romance is not relevant to its status in Latin. It has been customary to label as vulgar stray Latin instances that might appear in isolation to be anticipations of Romance usages. We must stress that, though *de*-expressions might often have been replaced by a genitive, the special nuance of *de* is brought out by those instances where such a substitution would be inappropriate, as in the expression *surculos de ficeto* above and *sudes de lignis fortissimis* in the next section.

4.3 *De and the possessive/partitive genitive*

De porco at Anthimus p. 10.12 (*renis de porco penitus non expedit manducare*) is classified by Liechtenhan (1963: 55) under the heading 'gen. possessiuus', but equally the kidneys of the pig are part of the whole and the expression might be classified as partitive. In the same text the genitive often appears in similar phrases, and it cannot be denied that the *de*-expression is 'interchangeable' with the genitive. For the genitive in comparable expressions see e.g. pp. 12.7 *nam posteriora omnium auium sanis quidem hominibus apta sunt*, 14.14 *perdices bonae sunt, maxime pectora ipsorum*, 15.11 *interdum praesumatur pectus illorum*, 18.11 *cutem uero isocis ipsius quomodo frixum fuerit, penitus non manducetur*, 20.4 *pectenis optima caro elixi facti et assati in testo suo*, 22.14 *et ipsorum abintus maxime interiora . . . melior est quam si purum manducetur*. For further examples of *de* in such contexts cf. pp. 6.11 *carnis de enuleis uero et de capriolis et ipsae congruae sunt* (cf. the genitive at 20.4 quoted above), 10.13 *nam renis de nullo animale manducetur*, 14.12 *carnis uero de gruis interdum pro desiderio*. Note too p. 16.3–4 *quod de pullo fit et de albumen de oua; sed multum albumen ouarum mittatur*, where the two constructions alternate.

But despite the overlap, the kidneys of a pig (as at p. 10.12) used for culinary purposes have been removed from the animal (unlike e.g. the *pedes* of a *peccator*, in a passage of Venantius Fortunatus cited below), and the preposition retains an idea of separation ('kidneys from the pig'). Sometimes in Classical Latin *ex* and *ab* are used in similar contexts (see e.g. Önnertfors 1956: 41; also Adams 1995b: 432 on *ex* in expressions referring to the white of an egg, alongside *albumen/album* + *de* or with the genitive: see above), a fact which highlights the separative force of the preposition

⁴ It should also be noted that in late Latin, when *de* was encroaching on the genitive, the genitive itself expanded its functions in several respects (Haverling 2006: 353–9). The shift from case to preposition was not a neat development.

de. This use of *de* goes back to the republican and early imperial periods (see the last section on Varro). See e.g. Önnertfors (1963: 146), citing Cato Agr. 5.8 *sicilimenta de prato*, 17.1 *semen de cupresso*, Varro Rust. 1.38.1 (*stercus de pecore*, Plin. Nat. 26.23 *sucus de quinquefolio*, and also Cato Agr. 158.1 *sume tibi ollam, addito eo aquae sextarios sex et eo addito ungulam de perna; si ungulam non habebis, addito de perna frustum*, cited by Wharton (2009: 205). It could readily be paralleled from later Latin, and by no means only from low-register texts. Note e.g. Veg. *Mul.* 2.47.3 *adicies muscum de uitice aut salicis radicem* (here *de* is in alternation with the genitive, but its separative force is obvious, = ‘moss from/taken from the chaste tree’), *Mil.* 1.24.4 *supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis, quas milites portare consueuerant, praefiguntur* (not replaceable with a genitive of material; the sense is not ‘stakes of very strong wood’, but ‘stakes taken/extracted/made from very strong logs’; the idea of source/separation is clear).

The *de*-expression moves closer to a proper possessive/partitive-genitive equivalent when it turns up in phrases that are similar to those above but lack any idea of separation, removal or extraction. Such uses occur at least as early as the fourth century. Note e.g. Pelagonius 217 *si ualidius doluerint, uenae de inguinibus soluuntur* (the veins which form part of the groins are opened for blood-letting, but they are not separated from the groins: see Adams 1995b: 434). The same expression is at 218, and note too 150: *dicit enim debere de prioribus pedibus ungulas subter ipsius equi radi*. Cf. Veg. *Mul.* 2.142 *uena eius tangenda est leuiter de palato*, *Per. Aeth.* 37.2 *episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet* (on which see Wharton 2009: 205, Haverling 2006: 353). These examples are real partitive-genitive equivalents. See further *Edict. Roth.* 192 *si parentes de puella sponsa cum alio conludio [= -ium] fecerint* (possessive), 352 *si quis porcario de homine libero batterit* (possessive, but still perhaps with an idea of separation; see Väänänen 1981a: 114), *Ven. Fort. Vita Martini* 2.363 *et manus alma pedes de peccatore luebat* (partitive/possessive) (see Uddholm 1953: 120).

Vielliard (1927: 213–14) cites from Merovingian royal charters expressions such as *abba de basileca* (xii.2, xx.6, xxv.4; for the corpus used see p. xv).⁵ There are contexts in which such an expression might be separative (if for example the abbot were away from his domain) but often it would be indistinguishable from a possessive genitive. There is an alternation at *Per. Aeth.* 10.8 (*euntibus nobis commonuit presbyter loci ipsius, id est de Libiade*)

⁵ For this type see Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 95), under the heading ‘Rapport constant (résidence, service, surveillance, etc.) d’un individu avec un lieu’.

which throws light on the intrusion of *de* into the sphere of the genitive. The author first uses the genitive and then switches to the alternative because the place name was difficult to decline in Latin (cf. Aug. *Loc. Hept.* 1.43, *CC* 33, 385 *Abraham dicit ad Lot*: indeclinables sometimes motivated the use of a preposition; see above, XII.3.1 on indeclinable foreign terms).⁶ This example suggests that the genitive was still the norm and that the *de*-construction would only be used for a special reason. The genitive was to remain the norm throughout recorded Latin, into the medieval period.

A possessive usage in Vielliard's corpus is at T. 36.19 (Vielliard 1927: 214) *per . . . caliditate de successoribus*. On the other hand two late Latin examples that have a place in the literature are not so clear-cut: Greg. *Hist. Franc.* 1.21, p. 18.4 *parietes de cellola, in qua Ioseph tenebatur, suspenduntur in sublimi*, *Per. Aeth.* 10.4 *nam et fundamenta de castris filiorum Israhel . . . in eo loco in hodie parent*. Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 93) says of these passages that 'l'idée d'extraction s'efface', but that is not really so. In the first there is a partitive relation, but also an idea of removal (the walls from the cell are raised aloft). In the second the camp is no longer extant, but the foundations are still left over from it. Verbs of remaining may be complemented by *de*, of that from which the remnant is left over: e.g. Lucr. 2.183 *nunc id quod superest de motibus expediemus* ('now we will explain that which is left of the topic of motions': see Reinhardt 2010: 215), *Mul. Chir.* 673 *quod si neglexeris et aliquid de his fibulis remanserit*.

For medieval Latin examples of the possessive/partitive use (along with other uses) see Bastardas Parera (1953: 47–8). Uddholm (1953: 119–20) finds a distinction between the early medieval (Merovingian) documents of Gaul and those of Italy. The type *filius de rege* is said to have been common in Italy but avoided in Gaul, where *filius regi* was predominant.

Occasionally in late texts a special partitive use occurs, *plenus + de* as a substitute for one of the two standard constructions (the genitive) with this adjective (cf. Fr. *plein de*): see *TLL* v.1.80.22f., x.1.2407.49ff.

4.4 *De for objective genitive*

At 3.3 above we saw instances of *de* in Sallust and Tacitus that might have been replaced by objective genitives, but these were interpreted as ad hoc creations based on the analogy of verbal constructions and showing

⁶ For an alternative view of this passage (with the preposition meaning 'from a place') see Haverling (2006: 358). Above it is taken to be a gloss on *loci ipsius* and without separative force. On the other hand at *Per. Aeth.* 10.3, also cited by Haverling (*presbytero et diaconibus de Ierusalima*), the presbyter and deacons are unambiguously 'from Jerusalem', and are not there at the moment.

de in its classical meaning 'about, concerning'. *De*-expressions turn up as unambiguous substitutes for the objective (but not, it seems, subjective) genitive mainly in very late Latin: e.g. *Edict. Roth.* 197 *si quis mundium* ['guardianship'] *de puella libera aut muliere habens eamque strigam, quod est mascam, clamauerit, excepto pater et frater, ammittat mundium ipsius* (note the alternation). Vielliard (1927: 214) cites the Merovingian example T. 19.25 *de ipso monasterio . . . custos esse uedetur*. Not infrequently, however, possible cases (such as that just quoted) are open to other interpretations. At Greg. *Hist. Franc.* 3.14, p. 112.9 (*cum suis magnam stragem de populo illo fecit*) it might be argued that Gregory has used the expression *aliquid de aliquo facere* 'make something out of something' metaphorically ('made a slaughter out of the people'). At 1.30, p. 22.11 on the other hand (*tanta stragis de credentibus fuit ut . . .*), a secondary explanation of this type would not do. Svennung (1935: 222) cites Oribas. *Syn.* 6.7 *signa de febris*, = τῶν . . . πυρετῶν διόγνωσις. This is close to an objective genitive but *de* might be taken as expressing source, or even in its old sense 'concerning'.

Uddholm (1953: 120) cites from the Merovingian *Formulae Marculfi* numerous examples of the type *uindictio de uilla, de area, de seruo*, which approach objective genitives ('sale of a villa' etc.), but *de* can still be given the sense 'concerning' ('acte de vente concernant une propriété', Uddholm).

This type is common in late legal language. It is found in the Albertini tablets (Väänänen 1965: 40): e.g. on the one hand xxxi.14 *istrumentum torcularis* ('acte de vente d'un pressoir', Väänänen), but on the other ix.1 *istrumentu de olibis* vi, xii.2 *de agro*. The construction, as can be seen from the comparison, overlaps with the genitive, but can be given its own nuance.

There are similar examples in the Ravenna papyri, classified by Tjäder (1955: 513) as replacements of the objective genitive: e.g. 8.11.11 *notitia de res Guderit q(uon)d(am) liberti* 'inventory of/concerning the property of the late freedman Guderit', 18–19.29 *huic chartule a die presenti donationis de s(upra)s(crip)ta homnia immobilia predia . . . ipso presente testis suscripsi* 'to this deed of donation from the present day of/concerning all the aforementioned immovable possessions . . . I have appended my signature in his presence as witness.'

4.5 *De* as a forerunner of the partitive article

In the following passage there is a partitive complement of the type seen earlier, in which *de*, complementing a noun that is object of the verb, retains its separative sense: Plaut. *Pseud.* 1164 *memento ergo dimidium istinc*

mihi de praeda dare (cf. Livy 40.43.7, 45.43.7 for *de praeda* associated thus with an expressed direct object). By contrast at Cato Agr. 70.2 (*per triduum de ea potione unicuique boui dato*) there is no head noun standing as object of *dato*; the partitive expression itself is in an object relation to the verb. The difference between the two constructions is not great. The second could be explained as slightly elliptical, and deriving from a fuller expression such as *aliquid de ea potione*. The elliptical construction was well established already in early Latin, and was to lead to the French partitive article. There has been a tendency to see it as vulgar. E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.147), for example, states: 'Dass diese ganze Entwicklung im wesentlichen ein vulgärsprachliches Gepräge trägt, ist zweifellos.' Its distribution does not bear this out. It occurs in late low-register texts, but is also found sometimes much earlier and in higher-level Latin. A selection of examples is listed below.⁷ These show the expression in an object relation to the verb. In medieval Latin examples are quoted with the expression standing as subject of a verb (Bastardas Parera 1953: 34):

CIL 1².48, XIV.2577 (= *ILLRP* 100) de praedā Fortune dedet.

1².49, XIV.2578 (= *ILLRP* 221) de praedā Maurte dedet (the subject of the verbs in both these inscriptions has been identified as M. Furius Crassipes, pr. 187 and 173).

Plaut. *Stich.* 400 ibo intro ad libros et discam de dictis melioribus.

Livy 45.35.6 de praeda parcius quam sperauerant ex tantis regiis opibus dederat.

Cic. *Flacc.* 91 dat de lucro, nihil detrahit de uiuo ('he pays out of income and does not draw on capital'; cf. Ter. *Ad.* 817 *quod hinc accesserit | id de lucro putato esse omne*; an idiom, showing ellipse of a head noun and with the idea of separation strong).

Att. 5.1.4 cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit ('Quintus however had some food sent to her', Shackleton Bailey; different from the other examples, if something taken from the surface of the table was sent; however, *mensa* can also mean 'feast, food' (*OLD* s.v. 7)).

Tert. *Anim.* 24.5 et si de piscibus et si de placentis regina ei obtulerit, carnem desiderabit.

Mul. Chir. 442 de suo sibi stercore circa coronam imponito.

Per. Aeth. 5.7 ostenderunt etiam nobis locum, ubi de spiritu Moysi acceperunt septuaginta uiri.

37.2 nescio quando dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasse de sancto ligno.

Aug. *Conf.* 3.23 utrum iusti existimandi essent qui... sacrificarent de animalibus.

⁷ See e.g. Rönsch (1875: 396), Ahlquist (1909: 78), E. Löfstedt (1911: 106–7), (1956: 1.145–7), Salonius (1920: 89–92), Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 113), Rosén (1999: 146). For medieval examples see Bastardas Parera (1953: 34–5).

Anthimus p. 13.11–13 quod si quis adpraehenderit agrestem turturem, et de illam herbam ipsam contingerit manducasse, et aliquis de ipsa comederit, grandem periculum patitur ('but if anyone catches a wild turtle dove and it happens that it has eaten some of that plant, and if someone eats some of it, he is in great danger').

Antidot. Brux. 163, p. 391.16 manducet autem de aue siluatica.

Vitae Patrum 5.4.59 errauit autem frater, et pro melle de raphanelaeo misit in pulmentum.

Caesarius *Serm.* 19.4, *CC* 103, 89 quando ad ecclesiam uenitis, oblationes quae in altario consecrentur offerte. qui habet unde, et non exhibet, qua fronte de oblatione quam pauper exhibuit communicare praesumat?

Bede *Eccl.* 3.12.2 at ego respondi: 'habeo quidem de ligno in quo caput eius occisi a paganis infixum est' (see Winterbottom 2010: 429).

The plain genitive sometimes stands as object of a verb in late Latin (E. Löfstedt 1911: 107–8), notably in the *Mul. Chir.* (Ahlquist 1909: 27). Ahlquist allows the possibility of Greek influence, but Salonius (1920: 91 n. 1) doubts such influence at this period (the partitive genitive as object of a verb had receded in Greek). Such genitive usages in late Latin may sometimes be a learned reflection of the *de*-construction, but it is more likely that they derive from a striving after brevity in recipes (see Salonius), where they are usually supported by coordinated accusatives.

4.6 De expressing 'destination'/definition

At 4.1 above the Romance use of the outcomes of *de* with defining function was referred to (of the type Fr. *chien de berger* 'shepherd dog', alongside *le chien du berger*, referring to a dog belonging to a specific shepherd). This usage is emergent in Latin. It is discussed at length by Väänänen ([1956] 1981b: 95–8), under the heading 'qualification'.

At Cic. *Orat.* 47 (*non enim declamatorem aliquem de ludo aut rabulam de foro, sed doctissimum et perfectissimum quaerimus*) the *de*-expressions indicate the places from which such declaimers or ranters come, but there is a generalising quality to the complements (see Väänänen [1956] 1981b: 95). It is a question of seeking someone who habitually inhabits the school or forum, not of seeking from the school or forum a declaimer or ranter on a particular occasion. The complements take on a defining character ('some school declaimer'), a force that is brought out by the contrast with the adjectives at the end of the sentence (= *declamatorem doctissimum non declamatorem de ludo*). The adnominal ablative by contrast may simply

indicate the provenance of the referent in a neutral way: e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 499 *Periphanes Rhodo mercator diues*, *Merc.* 940 *uideo ibi hospitem Zacyntho*, *Caes. Civ.* 1.24.4 *N. Magius Cremona* (see K. M. Coleman 2006: 163). The characterising use of *de* for its part is well established in the classical period. At *Mart.* 5.78.26 (*nec de Gadibus improbis puellae | uibrabunt*) the point is not merely that certain girls happen to be from Cadiz. They are a type, girls from Cadiz, notoriously disreputable dancing girls. *Mart.* 1.41.12 has much the same usage: *de Gadibus inprobis magister*. At 11.27.11 (*nec nisi prima uelit de Tusco Serica uico*, ‘let her want only the finest silks from Tuscan Street’) the quality of the silk is at issue, with the type from Tuscan Street the best. Kay (1985: 133) cites *CIL* vi.9976 *P. Fannius P. l. Apolophanes de Vico Tusco uestiarius*, 33923 *Primus uestiarius tenuiarius de Vico Tusco*. For further early examples see *TLL* v.1.54.79ff. Note e.g. *Cic. Phil.* 2.65 *exsultabat gaudio, persona de mimo*, ‘he rejoiced like a character from a mime/a mime character’, where the expression is obviously descriptive rather than a statement of provenance.

The usage is also common in later Latin. Cf. *Comp. Luc.* c 21–2 *facies fornacem de bitriarium* (not ‘make a furnace out of glassware’, but ‘make a glass furnace’, a furnace for glassware; Väänänen [1956] 1981b: 98 compares *Sp. horno de vidriero*), *Pactus legis Salicae* 27.4 *si quis pedica de caballo furauerit* (not ‘if anyone steals fetters from a horse’, but ‘horse fetters’, which would not be on the horse when stolen), 10.7 *si quis puerum aut puellam de ministerio furauerit* (‘de service’, Väänänen [1956] 1981b: 97), *Tabl. Alb.* xxi.6 *ad uia de camellos* ‘the camel road’, III.17 *ad uia de Buresa* ‘the Buresa road’ rather than literally ‘the road from Buresa’, xxi.7 *ad uia de Lismul* (see Väänänen 1965: 40).

4.7 Conclusions

Genitival expressions with *de* (i.e. those that are unambiguously possessive, partitive or objective) can be illustrated from early medieval documents, but even there they are in a minority. An examination of Latin documents of the eighth century from Gaul and Italy has shown that the inflected genitive was still the norm (see Väänänen [1956] 1981b: 91). Earlier, in corpora of subliterate texts on wood, papyrus and ostraca, prepositional uses of the type seen here are non-existent but the genitive common. The genitive long remained current, and its full replacement by *de* must have been very late. Nor is there any indication from low-register texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis* that more might have been happening beneath the surface of the literary language than meets the eye. In the *Mulomedicina*

the genitive is ubiquitous. There are examples of *de* showing some overlap with the genitive (Oder 1901: 352), but these are of the type found in Cato: the preposition retains its separative meaning and is used in recipes and the like.

The starting point of the long process that was to result in the disappearance of the inflected genitive and its replacement mainly by *de* lies in the use of the preposition from an early date in partitive expressions referring to the extraction or removal of something from a larger whole. *Ex* and also *ab* can be quoted in similar expressions. The only reason why it was *de* rather than either of the other two that achieved importance in Romance is that during the Empire *de*, which alone of the three begins with a consonant, ousted the other two and became the standard separative preposition.

There is often a lack of distinction between a partitive and a possessive expression, whether the complement is genitive or prepositional. The expression *renes porci* is as much possessive as partitive. Inevitably a complement *de porco* with *renes* would be subject to a possessive interpretation, though the *de* might still be felt to be separative.

A decisive development underlying the flowering of *de* with genitive functions was its gradual appearance in contexts in which the idea of separation was weakened or lost. In culinary or medical recipes complements (separative) such as *de porco (renes)* were so banal that they came to be admitted to contexts in which the part had not strictly been separated from the whole (*renes de porco ex uino coquantur* > *renes de porco affecti sunt morbo*). This development shows up mainly in low-register texts of about the fourth century but is also found in Vegetius. We do not see here evidence for a structural shift away from the uninflected case form towards a prepositional syntagm, but merely a mechanical extension of the preposition from a context in which it was strongly motivated to one in which it was less clearly so.

Once the separative idea was effaced the way was open for *de*-complements to adopt the other main genitive role (the objective).

The usages referred to in the last two paragraphs, and also the purely possessive without an accompanying separation, are attested in Latin but only rarely (that is particularly so of the objective-genitive equivalent), and discussions of the genitive and its replacement have tended to make do with the same small corpus of examples. The rarity of these uses even in low-register texts of the sort that often offer a glimpse of subliterate developments suggests that the replacement of the genitive was late and slow rather than early and long submerged.

5 The dative and prepositional expressions

5.1 *Ad and the dative of the indirect object: early and Classical Latin*

The dative of the indirect object eventually gave way in the Romance languages (other than Romanian) to the construction descended from *ad* + acc. in Latin,⁸ except in clitic pronouns, where a rudimentary case system was preserved, with indirect-object (i.e. dative) forms partly distinguished from direct-object forms (with differences from language to language: see e.g. Maiden 1995: 166 for Italian, and Buridant 2000: 408 for Old French). A common account of the chronology of the change is along these lines: already at the time of Plautus the prepositional construction shows up in anticipation of Romance, but it thereafter remained submerged for centuries, merely surfacing occasionally in colloquial contexts. Note Lindsay (1907: 20): ‘The equivalence of the Dat. to the combination of a Prep. (*ad, in*) with the Acc. . . , which led to the “Auxiliary” formation of the Dat. in the Romance languages, is prominent even in Plautus’ time.’ See too Lindsay (1907: 83): ‘The Vulgar Latin use of *ad* with Acc. as the equivalent of the Dat. is . . . already exemplified here and there in Plautus.’ Significant here is the term ‘Vulgar Latin’. Plautus by implication was prepared to dip into a variety of Latin that was hidden, and that vulgar variety already in 200 BC possessed the Romance construction that was not to emerge fully for a millennium or so. The same view of *ad* in relation to the dative is found in E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.187–9). Löfstedt speaks (187) of developments showing up ‘in der lat. Volkssprache’ at all periods, and refers with approval to some of Lindsay’s illustrations of overlap from as early as Plautus, though he does find the original meaning of *ad* still apparent in some other examples. In later Latin, he continues (188), examples (of *ad* for the dative) increase, but he admits that he knows of no text in which *ad* is as a rule used for the dative. There then follows (188–9) a sketchy collection of late examples. Rohlfs (1969b: 1) similarly cites *nuntiare ad* from Plaut. *Capt.* 359–60 (see below), thereby, given the title of his book (*Sermo uulgaris Latinus*), implying that he adhered to the view of Lindsay. Reinhardt too (2010: 214–15) takes over the standard view; see also Rosén (1999: 143).

This conventional narrative, as it applies both to early and to late Latin, is not convincing (see now the comprehensive discussion by Baños Baños

⁸ In Romanian the indirect object is expressed by the genitive/dative inflection or, when that is not available, by the preposition *la* ‘to, at’ < *illac*.

2000; also 1996). Something must first be said about the alleged examples of *ad* for the dative in earlier Latin.

Lindsay (1907: 83) cites *Capt.* 360 *dice, demonstra, praecipe | quae ad patrem uis nuntiari* alongside *Capt.* 400 *numquid aliud uis patri | nuntiari*; also (1900: 219) on the one hand *Bacch.* 391 *ut seruos meus mi nuntiauit Chrysalus* and on the other *Truc.* 702 *ita ad me magna nuntiauit Cyamus hodie gaudia*. In the first two passages *ad patrem* and *patri* are in identical collocations and seem to have the same function, but the similarity is misleading. These *ad*-expressions are not really equivalent to the dative (see too Pinkster 1990a: 202, Baños Baños 2000). The recipient of the message need not be in the presence of the sender, and the message has to be transported across space; *ad* therefore has an idea of destination/motion. *Ad* is not quoted from Plautus with, say, *dico*, or *do* when the indirect object is a person and present. A revealing example is at *Capt.* 384 *quae nuntiare hinc te uolo in patriam ad patrem*. Here *in patriam* shows that the message is to be carried some distance. Note too *Mil.* 116 *inscendo, ut eam rem Naupactum ad erum nuntiem*, where the subject has boarded a ship to transport the message. It is significant that there is a cluster of examples of the *ad*-construction with *nuntio*, a verb that readily implies motion. Brix and Niemeyer (1897: 41) on *Capt.* 360 aptly suggest that the *ad*-construction indicates the address to which a message is to be sent whereas the dative draws attention to the recipient of the message himself.⁹ In the second passage of the *Capt.* above (400) the focus has probably changed, with the messenger now imagined as in the presence of the recipient.

Another passage cited by Lindsay (1907: 20) in the same context (cf. Bourciez 1946: 107) is Plaut. *Capt.* 1019 *at ego hunc grandis grandem natu ob furtum ad carnificem dabo*. But *ad carnificem* is not strictly the same as an indirect object: it refers to the consigning/dispatch of the victim to the executioner. Cf. *Amph.* 809 *haec me modo ad mortem dedit* (Lindsay 1907: 20), of consigning to death (metaphorically). *Merc.* 472 *(ibi me toxico morti dabo)*; see Lindsay 1907: 20) may seem to have the dative in the same context, but the 'handing over' to death is perhaps envisaged as more immediate, as the speaker is referring to suicide.

From the Ciceronian period the force of *ad* with a verb of giving (and also that with *nuntio*) is brought out by the terminology to do with the sending of letters. At Cic. *Att.* 2.1.12 *ad Octauium dedi litteras* does not mean 'I have given a letter to Octavius' but 'I have dispatched a letter

⁹ Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.519) state that with many verbs the dative and *ad* are used in almost the same sense, and they refer e.g. to *nuntio*, *scribo*, *do*. With all of these, however, the *ad*-construction has a special sense. Cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 86, 220).

to Octavius'. The letter is handed over to a courier (*dedi*, which might have been accompanied by a dative of the indirect object referring to the courier), to be transported to (*ad*) the addressee. For the dative (of the courier) contrasting with *ad* (of the addressee, to whom the letter is to be carried) see Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.13(12).3 *nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium cui litteras ad te non dem*, Att. 7.1.1 *dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras et dederam ad te unum* (see further OLD s.v. *do* 10). An identical contrast, also in the context of the dispatch of letters, is at Plaut. *Mil.* 131 (*tabellas dedi mercatori quidam qui ad illum deferat*). The same use of *ad* is found with *scribo*: e.g. Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.12(11).3 *omnia colligo ut novi scribam aliquid ad te* (see further OLD s.v. *scribo* 13). Rosén (1999: 141) lists *scribo ad* alongside *scribo* + dat., and *dico ad* alongside *dico* + dat. as if the two were interchangeable, but *scribo ad* implies transmission (of a letter) across space. See in particular Baños Baños (2000: 12–13), who gives statistics for the use of *scribo ad* versus *scribo* + dat. in three epistolary writers, Cicero, Seneca and Pliny. In Cicero *ad* occurs in 35.3 per cent of all cases of *scribo* in the letters but the dative in only 5.5 per cent. The figures are reversed in Seneca (2.8 versus 29.2 per cent) and Pliny (3.1 versus 17.3 per cent). Baños Baños' explanation of the difference is entirely convincing. Cicero's letters were real and dispatched across space to the addressee, but Seneca and Pliny merely adopted the epistolary form as a vehicle for philosophical or personal discussions.

Nuntio ad is exactly the same construction as *scribo ad*, and it is not convincing to see in the Plautine usage an early manifestation of a non-standard usage. Another verb of announcing (mentioned by Väänänen 1981a: 113) used with *ad* is *adfero* (see Cic. Att. 11.10.1).

Two other (relatively early) examples quoted by Bourciez (1946: 107) also imply transportation: *CIL* IX.3513 (= *ILCV* 508) *quae pecunia ad id templum data erit*,¹⁰ Livy 2.13.6 *sospites omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit* (here the juxtaposed *Romam*, omitted by Bourciez, shows the force of *ad*).

We may turn to verbs of saying construed with *ad* in Classical and later Latin. There may be a superficial resemblance to a dative of the direct object, but the preposition has a particular motivation.

Väänänen (1981a: 113) cites Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.90 in his discussion of the encroachment of prepositions on plain cases: *tandem urbanus ad hunc 'quid te iuuat' inquit 'amice'*. An example from the *Satires* of Horace might be taken to imply that the usage was colloquial and usually submerged. But the material assembled at *TLL* VII.1.1771.31ff. shows that *inquit* +

¹⁰ *Templum* is an emendation, but seems certain.

ad was established in good Classical Latin. Note Livy 4.14.3 *missus ab dictatore Seruilius magister equitum ad Maelium 'uocat te' inquit 'dictator'*. The context is formal (of a summons to appear before the dictator), and a colloquialism would be inappropriate. The force may be that the remark is addressed haughtily 'towards' or 'before' the addressee, as if he were at a distance, rather than to him (dative) as a possible intimate. An alternative colon division is possible here, with *ad* construed with *missus*, but at e.g. Ovid *Met.* 15.609, quoted immediately below, the *ad*-expression goes unambiguously with *inquit*. The point is that *dicere* and similar verbs are used with *ad* in Classical Latin of addressing crowds such as the *populus* (Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.519), and the *ad* in Livy (on the colon division adopted by the *TLL*) is a variant of that usage, implying projection of the voice. Horace (above) has the speaker, the town mouse, directing his voice condescendingly towards the country mouse.

Quint. 8.6.20, also cited by the *TLL* (VII.1.1771.35), is different: *et contra Cicero ad Brutum . . . inquit*. The reference here is to a letter, and this is the epistolary use of *ad* seen above. By using *ad* Quintilian was able to make it clear that he was referring to a letter without using *litterae*.

The usage identified by Kühner and Stegmann (*ad* of addressing an audience) recurs throughout Latin, and in the high literary language: e.g.

Ovid *Met.* 15.609 rursus ad hos Cipus . . . inquit (of addressing a crowd).

Prop. 1.18.30 et quodcumque meae possunt narrare querelae | cogor ad argutas dicere solus aues.

See Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.519). E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.188) cites the passage in the context of the readiness of the elegists to adopt the tones of everyday life. Fedeli (1980: 437) adopts a different view, and he is surely right. The birds constitute an audience.

Another passage cited by the *TLL* is:

Fronto p. 34.6–8 (van den Hout) tum pastor unus ad alterum pastorem, postquam plusculos equites uidit, 'uide tibi istos equites' inquit 'nam illi solent maximas rapinationes facere'.

There are two shepherds present, sheep, four dogs and several *equites*, including the writer, who are meant to hear the warning spoken by one shepherd to the other, who does not address his colleague privately, but projects his voice loudly towards him. Again *ad* has a nuance much the same as that found in reference to address of an audience.

Rosén (1999: 141) cites examples of *dico ad* from Cicero alongside *dico* + dat., calling them (140) ‘doublets’, but those with the preposition merely confirm what has just been said about this usage:

Cic. *Verr.* 3.68 respondebat se ad recuperatores esse dicturum (the context is official: he would speak before the assessors)

Brut. 289 sed in comitium ueniant, ad stantem iudicem dicant (official again, of public address of a judge, not of a conversational remark made to someone in private).

Rosén’s third and last example (Cic. *Tim.* 40 *ad eos . . . deus . . . fatur*) is of much the same type (address by a god of a group of gods), and, as Rosén allows, is determined by the Greek being translated (λέγει πρὸς αὐτοῦς).

Note too Virg. *Aen.* 9.5 *ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est* (the goddess Iris addresses Turnus), cited by Petersmann (1977: 79). The *ad*-construction is used for formal address, whether by superior (such as a god) to subordinate or the reverse, or by an individual to a group.

We may go beyond Classical Latin to illustrate the ideas behind *ad* with such verbs. In Christian Latin verbs of speaking or praying are often accompanied by *ad*, either of address to (*ad dominum*) or by God (*dominus* subject) (see Bourciez 1886: 40). Such uses of the preposition are anticipated in the classical passages cited in the last two paragraphs. See e.g. the Visigothic slate tablet 104.17 (Velázquez Soriano 2004) *orabi . . . a<d> D(omi)nu(m) dice(n)s* (see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 382, 415).

The function of *ad* is, finally, particularly clear with the verb *clamo*, which by definition refers to projection of the voice: e.g. Pompeius *GL* v.127.4 *ut puta finge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare et clama ad ipsum*. With *clamo* the normal complement expressing the addressee is *ad*, not the dative, though only in late Latin (*TLL* III.1251.36ff.); in Classical Latin the word is used absolutely. *Ad* alternates in the late period with *aduersum* and *contra* (49ff.), a fact which brings out the force of *ad*. The *TLL* cites just one (late) instance of the dative with this verb.

5.2 Later Latin

It was noted above (5.1, p. 278) that E. Löfstedt suggested that the *ad*-construction became more common in later Latin, but without producing much evidence. In the later period it is necessary also to take account of new factors that might have motivated the use of the preposition. Among these was the influence of Greek. In later Greek the prepositions πρὸς and εἰς encroached on the dative (see Jannaris 1897: 341, Mayser

1934: 356–7, 359, Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf 1976: 150, 168–9). The profusion of prepositional complements of e.g. *verba dicendi* for the dative in Biblical Latin must largely reflect the influence of the original.¹¹ E. Löfstedt, for example (1956: 1.189), cites Bened. *Reg.* 7.105 Linderbauer *reuela ad dominum uiam tuam* as one of his late instances of the *ad*-construction. This is a quotation of Psalms 36:5, where the Vulgate has *reuela domino uiam tuam*. Benedict must have been following another, older, translation of the Psalm (see Linderbauer 1922: 119). The Septuagint, which the Old Latin translator would have been rendering, has ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς Κύριον τὴν ὁδὸν σου. The prepositional expression in the quotation is translationese and tells us nothing about real Latin.

Other, special, nuances of *ad* seen in Classical Latin persisted into late Latin.

Jeanneret (1918: 140), referred to by Löfstedt (189), says that the *ad*-construction is common in curse tablets from Germany (see also Kropp 2008b: 276). But the examples quoted can all be taken as implying consignment over a distance (notably to the gods of the underworld): e.g. Audollent (1904) no. 98.6–7 *Sintonem et Adiutorium eius Sintonis deferō ad infero*<*s*> (cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 809, quoted above, 5.1).

The following examples (not in Löfstedt) are of familiar type: Anon. *Val.* 11.88 *et euocans Rauennam Iohannem sedis apostolice praesulem et dicit ad eum: 'ambula Constantinopolim...'*, 82 *data praecepta ad Eutharicum Cilligam et Petrum episcopum* (see Adams 1976a: 49–50). The reference is to formal address by a superior to a subordinate.

There is a treatment of *ad* in relation to the dative at *TLL* 1.557.78ff. The examples collected at 558.21ff. under the heading 'pro ipso dativo' are few, and, if those in translation texts are left aside, not impressive. Many could be explained as special cases of one sort or another. For example, at 558.24f. *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 30 is cited: *munera dantes ad seruientes ibidem*. But there are variant readings for *ad* (*et* and *ac*), and the *recensio altera* of the same text has *ac*, with no variant reading recorded. At Hyginus *Fab.* 3, p. 7 Rose *cuius beneficio ad sororem Medeam est commendatus* there may be a Greek construction in the background, as the work is based on a Greek source (H. J. Rose 1933: vii–viii).

The more vulgar version (RA) of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, which Kortekaas (1984: 64–7) has convincingly shown was 'improved' linguistically in the other redaction (RB), has a number of cases of *ait* or *dare* +

¹¹ On the frequency in Christian Latin texts of *verba dicendi* with *ad* and the influence thereon of Greek see Mohrmann (1961: 39–40). Note too B. Löfstedt (2000: 313) on the Biblical use of *dicere in aliquem* where the preposition renders εἰς, though in a different sense.

ad which are eliminated in the ‘correct’ version, either by omission of the complement altogether or by its replacement with the dative (see Kortekaas 1984: 61, 64). The *TLL* (1.558.25) refers to one of these. But once again there is Greek in the background. Kortekaas (1984: 115) argues that RA ‘is a Late Latin document from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, a translation or adaptation of a longer Greek original’. On the Greek credentials of this construction in the work see Kortekaas (2007: 55).

Quite a few of the remaining instances of *ad* cited by the *TLL* are not really equivalent to indirect objects; the preposition can be given a special force of one kind or another.

Finally, E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.189) also cites *Mul. Chir.* 454 *sic ad eos des manducare*. The author was following a Greek source (Apsyrtus) at this point (*CHG* 1.33.7, p. 168.8–10), but the extant Greek does not closely match the Latin. This is the only example cited by Ahlquist (1909: 60) from the work that is equivalent to an indirect object. It seems a good example, but one cannot be certain about the Greek text that the author was using. See also Petersmann (1977: 78), citing this passage, but stating that in the late ‘Vulgärsprache’ the dative was the rule and the analytic construction the exception.

5.3 *A special case: the Actus Petri cum Simone*

One text with numerous examples of the *ad*-construction is the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (Lipsius 1891), which was translated from a largely lost Greek original. The Greek must have influenced the Latin, but the fragment of the Greek printed by Lipsius alongside the Latin (1891: 78–102) suggests that the relationship between the Latin and the Greek was not precise and that the translator did not always set out to reproduce the construction of the original. There are some systematic variations between the use of the dative and of *ad* in the Latin, which might be explained from the influence on the writer of the Latin he was accustomed to use. Alternatively they might reflect a distinction obtaining in later Greek, but about the state of the Greek language in this respect it is difficult to get detailed information (see further below, last paragraph, on Modern Greek). The variations will be described below, but it is appropriate first to show that the Latin is not an exact copy of the Greek.

Sometimes the Latin corresponds precisely to the Greek, as at pp. 79.16 *adloquente Petro fratribus* = 78.2 ὁμιλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, 83.2 *et dico illi* = 82.1 καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτῷ, or 83.14 *clamauit ad dominum Iesum Christum dicens* = 83.20 ἐβόησεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (page

numbers cited throughout). But there are also differences. A verb of saying in one version may be without a complement where the other version has one: e.g. 83.24 *dixit ei* = 82.31 εἶπεν, 85.3 *Petrus dixit ei* = 84.4 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος . . . ἔφη, 103.2 *uidet angelum dei flagellantem se et dicentem sibi* = 102.1–2 καὶ ὁρᾷ νυκτός τινα μαστίζοντα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντα. More significant are those places where the translator seems to have changed the construction of the original, by using a preposition for the dative or vice versa: 85.2 *currens autem ipse Gemellus ad Petrum dixit* = 84.2 δραμῶν οὖν καὶ ὁ Γέμελος ἠκολούθει τῷ Πέτρῳ λέγων αὐτῷ (though *ad* might have been intended to go with *currens*), 87.14 *et dixit <Alb> inus praefecto* = 86.16 καὶ ὁ Ἀλβῖνος πρὸς αὐτόν, 101.5 *iterum dicit in <sonnio> ad eum Petrus* = 100.8 ναί, ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ εἶπεν. The variability in the relationship of Latin to Greek in such translation texts can also be seen in the *Passio Bartholomaei* (Bonnet 1898): note on the one hand p. 148.3 *cui apostolos dixit* = 148.19 πρὸς ὃν ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἀπόστολος, but on the other 148.2 *dixit ad eum Astriges rex* = 148. 18 λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν, p. 143.3 *tunc dicit apostolus ad plebem* = 143.17 τότε λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς τὸν λαόν.

It is rarely possible to be certain about the exact wording a Biblical translator had before him in his source, and it is risky to speak of changes to the original. The evidence of what we have of the Greek of the *Actus* suggests that the translation was slightly free, but any conclusions drawn from the differences must be tentative.

The majority of the expressions with *ad* accompany the verb *dico* (twenty-eight), and there are five more with other verbs of saying: 59.34 *ad quem canis coram Marcello ait*, 61.22 *ad dominum eorum mala loquebatur*, 62.18 *quae in <fans> ad Simonem locutus esset*, 63.29 *ora ad dominum Iesum Christum*, 69.3 *proclamantes ad dominum*. There appear to be no cases of *ad* with other verbs traditionally taking an indirect object. The dative of the indirect object abounds in the text with a large variety of other verbs or verbal phrases, e.g. *adaperio*, *communico*, *demonstro*, *distribuo*, *do*, *enarro*, *expono*, *laudem perfero*, *monstro*, *nuntio*, *offero*, *ostendo*, *polliceor*, *porrigo*, *praebeo*, *praesto*, *reddo*, *refero*, *respondeo*, *restituo*, *trado*, *tribuo*. The *ad*-construction was not on this evidence in genuine free variation with the dative of the indirect object but was restricted to one verb phrase. *Dico* (as has been seen above) had been used with *ad* from classical times, particularly when the reference was to speaking before an audience or to projecting the voice towards someone. In the *Actus* quite a few examples still fall into this category: e.g. 56.25 *uocans hostarium dixit ad eum: uade, dic Simoni* (here an order is uttered), 60.27 *ad populum dixit*, 70.12 *magna uoce dicebas ad me*, 72.23 *ad Simonem sic dixit* (the speaker is a *praefectus*),

72.24 *et ad populum praefectus dixit*, 73.10 *Petrus autem ad iuuenes dixit*, 75.9 *dixit autem ad iuuenes ut acciperent* (address of a group, with an instruction issued), 76.4 *ad succlamantes aduersus se dixit* (address of a noisy crowd), 77.5 *et cum hoc dixisset ad populum*, 77.27 *et dixit Petrus ad populum*. Such examples (along with the persistence of the dative with most other verbs) raise the possibility that one factor leading to the emergence of the *ad*-construction was the gradual loss of a special force that it had long had in a particular syntagm; there does not seem at first to have been a generalised encroachment of *ad* on the dative across a wide range of verbs.

Even with *dico* the dative outnumbers *ad*, but there are some distinctions between the two. *Dico* + dat. occurs about forty-eight times. In most cases the dative complement is pronominal (thirty-eight, or 79 per cent). The pronoun complements may be relatives (of the type 45.7 *cui dixit Paulus*; thirteen examples), or personal, such as 45.9 *dicentem sibi*, 49.24 *dicens ei*. Most of these personal pronouns follow the verb directly, as in the cases just cited (twenty-two examples). In only three cases does the pronoun precede the verb, and in two of these the clause is relative (66.27 *qui tibi per me dicit*, 77.25 *qui tibi dixit*; cf. 70.13 *et ego tibi dicebam*).

Rather rarer is the dative of a proper name or noun used with *dico*. There are six instances of *dico* + name (e.g. 56.26 *dic Simoni*, 56.27 *dixit Petro*) and four instances of *dico* + noun. These ten instances of the dative with nouns or names constitute only about 20 per cent of the total.

By contrast the *dico ad*-construction is found predominantly with complements that are names or nouns. There are nine pronoun complements, nine names and ten nouns. Names and nouns make up almost 68 per cent of the total, and pronouns the other 32 per cent.

The two constructions *dico* + dat. and *dico ad* thus complement each other, with the first mainly used with pronouns and the second mainly with stress-bearing words (as distinct from clitics). The distinction is anticipatory of the Romance languages (on which see above, 5.1), but there remains the uncertainty about the extent of the Greek influence on this text.

There is in fact a parallelism between the development of Ancient to Modern Greek, and of Latin to Romance, in the expression of the indirect object. In Standard Modern Greek (leaving aside the artificial *katharevousa*) indirect-object clitic pronouns (as distinct from emphatic pronouns) are used without a preposition in an inflected form (the genitive, or the accusative in some dialects: see Holton *et al.* 1997: 303–4). These normally precede the verb, except when that is imperative, and in this too there is a similarity to Romance. Nominal indirect objects on the other hand depend on prepositions (derived from εἰς, which combined with the

definite article, e.g. $\sigma\tau\omicron < \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu$: see Holton *et al.* 1997: 401). It is not unlikely that Greek and Latin were showing similar features during the period when the Greek and Latin versions of the *Actus* were written (see below, xxxiii.7), and if that were so a Latin translator might have had no qualms about following the Greek original since Latin had much the same distinctions in the ways in which the indirect-object relation was conveyed. But there is a lack of clarity about the chronology of the loss of dative forms in Greek, and a lack of detailed accounts of the use of inflected indirect-object forms versus prepositional syntagms in Greek texts and papyri from later antiquity.¹²

5.4 Medieval Latin

In some medieval texts there is evidence for the encroachment of the preposition on the dative of the indirect object that goes beyond the types seen so far, though even in some very late texts the restrictions seen above seem to persist. In the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, for example, the 'dative as an indirect object is very seldom replaced by *ad*' (Westerbergh 1956: 243). But *ad* does occur sometimes with verba dicendi: e.g. pp. 21.2 *inquit ad suos* (same phrase 21.11, 84.17), 55.13 *inquit ad uirum*, 96.17 *ad Guaiferium protinus Lando ait*, 121.23 *asserens ad suos quia*, 169.18 *clam ad unum ex circumstantibus est locutus*. The last example is significant, because it does not refer to the address of a crowd and looks like a straightforward indirect-object equivalent (note *clam*, which rules out projection of the voice). None of these examples has a clitic pronoun. Contrast 27.32 *dic mihi* (so 42.17), 39.17 *cui princeps ilico* (so 43.7), 41.16 *est ei responsum*, 63.33 *clam est ei locutus*, 64.14 *tu domine mihi responde*, 66.8 *in hunc modum ei relatum fuisset*, 68.5 *ego autem dico uobis*, 68.20 *consilium illi demus*, 69.10 *at illi quid dicam*, 69.13 *nescio quis negauit ei* (so 69.22), 69.26 *sed dictum illi*, 70.6 *huiusmodi est ei locutus*, 74.9 *huiusmodi ei adlocutus*, 74.10 *nil ei respondit*. The persistence of the dative of pronouns alongside the occasional use of *ad* with nouns hints at the Romance distinction mentioned above, 5.3. On the other hand for the dative with nouns/names see 66.33 *cum talia principi Sicardi nunciata fuissent*, 67.2 *Alfano in hunc modum . . . allocutus est*. The work is a chronicle from Salerno in unfinished state describing events down to 974. It is not a translation text, though the author was well acquainted with the Bible.

¹² I am grateful to Panagiotis Filos for information about Standard Modern Greek.

In the late Latin and early medieval material cited by Bourciez (1886: 40) there are cases of verbs of saying with *ad* where the dative would have been expected in Classical Latin.

With verbs of granting, giving, conceding and so on (*do, reddo, praesto, trado, delego*) *ad* is not uncommon in the Merovingian documents discussed by Vielliard (1927: 201). The examples quoted all have nominal, not pronominal, complements. On the other hand in the late examples cited by Bourciez (1886: 38) of *ad* with verbs of giving and the like the preposition often seems to retain a force that distinguishes it from the dative.

5.5 *The adnominal dative and ad-expressions, attached particularly to anatomical terms*

A notable instance of *ad* widely cited in the literature (see e.g. Pirson 1901: 195, Väänänen 1981a: 114, B. Löfstedt [1963] 2000: 21) is at *CIL* XIII.2483 (possibly of the seventh century): *hic requiescunt membra ad duos fratres Gallo et Ficencio qui foerunt fili Magno cl(arissimo). Ad fratres*, attached to *membra*, indicates that the limbs were a possession (inalienable) of the brothers. The names in apposition look like datives but are probably misspelt accusatives also dependent on *ad*. In the relative clause on the other hand *Magno* must be an adnominal dative attached to *fili*. The writer has changed constructions, and the second construction points to the origin of the first. The *ad*-expression represents a conversion into prepositional form of a long-established use of the dative. It is all but impossible to find parallels for this *ad*-construction in Latin itself. *Form. Andec.* 28, p. 13.19 *nam terra ad illo homine numquam fossadasset* is not quite the same (the possession is not inalienable), and is very late (see Bastardas Parera 1953: 48 for an example dated 769; also Bourciez 1886: 45). But the construction must have existed in the late period, surfacing in just one or two places, as it appears in early Romance. For the *ad*-construction in Old French (where the second noun is animate) see Buridant (2000: 468). On its appearance in Romanian as well as Old French, and on the limitations of its use in early Romance, see B. Löfstedt ([1963] 2000: 20–1). One reason why this construction is so rare in extant Latin must lie in the vitality of the adnominal dative. This dative is not only commonplace throughout Latin but it too leaves its mark in Romance. There follow some remarks about this use of the dative, and then about its Romance connections.

It is conventional to define the dative of possession in the strict sense (see e.g. B. Löfstedt [1963] 2000: 3) as accompanying the verb ‘to be’, as in *est patri meo domus*. But Ernout and Thomas (1953: 73) include

in the possessive category two further types, which they describe as (1) 'avec un verbe quelconque' (e.g. *Caes. Gall. 1.31.2 sese . . . Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt*) and (2) 'avec un substantif' (i.e. adnominal), e.g. *Plaut. Mil. 1431 Philocomasio amator*. The distinction between these last two types is not clear-cut, as *Caesari* might also be taken as adnominal. In including these types under the dative of possession Ernout and Thomas were in effect rejecting (on this point see B. Löfstedt [1963] 2000: 4) the classification of Havers (1911), who set up a category of dative called 'sympathetic', which has been widely accepted.¹³ E. Löfstedt, for example, included a chapter on the sympathetic dative in *Syntactica* (1956: 1.225–37). Chantraine (1963: 71), following Havers, describes this dative thus: 'Une extension très ancienne de l'emploi du datif consiste dans l'usage de ce cas pour désigner la personne qui est particulièrement intéressée au procès verbal. Il se trouve ainsi proche du génitif, mais comporte une signification moins objective.' A number of the Homeric examples he cites show the dative associated with an anatomical term, as at *Il. 3.300 ὦδ' ἐ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι* (cf. the example from Caesar above), and datives are widespread in such contexts in Indo-European languages.¹⁴ Löfstedt, for example, in his discussion of the sympathetic dative, cites (1956: 1.226) *Plaut. Asin. 371 malam si tibi percussero* and *Mil. 1318 matri oculi si ualerent*. Bennett, who accepted Havers' views about the separate category 'sympathetic dative' (1910–14: 11.134), quoted several pages (135–8) of examples from Plautus in which the head noun indicates a body part. The dative alternates with the genitive or possessive pronouns in Plautus (Bennett 1910–14: 11.138, 140), but it is the dative that predominates. Norberg (1943: 43–4) illustrates the adnominal dative extensively from early medieval texts from France and Italy, linking it to the possessive construction in Old French that shows juxtaposition of the modifier without preposition (for which see below).

The inscriptional example *menbra ad. . . fratres* above now falls into place. For the dative with this noun see *Plaut. Cas. 622 membra miserae tremunt* (but ambiguous in form); cf. *Amph. 251 uortentibus Telobois telis complebantur corpora*. For the genitive see *Plaut. Men. 855 ego huius membra atque ossa atque artua | comminuam*.

To define these datives as expressing 'the person particularly interested in the verbal process' is vague, and some may find it preferable to classify

¹³ Contrast Landgraf (1893: 40–2), who called this dative the 'Dativus energicus'. He illustrated its overlap with the genitive.

¹⁴ Standard German uses datives rather than possessives with body parts: e.g. *ich habe mir den Arm gebrochen* 'I have broken my arm'.

them with Ernout and Thomas simply as one type (adnominal) of possessive dative,¹⁵ with a special tendency to occur with anatomical terms.¹⁶ Bennett, however, shows (1910–14: 11.138) that sometimes a dative is used in association with a possessive (e.g. *Persa* 794 *at tibi ego hoc continuo cyatho oculum excutiam tuom*), and that suggests that the dative conveyed interest above mere possession. The problem of definition is immaterial for present purposes. It need only be noted that the adnominal possessive/sympathetic dative was in use throughout Latin, with an outcome in Romance, and that the *ad*-construction, itself reflected in Romance, is a subliterary remodelling of that.

E. Löfstedt argued (1956: 1.232–5) unconvincingly that such uses of the dative (as compared with the genitive, with which the dative interchanges) in Latin were characteristic of ‘Umgangssprache’.¹⁷ For reservations about Löfstedt’s view of its stylistic level in Latin see Adams (1995b: 449–60); note too the examples from the literary language cited by Landgraf (1893: 41–2).

The Latin adnominal sympathetic/possessive dative is relevant to the Romance languages. In Old French there is a common ‘genitival’ construction whereby a head noun is followed by a modifier, without a connecting preposition derived from Lat. *de* or *ad* (of the type *fil(z) roi Tibaut* = *fil du roi Thibaut*) (see Buridant 2000: 91–2, and above, 4.1). The modifier is said to be in the ‘cas régime’ or ‘cas oblique’, and to derive from the Latin dative (see Väänänen [1956] 1981b: 103). Buridant (2000: 91–8) defines the features of the construction in Old French (using N1 to represent the head noun and N2 the modifier), and an attempt may be made to relate some of those features to the Latin forerunners of the construction.

N2 in Old French is usually animate (mainly human but sometimes indicating a personified animal). In Latin most (but not all) of the terms in Bennett’s classification (see n. 16) are animate.

N1 is usually a noun that is ‘relational’, i.e. its sense implies that an adnominal complement is required. A kinship term such as *filz* fits into that category, as does an anatomical term (for which types see below).

¹⁵ For reservations about definitions of the sympathetic dative see Adams (1995b: 449–50).

¹⁶ This dative is not only associated with anatomical terms. Bennett (1910–14: 11.134) offers a fourfold classification of the Plautine material. The head noun may refer to a body part, the mind, ‘some possession’ (such as *nomen*) of the referent, or a personal/family relationship (*mater*, *filius* etc.).

¹⁷ Löfstedt compared passages of Vegetius without the sympathetic dative with passages of the source (the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) that have it, thereby suggesting that the stylist Vegetius had rejected the construction. But Löfstedt failed to look at the whole of Vegetius, who often takes it over from the source or introduces it himself (see Adams 1995b: 450–7 for full details). This type of dative is ubiquitous in all registers of Latin (for example attached to anatomical terms), though its alleged colloquial character is an idea that will not go away (see e.g. Rosén 1999: 148 n. 187, Baños Baños 2009: 204).

Usually N2 is singular and definite.

N2 may be pronominal. Bennett lists pronominal complements separately, and they are very common in Plautus (1910–14: II.135–7, 139–41).

N1 is often a kinship term (Buridant 2000: 96). See Bennett (1910–14: II.142) for Plautine examples, and Galdi (2004: 432) for a few examples from late Balkan inscriptions.¹⁸

N1 may be an anatomical term, as in *ventre la baleine* (Buridant 2000: 91, 96–7). In Latin, as we have noted, the dative is constantly used at all periods designating the possessor of a body part: see Bennett (1910–14: II.134–8) and also Adams (1995b: 449–60).

N2 may have the function of either a subjective or an objective genitive (Buridant 2000: 93–4). The Plautine type *Philocomasio amator* is of the latter type.

It is obvious that the Old French construction matches closely the Latin dative construction.

5.5 Some further cases of overlap between *ad* and the dative

There are other manifestations of the overlap of *ad*-expressions with the dative (see also Rosén 1999: 140–3), but usually these cannot be attributed specifically to lower social dialects (on this point see further below, 5.6). They reflect established uses of the preposition or extensions of these.

Corresponding to the final dative there was a final use of *ad* that was well established in the literary language: see *OLD* s.v. 44 and Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.522), citing e.g. Livy 3.63.4 *Sabini . . . castra hosti ad praedam relinquunt*. This usage is nicely illustrated by Petronius' *aquam poposcit ad manus* (27.6) alongside e.g. Plaut. *Truc.* 481 *date aquam manibus* and Virg. *Aen.* 1.701 *dant manibus lymphas* (for discussion with parallels see Heraeus 1937: 110). The literary credentials of final *ad* are so strong that we should find no sociolinguistic or generic significance to the fact that the one construction here is in Petronius and the other in Virgil (contrast Petersmann 1977: 78; see further Ferri 2008: 134).

The predicative dative is a type of final dative, and again there is an overlapping use of *ad* (and *in*). The overlap may be illustrated from the use of *auxilio* and its substitutes: see in general *TLL* II.1624.48ff. For *ad auxilium* see e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 7.80.4, Livy 3.58.5, 24.2.4, 36.42.2 (and particularly *TLL* II.1625.37ff.). *In auxilium* is if anything more common than *ad*. There was nothing substandard about the prepositional alternatives.

¹⁸ Any attempt to see in such Balkan examples a feature of the local Latin is unconvincing (see Adams 2007: 675–6 with bibliography), given the long-standing existence of the usage in Latin of other areas.

A particular manifestation of overlap may be illustrated from the medical language. With verbs describing the administering or efficacy of treatments in medical texts there are two complementary constructions, the dative of the patient and *ad* with the disease name (Langslow 2000: 367–8, *TLL* 1.543.65ff.). For the distinction note the following passage of Cassius Felix, who, Langslow (2000: 368) points out, took pains to keep the two constructions apart: e.g. p. 97.7–9 = 42.2 Fraisse *facit et ad debilitatem et ad tensionem, stomachi passiones, et hepaticis et splenicis. est autem et podagricis optimum*. The use of *ad* is again final. Violations of the distinction may be rare in Cassius Felix, but in other writers from an early period there is some confusion of the two constructions. Langslow (2000: 367) notes the dative of the disease in Cato (*Agr.* 159 *intertrigini remedium*), and *ad* + patients in Scribonius (see Langslow 2000: 367 n. 376). For the latter in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, where it is common, see Ahlquist (1909: 59–60).

More striking are some instances of *ad* with verbs once taking a dative of the direct object. Bourciez (1946: 107) notes that *nocet fratri* must have become **nocet ad fratrem* (> Fr. *il nuit à son frère*). E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.189), following the *TLL* (1.558.28f.), cites a case of *seruio* + *ad* for the usual dative: Jer. *Epist.* 82.3 *dux ille . . . ad cuius imperium caelum, terra, maria seruebant* (see also Bourciez 1886: 35). Usually *obtempero* takes a dative (*TLL* IX.2.1071.13ff.), but a few times in late Latin it turns up with *ad*: Veg. *Mil.* 2.22.1 *cornicines quotiens canunt, non milites sed signa ad eorum obtemperant nutum*, 3.9.16 *utrum ad tubarum monita, ad signorum indicia, ad praecepta uel nutum suum diligenter obtemperent* (also in Augustine: *TLL* IX.2.1072.33ff.). For *credo ad* see Bourciez (1886: 36). These examples are all in high-register texts. On the part played by this use of *ad* for the dative in the development of the prepositional object of Romance languages see Sornicola (2011: 36), and for fuller details of such prepositional objects see Sornicola (1997, 1998).

5.6 Conclusions

There is no direct connection between the uses of *ad* discussed by Lindsay in Plautus and the Romance languages. The Plautine examples, and also the Ciceronian in the context of the dispatch of letters, are not equivalent to the indirect object but imply motion and travel over a distance.

Ad, in so far as it is used at all in contexts in which a dative of the indirect object might have been expected, occurs particularly with *dico* and other verbs of saying. Usually, however, it can be interpreted as having a role

identified by Kühner and Stegmann, as expressing address of an audience with projection of the voice towards the listeners, or alternatively formal non-reciprocal address, by a superior of a subordinate, or vice versa. Non-reciprocal address may also take the form of speaking 'at' the addressee rather than speaking to the person intimately. Even in late and medieval Latin these roles are still to be seen. One text was discussed (at 5.3) in which there is no sign at all of *ad* as an equivalent of the indirect object with other verbs, but frequent use of the preposition with *dico*, in reference both to the address of an audience and occasionally to more intimate address (cf. 5.4). It would seem that the old use of *dico ad* was gradually weakened, such that it could be used of speech uttered to a nearby individual as well as to an audience or superior/inferior, and that only when this development had taken place did *ad* genuinely enter the sphere of the indirect object.

In this same text the dative is preferred with pronouns, and most examples of *ad* are with names or nouns. There is an anticipation in this of Romance usage, in which clitic pronouns tend to retain indirect-object forms.

The adnominal 'sympathetic'/possessive dative, particularly with anatomical and kinship terms, was very persistent throughout Latin, with the result that it leaves a mark in some Romance languages, notably Old French. Its prepositional substitute occurs unambiguously just once in extant Latin (unless there are examples that have escaped notice). This is the only usage in this sphere that might be assigned to a submerged Vulgar Latin, though it is possible that it was of such late origin that it had no prolonged currency beneath the level of written Latin.

Various other uses of *ad* overlap with the dative at all periods, and in the literary language and not merely low-register texts. This point is worth stressing, because Rosén (1999), while citing literary examples for this (and other) prepositions overlapping with plain cases, has nevertheless sought to maintain that the prepositional form was the more popular one. At 140 she illustrates from classical Latin 'some rivalry between bare case-form and prepositional phrase', which produced 'doublets', i.e. the use of a preposition and bare case in phrases that appear to be identical. She concludes from her table showing prepositional phrase in one column and bare case in the other (141):

The popular shading of most of the sources which provide the additional prepositional option is self-evident; most instances come from the Atticus correspondence, the others belong to early Ciceroniana (the Verrines, Sulla).

Here we see the familiar attempt to locate prepositional variants in the earlier period in colloquial Latin, an attempt which, given that almost all of the examples quoted in both columns are from a single writer, Cicero, appears somewhat forced. Several points may be made.

First, it is unacceptable to dismiss Cicero's early speeches *en masse* as colloquial or popular in style. It is true that Cicero admitted occasional oddities, later rejected, particularly in his first speech, the *Pro S. Roscio*, but one must be rigorous in presenting the evidence. If a stylistic change over time in his works is to be established, the complete attestations of the supposed popular variant in the speeches must be presented, alongside the complete attestations of the posited higher-style alternative. Only if there is a clear switch from one to the other after the early speeches would we be justified in arguing that Cicero came to regard one usage as unacceptable in oratory after his youthful works. It is significant, for example, that the verb *ausculto* appears only in the earliest speech (*S. Rosc.* 104) and that Cicero later restricted himself to *audio*.

Second, prepositional syntagms must be assessed against the bare case variants to determine if they were indeed interchangeable. Sometimes they were not (see above, 5.1).

There is undoubtedly a good deal of overlap between e.g. the final dative and *ad* in the classical period, but one could not establish that the one was popular and the other not without a systematic account of the variants.

Finally, phonetic changes causing a loss of distinctiveness of dative and other endings might have been one factor at a late period motivating the fading of the inflectional category, and from that time *ad*, given its long-established overlap with the dative (particularly with verbs of saying), presumably widened its functions.

6 Prepositions and the instrumental ablative

6.1 Introduction

The primary use of the instrumental ablative in Latin is to denote 'the *Means* or *Instrument* whereby some act is performed or a situation or state brought about' (Woodcock 1959: 31). Various prepositions encroached on the unaccompanied ablative, *per* and *cum* from an early period, and *de*, *ex* and *ad* later. Something will be said about the first two below, but we will be mainly concerned with *de* and *ad*, and the stages by which they entered the sphere of, without always being fully interchangeable with, the

instrumental ablative in later Latin. Can they be attributed at any time to lower social dialects? How did they acquire a (quasi-)instrumental use?

Instrumental *cum* has a distribution in later Latin that has a possible significance in relation to the Romance languages.

Per and *cum* are treated first.

6.2 The instrumental use of *per*

The use of *per* to express instrument occurs mainly with abstract nouns, not only in Classical Latin but at all periods (see Beckmann 1963: 28 and the discussion 26–35; also Pinkster 1990a: 205–6, De la Villa 1998: 292, and above, 3.1). On such abstract phrases in late Latin see also e.g. Ahlquist 1909: 65–6. When *per* is used with concrete nouns there is usually a special nuance that explains the choice of the preposition. For example, it occurs with *litteras* and related nouns in contexts dealing with the transport of information across space (see Beckmann 1963: 28–9, 34); it is perhaps the idea of ‘travel across/through’ that motivates the preposition. Again, there are cases of *per* with nouns denoting weapons (*per gladios*, *per arma* etc.), but not in reference to particular instances of the use of such a weapon. The sense is more abstract, as if in English for example one were to say ‘by force’ (e.g. Ovid *Ars* 1.260 *partaque per gladios regna nocente manu*; see Beckmann 1963: 32–3; note too Tac. *Ann.* 6.35.1 *se quisque stimulant, ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent*, where *per sagittas* is adnominal). An unusual expression, since it is concrete and refers to a specific incident, is Tacitus’ *per uenenum*, discussed above, 3.1. A group of examples of *per* in Vegetius with specific implements is explicable from the fact that the implements are of a type through/across which something passes (e.g. a horn, trumpet or military machine; *per cornu* is quite common (see below, 6.4.4, p. 313, 7); compare *per lintheum* in the context of sieving in several technical treatises, see below): cf. e.g.

Veg. *Mil.* 2.22.3 *classicum item appellatur quod bucinatores per cornum dicunt.*

3.5.6 *semituocalia sunt quae per tubam aut cornum aut bucinam dantur.*

4.8.4 *maiora per onagros diriguntur.*

4.22.8 *saxis tamen grauioribus per onagrum destinatis.*

4.44.7 *ardentes sagittae per ballistas in hosticarum nauium alueos infiguntur.*

Mul. 2.50 *quae uitia nunquam tangenda sunt ferro, sed exsiccanda per malagma uel causticum.*

Occasionally in late technical treatises there are instances of *per* with designations of specific tools, but these are exceptional (see Beckmann 1963: 33): e.g.

Mul. Chir. 644 curato ut cottidie ossilaginem per xisterem radas (ξύστηρ 'file'; same phrase at 86, 691).

Comp. Luc. 1 12 et si una longa fuerit aut curta, per martellum adequetur (the only certain instrumental example cited from the work by Svennung 1941: 154).

6.3 Some uses of *cum*

The development of *cum* as an instrumental exponent is discussed by Beckmann (1963: 35–47) (see also Pinkster 1990a: 203–4). In the earlier period, such as at Varro *Ling.* 5.21 (Beckmann 1963: 40), there are some uses that come close to instrumental, but in Classical Latin apparent cases are usually best interpreted as sociative (comitative) (see particularly the discussion of Beckmann 1963: 38–40, considering numerous examples that have been taken or might erroneously be taken as instrumental). In late Latin, particularly from the fourth century, the full instrumental use emerges (see Beckmann 1963: 41 for late examples, some of which along with additions are quoted below, and 42 for a summary of the developments set out in this paragraph). In Romance *cum* lived on with instrumental function in most areas other than France and Catalonia (e.g. It., Sp. *con*) (see REW 2385, Beckmann 1963: 42, 43).¹⁹

A few examples from the earlier period may be mentioned. *TLL* IV.1369.56 cites the following from Catullus under the heading 'de instrumento actionis': 98.3 *ista cum lingua, si usus ueniat tibi, possis | culos et crepidas lingere carpatinas*. But see Kroll (1929: 271) ad loc. This is not an instrumental phrase associated with *lingere*, but adnominal (with the subject of *possis*) and sociative (see also Beckmann 1963: 37, Pinkster 1990a: 204): 'you with that tongue of yours' (i.e. given that you have a tongue such as yours, you can . . .). Kroll notes that this construction is used of a quality, particularly a bad quality, with which someone is reproached, and categorises it as 'volkstümlich'. He cites Plaut. *Aul.* 41 *circumspectatrix cum oculis emissiciis*, Ter. *Hec.* 134 *at te di deaeque perduint cum istoc odio*. But cf. e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 26 Skutsch *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, 50 *uix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 158 *te cum securi*

¹⁹ In parts of central Italy, however, *cum* only lives in forms showing fusion of *in* + *cum* (Rohlf's 1969a: 233).

caudicali praeficio prouinciae, Caecilius 114 *ut te di omnes infelicitent cum male monita memoria*, Afranius 133 *meretrix cum ueste longa*, Cic. *Mur.* 64 *hos ad magistros si qua te fortuna*, Cato, *cum ista natura detulisset*, Virg. *Aen.* 8.72 *tuque o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto*. Such phrases do not necessarily designate bad qualities, nor are they confined to colloquial or popular style. The usage was idiomatic, and established in the highest levels of the literary language. The Ennian and Virgilian examples of *cum flumine* show that Virg. *Aen.* 9.816 *ille suo cum gurgite flauo | accepit uenientem* is sociative not instrumental, though it is in a context in which it might have been subject to reinterpretation.

Kroll on Catull. 98.3 does however say that *cum* expressing means is old, and cites 64.53 *Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur*, on which he again refers (1929: 152) to the early appearance of *cum* as a substitute for the instrumental or sociative ablative. This is not a clear-cut case of *cum* for the instrumental ablative. Theseus might have retreated 'by means of a ship' (*naui*), but not so obviously by means of a fleet. He (in his ship) is accompanied by his fleet, and the sociative use is the same as that seen in such phrases as *Caesar cum magnis copiis*. . . *Classis* may be used to refer to an expedition consisting of a single vessel, but in this poem there is reason to think that the term is collective (see Fordyce 1961: 285 ad loc.).

For *cum* as an alternative to the ablative of means Kroll (on Catull. 98.3) also quotes (so *TLL* IV.1369.55) Acc. *trag.* 445 *pro se quisque cum corona clarum conestat caput* (see Warmington 1936: 474–5, lines 433–4 '[e]ach for himself the hero's glorious head with garland graces'; but for reservations Beckmann 1963: 99; perhaps sociative with *quisque*). See too *OLD* s.v. *cum* II 'By means of' (e.g. Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 14), but all early examples should be looked at with care. *OLD* II, for example, cites Ovid *Met.* 1.180 *terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque | caesariem, cum qua terram mare sidera mouit*, but Beckmann (1963: 40) takes this as sociative, and Bömer (1969: 82) ad loc. paraphrases as *pariter cum* ('he shook three times, four times the awful locks of his head, wherewith/along with which he moved earth, sea and stars').

For late Latin see e.g. (with Beckmann 1963: 41):

Veg. *Mil.* 1.11.6 *tiro cum crate illa et claua uelut cum gladio se exercebat et scuto*.

1.14.1 *tiro qui cum claua exercetur ad palum*.

Mul. 1.27.2 *caede caudam cum tabula aliqua ponderosa* (see below, 6.4.2, p. 304).

Bened. *Reg.* 35, p. 61.13 (Linderbauer) *lintea cum quibus sibi fratres manus ac pedes tergant*.

Cass. Fel. p. 13.5 = 5.3 (Fraisie) ipsam alopiciam nitro trito cum panno fricabis et illines.

Itin. Ant. Plac. 22, p. 174. 13 ibi sunt et lapides multae, cum quibus lapidatus est Stephanus.

Anthimus p. 6.4 cum pinna diffundatur (see Liechtenhan 1963: 65–6 for instrumental *cum* in this text).

p. 7.4 cum pinnis . . . tangantur.

p. 16.9 sic cum coctiar uel nouela tenera manducatur (cf. 27.9).

p. 17.8 semper cocus agitet cum spatula.

Comp. Luc. c 19 incendis cum carbonibus (for *ad carbones* and *carbonibus* see 6.4.4).

F 23–4 rade illa cum nobacula (see also K 13 below).

G 15 percutis cum pirebolo (for the usual construction *percutere de* see below, 7).

I 14 batte et tene illud cum tenacula ferrea.

K 13 post illum siccum rade cum cultellum acutum.

L 20 et post debeas adplanare cum matiola lignea.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 42.20 facis puluerem et cum spatummele subleuas (= *spathomele*).

Oribas. Lat. p. 32.3 La (Mørland) frictionem utatur cum sindone et post haec cum oleo nudis manibus (perhaps sociative).

p. 34.23 La (Mørland) cum funibus in arbores ascendere.

ps.-Hippocr. *De conceptu* 337 si cum digito tangas membranum ipsud.

Anon. Val. 11.87 sic sub tormenta ad ultimo cum fuste occiditur (see Adams 1976a: 50).

There are other late instances of *cum* quoted by Beckmann (1963: 41), for example from the *Compositiones Lucenses*. A striking feature of the evidence is that much of it comes from late Italian texts (Beckmann also quotes cases from the Italian Gregory the Great). On the northern Italian origin of the *Compositiones Lucenses* see Adams (2007: 465–72), and of Anthimus Adams (2007: 329–30). On the Italian origin of the Oribasius translations and the *De conceptu* see Adams (2007: 472–96), of the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* Adams (2007: 503–7), of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* Adams (2007: 513), and of the *Regula* of Benedict Adams (2007: 452). The *Anonymus Valesianus* II was also certainly composed in Italy. The Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles, which has linguistic affinities with other medical texts thought to come from northern Italy (see Adams 2007: 490, 497), also has examples:²⁰ e.g.

²⁰ Information from David Langslow.

- 1.4 cum linteo detergens sic . . . linies.
 1.5 fricabis locum cum panno laneo.
 1.13 et post hec lauabis cum aqua ubi coxeris fenogrecum.
 2.25 circumcludes cum fermento ut non per illos poros scamonia pertransire possit.
 2.47 scio igitur me duritias uiscerum cum his rebus que humectant et temp(er)ant sanasse quale est balneum et ydroleon id est aqua et oleo abundante.

There seems then to be an anticipation here of the continuation of instrumental *cum* in the Romance of (among other places) Italy.²¹

6.4 The instrumental use of *de*, *ex* and *ad*

The seeds of the later flowering of *de* as an instrumental exponent can be found in republican Latin, but the word did not acquire a genuine instrumental use until much later. The instrumental use of *ad* is also late. *Ex* in this function is a rare and probably learned alternative to *de*. The currency of *de* and *ad* is confirmed by the Romance languages. There is an account of their outcomes in Old French in Buridant (2000) (see below).

6.4.1 Romance

In Old French *a/ad* may mark the instrument or means (Buridant 2000: 465 g): e.g. *Eulalie* XI *ad une spede li roveret tolir le chief* ('il ordonne qu'on lui tranche la tête avec une épée').

De may have the same functions (Buridant 2000: 471 d, e): e.g. *Chanson de Roland* 3419 *de lur espees i fierent demaneis* ('de leurs épées ils frappent sans tarder'). This usage is found particularly with *ferir*, *brocher*. So in Latin *de* is particularly common with *percutere* (see below, 7). For *ad* and *de* in alternation (Buridant 2000: 466) see *Etoire Graal* 1178 *je vueil . . . | que la teste me soit coupee | ou a coustel ou d'une espee* ('je veux . . . que l'on me coupe la tête avec un couteau ou avec une épée'). Such alternation can be found in Latin too (see Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 169, below, 6.4.2, and the whole of 7).

6.4.2 The genesis of instrumental *de*

Väänänen (1981a: 113) cites the proverb at Cic. *Fam.* 7.29.2 (*sine eum errare et putare me uirum bonum esse nec solere duo parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare*)

²¹ For medieval examples from Spain, where *cum* also survived, see Bastardas Parera (1953: 94).

as showing *de* used for the ablative of means (with the translation ‘blanchir deux murs *avec un même pot de chaux*’, emphasis added). Shackleton Bailey (1965–70 on 264.2) catches the true force of *de*: ‘Let him go on thinking me a man of honour, not one to cover two walls from the same pot of whitewash’ (emphasis added). The whitewash is taken from a pot, and the preposition has local force, expressing the source of the substance used in the process. It might be possible to translate loosely as if the *de*-expression were instrumental (‘whiten with the same pot of whitewash’), but that is to suppress the literal meaning. For the same usage a little later see Petron. 75.10 *labra de lucerna ungebam*, which is paraphrased by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 126) as ‘oleo de lucerna sumpto’ (see also Beckmann 1963: 55 on these two passages). Note too Petron. 66.3 *de melle me usque tetigi*.

In technical treatises such uses abound. See Adams 1995b: 435–6 (with the bibliography at 435 n. 10), noting that numerous ‘examples of *de* in technical works, though loosely classifiable as “instrumental”, are in fact markedly pregnant, with various ideas present. The instrumental idea is no more than implied by the context; it is not the primary force of the preposition. Pel(agonius) 456, for instance (“cum de posca prius pedes lauaueris”), literally means “when first you have washed the feet *from* the *posca*”, with *de* expressing source. The full implication of the passage might be expressed “when you have washed the feet (with) (some *posca*) (taken) from (a larger amount of) *posca*”. While the notion of source is explicitly expressed, partitive and instrumental ideas are implied. There is a quantity of *posca*, from which some is taken, and by means of that the feet are washed.’

Such *de*-complements underwent a semantic widening. *Posca* and *melle* above indicate substances from which a part may be removed. *Fidelia* and *lucerna* indicate concrete objects, but containers part of whose contents may be removed. The ideas of source and separation are present in all four cases. On the other hand if the complement indicates an implement from which nothing is removed the idea of source is weakened and the instrumental force may come to the fore. This point may be illustrated from a comparison of two passages of Pelagonius (see Adams 1995b: 436). At 448.1 (*ure sicca usque ad uiuum et de penna cauteri eundem locum circumcidito*) the *penna* is part of a cauterising instrument (*cauterium*), possibly the extremity (see *TLL* x.1.1090.46–9 and 1091.35–7), used for cutting. The phrase is instrumental and without any clear notion of separation. On the other hand at 468 (*postea melle de penna inungito*) the *penna* (literal rather than metaphorical in this case) is used to apply something (‘smear with

honey from the feather'), and, although there is a secondary instrumental implication, separation is again at issue.²²

The phrase *de penna* recurs in technical treatises, usually used as Pelagionius uses it in the second passage, with separative force. Cf. Marc. *Med.* 6.16 *de pinnula capiti inlines* (cited by Beckmann 1963: 64 as instrumental, but it is separative), *Liber tertius* 52.2, p. 320 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) *oxymelle de penna loca inungue*, 76.5 *de pinna loca perunges*, Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 169 *sanguisugias cum aceto in murtario fictili conteres luna minuente et euulsis pilis ad pinnulam capunculi[s] uirginis inponis diutissime id est de pinna de capunchu uirgine ei inunguet* (*capunculus* is diminutive of *capo* 'capon'; *uirgo* is adjectival and in agreement with *capunculus*; note that here two constructions are in alternation), Cass. Fel. p. 153.17 = 61.13 Fraisse *oleo rosaceo suco seminis lini admixto frequenter de penna tanges* (var. lect. *cum*; cited by Beckmann 1963: 64 as instrumental, but may be taken as separative).

On the other hand there is another unambiguous instrumental use of *de pinna* at Soranus Lat. p. 52.14 Rose: *adipes anserinos uel gallinacios illic missos et solutos de pinna super tollant* (var. lect. *cum* again). The fat is lifted from a container with a feather.

This accumulation of cases of *de penn(ul)a* in similar verb phrases but with two distinct functions suggests that the spread of an 'instrumental' use of *de* cannot simply be explained from the sudden acquisition by *de* of a new function, or from a general movement away from synthetic to analytic forms of expression. Rather *de* was introduced in specific collocations where its local force was still apparent. Once certain phrases (e.g. *de penna*) became commonplace they were liable to be transferred to contexts in which the local force was less obvious and the instrumental became more prominent. *De penna* is not the only recurring collocation that will be seen (see below 7 for a summary). The examples considered above illustrate a process described by Pinkster (1990a: 202) as follows: 'Another mechanism is the spread of an adpositional [i.e. in this context prepositional] expression from one context where it is quite appropriate to another where it is at first sight out of place.'

The first instance with full instrumental force has usually been found at Ovid *Met.* 6.80: *percussamque sua simulat de cuspide terram | edere cum bacis fetum canentis oliuae* (see Regula 1951: 166, Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.501). Bömer (1976: 30) takes the phrase to be equivalent to an instrumental ablative, and refers the reader to his note on *Met.* 3.260 (1969: 517): 'usu

²² There is also some evidence of a tendency for writers to avoid two instrumental ablatives in the same clause: see below, this section, p. 301.

vulgari, pro Abl. instrum. vel modii vel praepos. per, oft dichterisch, nicht bei Vergil'. *Met.* 3.260 runs: *gravidamque dolet de semine magni | esse Iouis Semelen*. *De semine* is not, however, instrumental but indicates source: she is pregnant 'from the seed'. There is nothing vulgar about such a usage: see *OLD* s.v. *de* 11 for a definition ('indicating the family, race, class, etc., from which a person or thing originates') and for abundant illustration from literary Latin (including the expressions *de semine* at *Lucr.* 3.750 and *de stirpe* at *Virg. Aen.* 5.297). The other examples of this 'usus vulgaris' cited by Bömer (1969: 517) turn out not to be instrumental (nor to be vulgar): e.g. *Met.* 1.451 *tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus* (similar to *de fidelia* and *de lucerna* above), 7.560 *nec fit | corpus humo gelidum, sed humus de corpore feruet* (the ground becomes hot 'from the body': source, *OLD* 7b), 15.322 *Clitorio quicumque sitim de fonte leuauit* (cf. *de fidelia*, *de lucerna*); also 1.413, *Fast.* 3.254. Regula (1951: 166) cites this last (*de tenero cingite flore caput*; the same usage as that at *Met.* 1.451 above) and 1.345 *factis . . . de flore coronis* (the literary use of *de* indicating the material out of which something is made: see *OLD* s.v. 8).

It would be inappropriate to take *de cuspide* in Ovid above as an isolated vulgarism, just as we should not consider instances of *de* in Sallust and Tacitus that overlap with the objective genitive (see above, 3.3) to have been drawn from subliterate Latin. Poets and historians experimented with the resources of the language, and in so doing sometimes by chance anticipated developments that were to become general (see Bauer 2010). Ovid himself has an instance of *ab* (*Her.* 16.98) that anticipates the later use of the preposition as an equivalent of the ablative of comparison (see below, xvii.2). Reservations have been expressed about the instrumental interpretation of the Ovidian example by Beckmann (1963: 55–6), who takes the phrase (note that the verb is passive) to be agentive not instrumental. The passage can be read more simply from the perspective of the (personified) earth: she is depicted as giving forth offspring having received a blow from the spear point of the goddess (source).

Other supposed early examples of instrumental *de* are also open to different explanations (see e.g. Beckmann 1963: 56), and caution is needed in assessing the evidence. *TLL* v.1.62.18ff. under the heading 'pro ablat. instrumenti vel modi sive praepos. per' brings together disparate examples, by no means all of them instrumental (see Beckmann 1963: 54 and his ensuing discussion).

In late Latin instrumental *de* is not used freely in literary prose, despite *TLL* v.1.62.21–2, until Gregory of Tours, but is found mainly (in concrete expressions: on abstract see below, this section, p. 307) in low-register

texts (see the general remarks of Beckmann 1963: 59–60). There is, for example, just a single case in the literary stylist Ammianus (29.3.8 *de fustibus caesi*, but some editors have assumed a lacuna after *de*: see Beckmann 1963: 60). By contrast there are numerous examples in the *Vetus Latina*, usually translating a Greek dative (Beckmann 1963: 63: e.g. Codex Bezae, Ioh. 13: 5 *lauare pedes... et tergere de lentio*, νίπτειν τοὺς πόδας... καὶ ἐκμάσσειν τῷ λεντίῳ, Vulgate *lauare pedes... et extergere linteo*), in low-register Christian writings (Beckmann 1963: 63: e.g. *Pass. Tarach. 7 de nouacula excoriare caput*, *Didasc. Apost. 36.16 lauit pedes nostros et deterisit de linteo*, a Biblical reminiscence), in itineraries (see below) and in technical texts (see below).

One technical text in which there are clear-cut examples is the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (see Ahlquist 1909: 78, Saloniuss 1920: 103, Beckmann 1963: 64):

19 de ipsis locis uenarum sanguis a pectus detrahitur de sagitta.

The blood is not taken away from the *sagitta*, but from the veins of the chest with a *sagitta*. In the same section the writer has *haec uenae sagitta perducī debet, sed caute* (*perducī* is probably a corruption of *percuti*, as the corresponding passage of Vegetius suggests: *Mul. 1.25.5 hae uenae sagitta percutiantur, sed caute*; the text is in any case wrong, because *debet* should be plural or *uenae* singular). Vegetius does not have *de sagitta* where it occurs above.

399 de pedes feriet terram.

The source of this passage is extant (Apsyrtyus): *Hipp. Berol. 43.1, CHG 1.214.5 τῷ ποδὶ τύπτει τὴν γῆν*; the prepositional construction is Chiron's own.

693 sanguinem ei desub gambis emittito de securi uel celta (Oder, but see Heraeus 1906: 119, followed by Ahlquist 1909: 78: *de securicella*).

The following examples are separative rather than purely instrumental (materials in two of the passages are taken from a larger source of such materials), but the second in particular is close to instrumental:

288 cooperito caput illius de uestimentis.

957 cum inferuerit, disparges cum eisdem de canali ligneo.

997 fracturam alligas de madidis fasciis laneis.

There is one place where Vegetius alters the wording of his source in three ways in a single clause. Veg. *Mul. 1.27.2 resupina caudam ad lumbos*,

quatuor digitis ab ano, ubi pilos non habet, caede caudam cum tabula aliqua ponderosa, quousque se uena demonstret comes from *Mul. Chir.* 25 (*codam*) *battes de tabella aliqua belle ponderosa diu, usque quo uena se demonstret* (see Svennung 1935: 358). The reference is to striking the tail with a plank to expose the vein. Vegetius removed the colloquial intensifier *belle*, replaced *batt(u)o* with *caedo* (*caedo* does not survive in Romance but *battuo* is widely reflected: REW 996),²³ and replaced *de tabella* with *cum tabula*. There is a hint here, given that the other two changes are ‘improvements’ to the Latin, that he might have considered *de* when it was devoid of any separative idea to be substandard or admissible only with reservations. That impression is reinforced by the restricted use of instrumental *de* in Vegetius (despite Beckmann 1963: 64), though instrumental expressions are common in his work, and he often uses *ad* with instrumental force (see below, 6.4.4). One instance that may be instrumental is at *Mul.* 2.40.1: *de sinistrae manus pollice uenam deprimes* (but see below for a parallel in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, and an alternative interpretation). Another is at *Mil.* 2.23.10: *usque adeo ut tempore hiemis de tegulis uel scindulis, quae si deessent certe de cannis ulua uel culmo, et porticus tegerentur ad equites et . . .* (‘so much so that in winter porticoes were roofed over for the cavalry with tiles or shingles, or failing that at least with reeds, sedge or straw, and . . .’; there is a suggestion of source, but this instance is close to instrumental). Other examples that are tending towards instrumental are more clearly separative (the same applies to other supposed instrumental examples cited by Beckmann 1963: 64):²⁴ e.g.

Mul. 2.24.3 *de uino ac farina hordeacea et melle percurant.*
 2.45.5 *de uino puro armum lauato.*
 2.79.16 *animalia a collo usque ad pedes inuoluantur de sagis.*
 2.79.23 *de bitumine collyrium inseritur.*

At *Mul.* 2.54.1 (*de capitibus unguarum calcant*) the force of *de* is hard to grasp, but it is not purely instrumental (though quoted by Beckmann 1963: 64). The meaning is possibly that the affected animals put their toes/fronts of the feet on the ground first, i.e. they ‘tread “from” the front of the hooves’.

²³ On *battuo*, including the reduced form *batto*, which had once been used by Marcus (*battunt*) as recorded by Fronto (*Ep. M. Caes.* 3.17.5, p. 50.6–7 van den Hout), see Holford-Strevens (2010: 337–8).

²⁴ For example, at *Mil.* 3.20.19 (*de dextro cornu . . . et de sinistro cornu . . . adgreditur*), which Beckmann cites without the adjectives, the reference is to an army attacking from its right or left wing. In the same chapter (3.20.4, 11) both *ex* and *a* are used in similar phrases. Such expressions are local not instrumental.

The practice of Augustine (well discussed by Beckmann 1963: 61) is of particular interest. He rarely admits the *de*-construction in his own prose (exceptions are a couple of cases (e.g. *Conf.* 12.17) that are reminiscent of the *Vetus Latina*: see Beckmann *ibid.*). But in four places where he is discussing the Biblical use of instrumental *in* he employs *de* in glosses on it, sometimes alongside an equivalent gloss by means of an instrumental ablative (which is used on its own to gloss *in* in eight other passages: e.g. *Loc. Deut.* 37, *CC* 33, 448 '*et incendes ciuitatem in igni*: *nos usitatus diceremus 'igni'*). In one of the glosses the expression *quod dicimus* occurs alongside *de*, just as *diceremus* accompanies *igni* in the passage just cited. The *de*-construction was then a current one, like the ablative itself. Augustine used the ablative freely in his prose, but not instrumental *de*. The discrepancy between his own practice and that adopted in the four glosses suggests that in glossing for his readers a usage alien to Latin he was prepared to dip into lower sociolects, but when composing in his own right he considered *de* to be unsatisfactory. The four passages are: *Loc. Hept.* 2.91, *CC* 33, 415 '*et uirgam, in qua percussisti flumen, accipe in manu tua*': '*in qua percussisti*' *dixit pro eo quod dicimus 'de qua percussisti'*; *et est ista locutio creberrima in scripturis*, 2.101, *CC* 33, 416 '*si quis percusserit seruum suum aut ancillam suam in uirga*': *quod est 'de uirga'*, 7.20, *CC* 33, 461 '*et cooperuit eum in pelle sua*': *non dixit 'pelle' aut 'de pelle'*; *sic enim habet Graecus* (note that the usage envisaged here, with a *de*-expression complementing *cooperio*, occurs at *Mul. Chir.* 288, quoted above, p. 303; it was taken there to retain a separative force, but Augustine makes no distinction between *percutio de* and *cooperio de*); cf. finally 7.60, *CC* 33, 464, where *in quo* is explained by *quo* and *aut unde*, the latter of which implies *de quo*.

There follows a selection of examples from texts generally regarded as of low register, with a few comments.

At *Per. Aeth.* 37.2 (*episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet*; see E. Löfstedt 1911: 104, Väänänen 1987: 38, 'valeur instrumentale') *de manibus suis* complements the verb *premo*, and the usage is reminiscent of *Veg. Mul.* 2.40.1 cited above: *de sinistrae manus pollice uenam deprimes*. The phrase looks instrumental, but there may be an idea that pressure is to be applied downwards from the hand, thumb or fingers to the object pressed, with the preposition retaining some local force.

Löfstedt (1911: 104) also cites from the same work 37.3: *unus et unus toti acclinantes se, primum de fronte, sic de oculis tangentes crucem et titulum*.

Two cases in the *Antidotarium Bruxellense* contrast with the two cited in the last paragraph but one. Note first 64 *de manu sinistra haurito aquam et supra cerebrum ter mittito* ('draw water with the left hand and throw it three

times over the brain/head'). The water is not drawn from the hand but with the hand towards the subject. In its clause the phrase is purely instrumental but it is interesting to note that if it were understood as well in the next clause (which it might well be) it would retain its separative force. This passage demonstrates how a prepositional expression may widen its role if it is used loosely in a slightly inappropriate context. The other instance is at 137: *alia die ante solis ortum inclinatus de sinistra manu uelle* ('pluck with the left hand', in reference to a plant; not of plucking 'from' the left hand, which would have a different meaning).

Note too *Antidot. Brux.* 153 *linis omne corpus eius qui patitur, et de sabano tergis* (of rubbing the body, which has been smeared, with a cloth, not of smearing a substance from the cloth onto something; thus instrumental with no sense of separation), 21 *quod de ferula agitabis* (cf. 19, where *fecula* looks like a misprint of *ferula*).

With *Antidot. Brux.* 153 above cf. *Phys. Plin. Bamb.* 7.14 *sed prius alopicias de sabano calefac frigando* ('first warm the *alopiciae* with a cloth by rubbing', by rubbing with a cloth). Here there are two instrumentals. *Frigando* complements *calefac* and *de sabano* complements *frigando*. The abstract (verbal) instrumental is expressed by the ablative, and the concrete instrumental by *de*. An influence to be considered here is the tendency for more than one instrumental ablative to be avoided in the same colon. For this factor see Pinkster (1990a: 206).

Two other instances of *de* in the *Physica* bring out the continuing potential of the construction to express a separative idea merely verging on instrumental: 8.21 *in aurem eius partis que dolet tres guttas de digito exprimis* (of putting three drops of a substance into the ear with the finger; they are pressed 'from the finger'), 12.5 *item ut de sole cutis non cumburatur* (the skin is not to be burnt by the sun, but the rays emanate from the sun).

At Soranus Lat. p. 70.12–13 Rose an instrumental ablative is in alternation with the *de*-construction with synonymous verbs: *siquidem trociscis illis de quibus dysentericos curamus, etiam has sanare possumus*.

Commodian, whose Latin is full of substandard elements, has several instrumental instances with verbs of cutting or striking: *Apol.* 235, CC 128 *non ullum de ferro secuit, non enplastro curauit*, 514 *qui fuit ab rege Manasse de serra secatus*, 558 *aut ubi percussus de lancea*. Note too *Instr.* 1.2.3, CC 128 *nolite . . . adorare deos inanes | de manibus uestris factos ex ligno uel auro* (the objects are 'made out of' (*ex*) wood and gold, 'by means of' (*de*) the hands). However, two of the above expressions of cutting/striking have passive verbs, with the recipient of the blow subject of the verb. The blow is thus represented from the perspective of the victim. In such a context, as

was suggested above, p. 302, on Ovid *Met.* 6.80 (*percussam . . . de cuspidē*), the blow may be envisaged as coming from the implement.

The instrumental use of *de* is said to be quite common in the Church Fathers with abstract nouns, though they avoid it in concrete expressions of the types illustrated earlier. For discussion of what might lie behind this stylistic choice see Beckmann (1963: 66–7), but it has to be said that some of the examples quoted seem not to be straightforwardly instrumental but to express source, cause or the like.

However clear-cut the instrumental force of *de* may seem to a native speaker of, say, English in a particular passage, it is constantly hard to be certain that a local idea was not intended. *De* was encroaching on the instrumental ablative, but ambiguities often remain.

It is worth observing in conclusion that *de*, via its early meaning ‘from’, of source, generates prepositional expressions that overlap with two distinct traditional cases, the genitive and ablative (instrumental). This fact undermines any claim that prepositions replaced the inflectional case system because of the needs of clarity.

6.4.3 Some uses of *ex*

To some extent *ex* replicates the development of *de*, but since in later Latin *ex* receded before *de* (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1911: 103, Beckmann 1963: 69–71, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 262–3, and above, 2.6) examples of it in the functions seen above are far fewer. *Ex*, like *de*, is sometimes used of the source from which something is taken/comes (see Adams 1995b: 438–42 for discussion and classification, and examples going well back into Classical Latin; also Beckmann 1963: 68–74). It may be translatable as instrumental and may alternate with the ablative, but there is almost always an idea of separation or source. Note e.g.:

Plaut. *Pseud.* 56 *expressam in cera ex anulo suam imaginem.*

Cic. *Vat.* 32 *paulo ante ex epulo magnificentissimo famem illam ueterem tuam non expleas?*

Virg. *Aen.* 3.373 *canit diuino ex ore sacerdos.*

Prop. 4.3.4 *haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis.*

Veg. *Mil.* 3.10.15 *ex puluerulenta quae effoditur terra complent (saccos).*

4.15.5 *contexuntur e uimine* (cf. 4.17.5 *saeptumque de uimine*, 4.15.3 *latera quoque uimine saepiuntur*).

4.17.1 *diligentissime ex crudis coriis uel centonibus communita* (cf. 2.79.16 *inuoluuntur de sagis*).

Mul. 2.16.6 *fomentabis ex tepida aqua.*

2.45.7 *ex quo . . . cum calida armus fomentatus fuerit, inungatur ex tepido.*

2.79.21 *ex ea calida testes fouent* (cf. 2.86.3 *coxam calida . . . confouebis*).

2.112.2 *fomentabis ex calida* (cf. 2.82.6 *fomentabis de calida uerbenacea*; 2.112.3 *fomentabis calida*).

There is a usage of this sort in the early epic of Ennius: *Ann.* 333 Skutsch *si forte <feras> ex nare sagaci | sensit*. The subject of *sensit* is a swift hunting dog (chained up): if it has sensed wild prey from its keen nostril . . . (the scent has reached its consciousness from the nostril). Skutsch (1985: 308) regards *ex* as ‘somewhat suspect’, for three reasons. His first is that ‘it is the first and for a long time the only instrumental use of the preposition’, and he goes on to maintain that the first real parallel is in ps.-Cyprian. Dubious here is his unqualified use of ‘instrumental’, without acknowledging the local idea present in the phrase. Quasi-instrumental uses of *ex* are well attested in Classical Latin in contexts in which source/separation is expressed (see above, and *OLD* s.v. *ex* 19).

Occasionally *ex* seems closer to instrumental, with little or no sense of separation (see Beckmann 1963: 73), though ambiguities may sometimes be perceived:

Tert. Nat. 1.10.47 *corpora exanimata iam mortemue simulantia e cauterio probat*.

Mul. Chir. 686 *scarificato totum uentrem ex sagitta Numida*.

Cael. Aurel. Tard. 4.58 *ex ipsa ferula circumlata ductu mouebimus coquentes* (contrast *Antidot. Brux.* 21 *de ferula agitabis*).

Comp. Luc. 1 24 *battis ex martello plano* (for other instrumental phrases with this noun or an equivalent see below, 7; for *battuo* with a prepositional expression see above, 6.4.2, p. 304).

Liber tertius 4.4, p. 297 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) *caput ex nouacula radis* (for this noun in instrumental phrases with both *ad* and *cum* see below, 7).

Since *ex* fell out of use in the late period, examples in literary texts are likely to represent distancing from the spoken language (cf. Beckmann 1963: 69).

It is worth remarking that, just as *de* intrudes into the territory of both the genitive and ablative (instrumental) cases (see above, 6.4.2, p. 307), so too does *ex*. ‘Genitival’ uses of the preposition were seen above, 3.2, in Tacitus.

6.4.4 The instrumental use of *ad*

This is a mainly late usage of which a few examples are cited in standard works: see e.g. *TLL* I.551.73ff., Svennung (1922: 27), (1935: 356–7), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 127, 220), Väänänen (1981a: 113), Milner (1993: 48 n. 7,

123 n. 4). It is common, particularly in certain writers, and should probably not be classified as substandard: Vegetius, whose Latin is classicising, has it often in both of his works, whereas one of his sources, the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, which is a low-register text, does not use it. By contrast, as has been seen above, the *Mulomedicina* has instrumental *de*, which is less clear-cut in Vegetius.

The instrumental use must derive primarily from the local (see Beckmann 1963: 78, arguing against a view that the origin of the instrumental lies in a sociative use; note too the remarks of Reeve 1998: 196 n. 14). There are local uses in Classical Latin that are not far removed from instrumental: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 3.623 *uidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro | prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro | frangeret ad saxum*, Plin. *Nat.* 8.71 *cornu ad saxa limato praeparat se pugnae* (see further Beckmann 1963: 74–5). The ambiguity is apparent in certain expressions denoting the site at which a substance was cooked or heated. Note the following from the *Mulomedicina* of Vegetius:

- 2.III.10 *ad carbones decoques* (cf. Pel. 384 *ad lentos carbones decoquis*, also 335).
- 2.I34.2 *ad calorem diligenter resolues*.
- 2.I49.3 *ad focum calefacies*.
- 3.II *ad carbones . . . coques*.
- 4.4.II *ad focum torrent*.

This usage is old (see Beckmann 1963: 75). Note:

- Cato *Agr.* 81 *ita coquito ad ignem*.
- Plin. *Nat.* 26.16 *corpora ad ignes torrendi*.

Cooking on (at) coals is tantamount to cooking by means of coals. Pelagonius, for example, uses the ablative as well as *ad* (see above) with *decoquo*: 323 *haec omnia mollissimis carbonibus decoquis*. He also uses *in*, which highlights the local idea: 269.2 *malagma soluis in carbonibus*. Similarly heating ‘at the hearth’ is a local expression, but *focus* shifted meaning in later Latin and replaced *ignis*, and once that semantic change was in progress ‘at the hearth’ could be reinterpreted as ‘at/by means of the fire’.

Vegetius also uses *ad calidam* with a verb of cooking (*excoquo*) in a local sense, of cooking in hot water: *Mul.* 1.17.17 *caput quoque haedinum omnesque pedes depilatos ad calidam ea ratione qua catulum excoqui (debere)* (cf. Oribas. *Syn.* 7.11 *Aa cera calefacis ad sole aut ad calda*). The source of Vegetius here is *Mul. Chir.* 200, which has the more usual construction *in* + abl.: *decoctum in aqua*.

In the passage of Oribasius just quoted *ad calda* is juxtaposed with *ad sole*. The latter contains an old use of *ad* meaning ‘by the light of’, which is well represented in Classical Latin (see *OLD* s.v. 19b). *Ad lunam*, for example, is at Virg. *Aen.* 4.513, and *ad lucernam* at Sen. *Dial.* 5.18.4. In later Latin note Per. *Aeth.* 15.5 *quicumque essent baptizandi . . . omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur, sic redirent mature ad candelas* with Väänänen (1987: 40) (‘by candle light’). These expressions are basically locative, and hence we find in Pelagonius alternation of *ad solem* (455 *tepefacta sic ad solem ungis*) with *in sole* (e.g. 348 *sic unges in sole*) (see Adams 1995b: 167). But in some contexts, such as that above in Oribasius, the locative was likely to be reinterpreted as instrumental: something that is warmed ‘by the light of the sun’ is warmed ‘by means of the sun’. Again the roots of an instrumental use lie well back in Classical Latin.

The local meaning of *ad* verging into instrumental may be seen in a different context at Phaedrus 5.7.17 *ut incipiebat Princeps ad baculum ingredi* (‘when Prince was beginning to walk about at last with the aid of a crutch’, Perry, Loeb). He was walking ‘at/on the crutch/staff’, i.e. by means of it.

Vegetius several times uses *ad* in an instrumental sense with terms designating large pieces of military equipment:

Mil. 2.15.7 *erant funditores, qui ad fundas uel fustibalos lapides iaciebant; erant tragularii, qui ad manuballistas uel arcuballistas dirigebant sagittas* (‘There were slingers who fired stones from slings and “sling-staves”. There were *tragularii* who shot bolts with catapults and crossbows’, Milner 1993: 48, who at n. 7 refers to ‘late-Latin instrumental *ad*’).
 4.18.2 *ad maiores ballistas malleolos uel falaricas cum incendio destinant* (‘they shoot from larger catapults lighted fire-darts and fire-spears’, Milner 1993: 123, who again (n. 4) comments on the instrumental use).

It is right to classify these uses as instrumental, but the context prompts speculation how the usage might have originated. The slingers were stationed ‘at’ the slings or catapults, and the first sentence might be translated ‘the slingers, who, (stationed) at the slings and sling-staves, hurled rocks’. In military idiom there might have been a reinterpretation of the *ad*-expression as referring to the instrument used by the actor rather than the post at which he was stationed. *Ad* had long had a place in military idiom, in such expressions as *ad exercitum*, *ad legionem*, *ad Martia signa*, *ad locum* (*OLD* s.v. 18b). The last for example means ‘at duty stations’. Just as men could be *ad locum*, so they might be *ad ballistas* etc. In the Bu Njem ostraca (Marichal 1992) of Roman military provenance in the documents called

by Marichal ‘rapports journaliers’ (from no. 1 onwards) duty stations or duties are repeatedly described by *ad*-expressions (*ad balneum*, *ad stationem camellariorum*, *ad carcare(m)*, *ad signas*, *ad porta(m)*, *ad fiscum*).

Once again we may observe a contextually determined reinterpretation of an old use of the preposition. The full instrumental use had certainly developed by the time of Vegetius, as there are many places where the term dependent on *ad* does not designate heavy equipment and the phrase is only translatable as instrumental. Moreover even in contexts such as the above overtly instrumental complements of the verb (expressed e.g. by the instrumental ablative or *per*) alternate with *ad*-constructions, and make it likely that the *ad*-constructions were now conceived of as instrumental:

Veg. *Mil.* 1.16.1 *ad lapides uero uel manibus uel fundis iaciendos exerceri diligenter conuenit iuniores.*

3.4.4 *ad iactandos lapides uel funda uel manu.*

3.14.14 *fundibulatores sunt qui fustibalis lapides iaciunt.*

3.14.15 *funditores sunt qui fundis . . . dirigunt saxa.*

4.29.2 *sagittae quoque arcubus missae et saxa manibus fundis siue fustibalis directa.*

4.44.7 *ardentes sagittae per ballistas in hosticarum nauium alueos infiguntur.*

For another context similar to that of the first of the two passages cited above (*Mil.* 2.15.7) see 4.8.4 (*saxa rotunda*) *minima ad fundas siue fustibalos uel manibus iacienda* (‘the smallest for casting by slings and “sling-staves”, and by hand’: Milner 1993: 117–18, i.e. = *saxa minima iacienda ad fundas . . . uel manibus*). This is an interesting passage, because a distinction is made between the slings and sling-staves (with *ad*) and the hands (instrumental ablative). The hands seem to be a more immediate instrument than the machines, though *ad manum* is attested.²⁵ For another passage showing a distinction between the ablative (*manu*) and an *ad*-expression see *SHA Heliog.* 31.7 *rasit et uirilia subactoribus suis ad nouaculum manu sua*, which might even be translated as if *ad nouaculum* were a locative complement of *manu sua* (‘with his own hand, at the razor’).²⁶

The other cases susceptible of an instrumental interpretation in the *Epitoma rei militaris* are:

2.23.2 *ad omne genus exercebantur armorum, . . . exercebantur armis* (‘they trained at all types of arms . . . they trained with arms’).

²⁵ For *ad manum* see e.g. *Vitae patr.* 5.13.14 *mensurans modium ad manum*, = τῇ χειρὶ (see Hofmann 1926: 105, comparing Fr. *à la main*), Veg. *Mul.* 1.52.tit., 2.70.3 (both quoted below). Cf. *ad digitum*, also quoted below. Examples of both expressions are collected in section 7.

²⁶ The emendation *ad<hibens>* was suggested by Helm. These non-classical usages have sometimes been emended away.

3.4.4 ad uectes pro similitudine gladiatorum punctim caesimque feriendo multo die usque ad sudorem sunt frequentissime detinendi (see further below; the text printed here is that of Reeve 2004).

3.24.11 hi...ad latiores lanceas uel maiora spicula beluas occidebant ('they...killed the beasts with broad lances and large javelins', Milner 1993: 106).

The first example is in alternation with an ablative but is not unambiguously instrumental. It might be taken as final ('they were trained for all types of weapons'). The second is cited by Beckmann (1963: 76), but the interpretation and text are uncertain (see Reeve 1998: 196–7, Milner 1993: 68 n. 9). The third example is straightforwardly instrumental, though an English idiom ('at knife point') leads one to suggest a weak locative sense ('at (the point of) broad lances') (see further below, this section, p. 314).

At 2.23.5 there is juxtaposition of *ad* and an ablative: *ad palum quoque uel sudibus exerceri percommodum est*. Milner (1993: 57) translates '[i]t is also very useful for them to exercise with the post and foils', thereby implying that *ad palum* is instrumental. But for the force of *ad palum* see 1.11.6 *contra illum palum tamquam contra aduersarium tiro cum crate illa et claua uelut cum gladio exercebat et scuto*, 1.14.1 *tiro qui cum claua exercetur ad palum* ('[t]he recruit who is being trained with the foil at the post', Milner 1993: 14), 1.15.1 *arcubus ligneis sagittisque lusoriis illos ipsos exercenda est semper ad palos*. The idea is that they practise against/at the stake/post, which represents the opponent (see *Mil.* 1.11.6), with the foils; *ad* is locative, and the ablative or *cum* + ablative instrumental.

There are also numerous instrumental or quasi-instrumental instances of *ad* in the *Mulomedicina* of Vegetius:

1.10.1 ad siphonem autem paulatim infundes, non semel ad cornu (cf. 2.20.2 *per siphonem ei in oculum defundis*).

1.26.2 componis pedem ad gubiam (a type of chisel) (cf. *scalpello circumgyrabis* in the same passage).

1.52.tit. cossi et lumbrici qua cura tolluntur ad manum.

1.56.19 diligentissime colabis ad colum (see below, this section for parallels, and 7 for alternatives, from the context of sieving).

2.70.3 alii in hac passione cum axungia ad manum extalem fulciri et reponi oportere dixerunt.

4.3.12 tunc ad acum [uel acutum] cuprinum pars auriculae, quae lata est, quasi in circulo designatur.

4.3.13 medium orbiculum perforas ad acum (cf. 4.21.4 *si acu aenea...compungas*).

4.5 melius creditur, si ad acutam cannam exseces ranulam.

4.6.2 labra quoque eius deterges ad spongiam.

The semantic complexities of *ad*-expressions may be illustrated by a comparison of the third passage above with Vulg. Acts 9:8 *surrexit autem Saulus de terra, apertisque oculis nihil uidebat: ad manus autem illum trahentes introduxerunt Damascum*. In Vegetius first the removal (*tolluntur*) is carried out by the hand of the vet, the agent of the action, and *ad manum* is instrumental. In the Vulgate the hands may be those of the blind man being dragged along, and he is the patient not the agent. Here *ad manus* is less clearly instrumental.

There are also twenty-eight instances of *ad cornu* in the *Mulomedicina* of Vegetius, used particularly with the verbs *do* (*dabis ad cornu* occurs fourteen times, and there are also three other cases of the verb in different forms), *digero* (five times) and compounds of *fundo* (five times). *Per cornu* is used in the same ways (see below, 7), e.g. I.II.4 *per cornu . . . dabis*, 2.91.3 *per cornu . . . digeres*, I.34.2 *per cornu . . . infunde*), but less frequently. The ablative *cornu* was probably avoided because its case form was indistinct.

Finally, six examples were cited above, p. 309 from the *Mulomedicina* of *ad*-phrases such as *ad calidam*, *ad carbones* that are locative, if open to reinterpretation.

Vegetius is exceptional in offering so many examples of *ad*, but is not alone in using the preposition in these ways (see e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 127, 220): cf. e.g.

Schol. Juv. 10.60 *nam poeta equestres statuas et consulares dixit inmerito poenam sustinere aut ad restem trahi* (cf. Juv. 10.58 *descendunt statuae restemque secuntur*, 'down come the statues and they are dragged by a rope'; cf. English 'dragged at the end of a rope').

Apic. 4.2.8 *in patinam compones ad surcellum*.

5.1.1 *ad trullam permisces*.

7.3.2 *praecidis ad cannam* (for the same phrase in Vegetius see above, and see also *Antidot. Brux.* 52 below).

Antidot. Brux. 52 *de ipso sanguine nomen eius cui fluit litteris Latinis in fronte scribis ad cannam*.

133 *alium coctum tritum ex melle ad cocleare manducet*.

173 *pulverem eius in uulneribus spargis, et ad pennam fricas*.

Oros. *Hist.* 5.4.6 *ad unum gladii ictum caput desecuisset*.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 48.4 *ad pinna uel ad digito faucibus inlinis* (cf. *Antidot. Brux.* 173 above for *ad pinna*; *ad digitum* perhaps = 'at finger tip').

48.5 *ex hoc ad digitum siue pinnas curauis*.

51.1 *raro medici parotidum curationem non euocant ad scalpellum*.

Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 169 *sanguisugias cum aceto in murtario fictili conteres luna minuente et euulsis pilis ad pinnulam capunculi[s] uirginis inponis diutissime id est de pinna de capunclo uirgine ei inunguet* (' . . . you

put (them) on for a long time with the feather of a virgin capon . . . that is, (you) will smear it on him with the feather from a virgin capon.' The use of *de pinna* here was noted above (6.4.2): *de* can still be given separative force (of smearing on from the feather), but it was not meant that way by the author, given that *ad pinnulam* cannot have such a sense).

Ad is common in reference to sieving:

Veg. *Mul.* 1.56.19 diligentissime colabis ad colum.

Oribas. *Syn.* 3.32 add. Aa, La p. 906 cretum (criblatum) ad tenuem tricoscinum.

3.41 add. Aa p. 909 ex. facis puluer ad tricoscinum.

3.174 ex. ad lenteum colati (these and other examples from the Latin Oribasius are cited by Svennung 1935: 357).

p. 73.23 La (Mørland) colas ad lenteum.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 1.27 post hec colas ad lenteum.

66.4 cribras ad linteum.

In a number of phrases it is the end of an object or implement (lance, reed, rope, finger) that would be used as the instrument: *ad lanceas, spicula, gulbiam, acum, cannam, restem, digitum*. This is not the only type of *ad*-expression seen above, but it is a distinctive one, and there may lie behind it an idiomatic locative usage similar to English 'at knife point, at the end of a rope'.

6.5 Conclusions

In the period dealt with in this chapter there is no sign of a structural change in the oblique-case system (as revealed by instrumental expressions). In all the authors mentioned the instrumental ablative remains the norm (some examples are cited above, 6.4.4, p. 311, from Vegetius), and there has been no wholesale shift to the marking of instrument by prepositions rather than inflections. From the evidence presented 'loss of morphemes' (see above, 1) could not be advanced as a factor determining a preference for prepositions, except in the case of one expression. In Vegetius 'by means of a horn' is expressed by *ad cornu* or *per cornu*, not by *cornu* (ablative), and that is because the ablative of *cornu* was not a distinctive case form. The grammarians' doctrine (see Diomedes *GL* 1.308.14–17) that the final *u* of the nominative, accusative and vocative was short but that of the genitive, dative and ablative long is not confirmed by any metrical evidence (*TLL* IV.962.41–6). But it was not a recent phonological or morphological change (i.e. the loss of a morpheme) that had rendered the ablative *cornu*

opaque; the form was old, and had probably long been avoided. There is indeed some evidence for morphological remodelling, to *cornuo* or *cornu* (*TLL* iv.963.2ff.).

The 'new' instrumental uses of prepositions (notably of *de* and *ad*) developed out of old local uses, separative in one case and locative in the other. In many passages, though an instrumental interpretation is possible, a local sense is still recognisable (particularly in the case of *de*). In others the instrumental sense seems dominant, but it is difficult to be sure that the writer was not aware of a lingering local force. The data exemplify semantic shifts in individual lexical items, not structural change affecting the language in a general sense. Such a structural change would only have occurred when the inflected forms of the ablative, for whatever reasons, fell out of use, and that does not seem to have happened in the Latin period.

There is evidence that some expressions (e.g. *de penna*) became established in contexts where the local meaning was still apparent but a secondary instrumental interpretation possible, and were then transferred into other contexts where the instrumental meaning had to be the primary one.

The question whether any of the instrumental uses of prepositions seen here belonged mainly to lower sociolects is a difficult one. It is not always convincing to say that a usage is found mainly in low-register texts, as if that established its substandard character. It may be true that the uses of *de* and *ad* above turn up mainly in technical texts traditionally classified as low-register, but it might be objected that it is mainly in technical texts that concrete implements have to be mentioned (but see below). There are, however, hints that the instrumental use of *de* was considered non-standard. Vegetius, a conscious stylist who set out to improve the Latin he took over from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Pelagonius, largely avoids it as an unambiguous instrumental, and in one place eliminates it along with two substandard usages from a passage transferred from his source. Where a version of the *Vetus Latina* has instrumental *de* Jerome in the Vulgate usually seems to have the ablative (see Beckmann 1963: 63 and above, 6.4.2, p. 303). Augustine speaks of *percutere de* as something 'we say', but he scarcely writes such things himself, and may therefore be referring to casual speech of the type in which the educated sometimes admitted usages more common in lower sociolects. Nor, despite the hypothetical objection advanced earlier in this paragraph, is it true that concrete instrumental expressions are only to be expected in mundane practical works. A lot of Latin writing, e.g. in historians such as Ammianus, describes military combat, and in such high-style narrative in the later period the *de*-construction is avoided despite references to weapons as instruments.

The status of *ad* may have been different, but is hard to grasp. The instrumental use is favoured by Vegetius but absent from the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. It is possible that Vegetius had picked it up particularly from a special register (military language), in which it might have had a vogue. He also uses it freely in his veterinary work. His readiness to use it does suggest that it was not stigmatised, as he was alert to the substandard.

Prepositions had certainly encroached on the instrumental ablative by about the fourth century, even if the ablative itself remained in use. A feature of the material discussed above is that in particular contexts different prepositions overlap without discernible differences of meaning. A collection of interchangeable (quasi-)instrumentals (taken mainly from material cited earlier) follows in the next section. There is such variability in identical collocations or contexts that it could not be argued that the language had moved in the direction of greater clarity and order. This variety is maintained to some extent in the Romance languages, where different prepositions may compete. The variety in Latin itself can therefore be seen as an incipient anticipation of Romance, but it was only when the ablative as an inflectional category disappeared that a major change fully occurred.

7 Appendix: overlapping instrumental or quasi-instrumental expressions

Expressions with tergere

Veg. *Mul.* 4.6.2 deterges ad spongiam.

Bened. *Reg.* 35, p. 61.13 (Linderbauer) lintea cum quibus sibi fratres manus ac pedes tergunt.

Alex. Trall. 1.4 cum linteo detergens sic . . . linies.

Antidot. Brux. 153 de sabano tergis.

Anon. *Med.* ed Piechotta 143 de lana tergat.

Vetus Latina (Cod. Bezae) loh. 13: 5 tergere de lentio.

Didasc. Apost. 36.16 detersit de linteo.

Instrumental expressions with fricare

Antidot. Brux. 173 ad pennam fricas.

Cass. Fel. p. 13. 5 = 5.3 (Fraise) ipsam alopiciam nitro trito cum panno fricabis et illines.

Alex. Trall. 1.5 fricabis locum cum panno laneo.

Penna/pinna in instrumental/separative expressions

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 48.4 ad pinna uel ad digito faucibus inlinis.

48.5 ex hoc ad digitum siue pinnas curauis.

Antidot. Brux. 173 ad pennam fricas.

Anthimus p. 6.4 cum pinna diffundatur.

p. 7.4 cum pinnis . . . tangantur.

Soranus Lat. p. 52.14 (Rose) adipēs anserinos uel gallinacios illic missos et solutos de pinna super tollant.

Liber tertius 52.2 oxymelle de penna loca inungue.

76.5 de pinna loca perunges.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 48.3 pinna uel digito inducis.

At Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 169 two different prepositional expressions with this noun are found in the same sentence: *ad pinnulam capuncli[s], de pinna de capunclu* (on this passage see above 6.4.2, 6.4.4, pp. 299, 308).

Manduco and expressions with coclear(e)

Antidot. Brux. 133 alium coctum tritum ex melle ad cocleare manducet.

Anthimus p. 16.9 sic cum cocliar uel nouela tenera manducatur (cf. 27.9).

Expressions with agitare

Anthimus p. 17.8 semper cocus agitet cum spatula.

Antidot. Brux. 21 de ferula agitabis.

Pallad. 11.17.1 admisce et ex canna radicata uehementer agitabis (*ex* is deleted from the text by Rodgers, *BT*).

Expressions with radere

SHA Heliog. 31.7 rasit . . . ad nouaclum.

Comp. Luc. F 23–4 rade illa cum nobacula.

κ 13 post illum siccum rade cum cultellum acutum.

Liber tertius 4.4 ex nouacula radis.

Mul. Chir. 644 per xisterem radas.

'Hand' as instrument

Vit. patr. 5.13.14 mensurans modium ad manum.

Veg. *Mul.* 1.52.tit. cossi et lumbrici qua cura tolluntur ad manum.

2.70.3 alii in hac passione cum axungia ad manum extalem fulciri et reponi oportere dixerunt.

Per. Aeth. 37.2 episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet.

Comm. *Instr.* 1.2.3, *CC* 128 nolite . . . adorare deos inanes | de manibus uestris factos ex ligno uel auro.

Antidot. Brux. 64 de manu sinistra haurito aquam.

137 alia die ante solis ortum inclinatus de sinistra manu uelle.

Digitus in instrumental expressions

Physc. Plin. Bamb. 48.4 ad pinna uel ad digito faucibus inlinis.

48.5 ex hoc ad digitum siue pinnas curauis.

Oros. *Apol.* 1.2 deprehensos in grege ouium lupos ostentare ad digitum cogor.

ps.-Hippocr. *De conceptu* 337 si cum digito tangas membranum ipsud.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 8.21 in aurem eius partis que dolet tres guttas de digito exprimis.

'Hammer' as instrument

Comp. Luc. 1.20 et post debeas adplanare cum matiola lignea (= *mateola*, a mallet).

1.24 battis ex martello plano.

1.12 et si una longa fuerit aut curta, per martellum adequetur.

Ferula in instrumental expressions

Antidot. Brux. 21 de ferula agitabis.

Cael. Aurel. Tard. 4.58 ex ipsa ferula . . . mouebimus coquentes.

Ballista in instrumental expressions

Veg. Mil. 4.18.2 ad maiores ballistas malleolos uel falaricas cum incendio destinant.

4.44.7 ardentes sagittae per ballistas in hosticarum nauium alueos infiguntur.

Instrumentals with verbs of 'sieving'

Veg. Mul. 1.56.19 diligentissime colabis ad colum.

Oribas. Syn. 3.32 add. Aa, La p. 906 cretum (criblatum) ad tenuem tricoscinum.

Syn. 3.41 add. Aa p. 909 ex. facis puluer ad tricoscinum.

Syn. 3.174 ex. ad lenteum colati.

Oribas. Lat. p. 73.23 La (Mørland) colas ad lenteum.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 1.27 post hec colas ad lenteum.

66.4 cribras ad linteum.

82.76 colas cum panno.

Egert (1936) no. 6 per linteum colas.

Comp. Luc. 1.8 per linteum collate.

Antidot. Brux. 153 oleum per linteolum colas.

Phys. Plin. Bamb. 48.4 colas linteo.

Slings et sim. as instruments

Veg. Mil. 2.15.7 erant funditores, qui ad fundas uel fustibalos lapides iaciebant.

4.8.4 (saxa rotunda) minima ad fundas siue fustibalos uel manibus iacienda.

3.14.14 fundibulatores sunt qui fustibalis lapides iaciunt.

3.4.4 ad iactandos lapides uel funda uel manu.

1.16.1 ad lapides uero uel manibus uel fundis iaciendos exerceri diligenter conuenit iuniores.

3.14.15 funditores sunt qui fundis . . . dirigunt saxa.

4.29.2 sagittae quoque arcubus missae et saxa manibus fundis siue fustibalis directa.

'Horn' as instrument

Veg. *Mul.* 1.11.10 tepidum dabis ad cornu (cf. 1.14.5 *tepidum per cornu dabis*).

1.56.14 oleum faucibus infundi oportebit ad cornu (cf. 1.34.2 *per cornu faucibus infunde*; also 1.34.6, 2.13.9, 2.37, 2.45.2, 2.111.9).

2.76.3 ad cornu faucibus digeras (cf. 2.91.3 *per cornu faucibus digeres*, 2.102 *per cornu digeres* (twice); also 2.134.2).

'Needle' as instrument

Veg. *Mul.* 4.3.13 medium orbiculum perforas ad acum.

4.21.4 si acu aenea . . . compungas.

'Siphon' as instrument

Veg. *Mul.* 1.10.1 ad siphonem autem paulatim infundes, non semel ad cornu.

2.20.2 per siphonem ei in oculum defundis.

'Reed, cane' as instrument

Veg. *Mul.* 4.5 melius creditur, si ad acutam cannam exseces ranulam.

Apic. 7.3.2 praecidis ad cannam.

Antidot. Brux. 52 de ipso sanguine nomen eius cui fluit litteris Latinis in fronte scribis ad cannam.

Pallad. 11.17.1 admisces et ex canna radicata uehementer agitabis.

Expressions with sagitta

Mul. Chir. 19 de ipsis locis uenarum sanguis a pectus detrahitur de sagitta.

Pactus legis Salicae 17.2 si quis alterum de sagitta toxicata percutere uoluerit.

Mul. Chir. 686 scarificato totum uentrem ex sagitta Numida.

Complements of percutere

Comp. Luc. G 15 percutis cum pirebolo.

Ovid *Met.* 6.80 percussamque sua simulat de cuspide terram | edere cum bacis fetum canentis oliuae.

Comm. *Apol.* 558 percussus de lancea.

Pactus legis Salicae 17.2 si quis alterum de sagitta toxicata percutere uoluerit.

17.8 si quis ingenuus ingenuum de fuste percusserit.

Vit. patr. 5.7.24 ecce aquila uenit, percutiensque eos de alis suis.

5.15.26 et ecce occurrit ei diabolus in uia cum falce messoria. uoluit autem eum percutere de falce illa.

Itin. Ant. Plac. 22, p. 174.12 lancea, de qua in latere percussus est dominus.

Itin. Theod. 19, p. 145.17 lapidem de uirga percussit.

Aug. *Loc. Hept.* 2.91 et uirgam, in qua percussisti flumen, accipe in manu tua: in qua percussisti dixit pro eo quod dicimus de qua percussisti (see also 2.101, cited above, 6.4.2, p. 305).

For expressions of instrument with *percutio* see *TLL* x.1.1249.43ff. The instrumental ablative is described as *passim*, and *de* is common in late texts (some of the above, and additional ones, are cited), but other prepositional expressions are almost non-existent, the special case of *in* aside (also *cum* in the first passage above). *Percutere* stands out in the material cited in this section as favouring *de* when it has a prepositional complement. In other semantic fields there is a considerable variety.

Miscellaneous uses of the accusative

1 The accusative of price

Petron. 43.4 *uendidit enim uinum, quantum ipse uoluit* has traditionally been taken as an ‘accusative of price’ (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.271). Since the speaker is a freedman it has been possible to see in the usage a vulgarism (E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.271). Recently Parker (1994) has questioned the view that *quantum* indicates price, preferring to take it as a quantity term (‘he sold as much wine as he wanted’). This interpretation is certainly possible (see Adams 2003c: 20, expressing reservations), but there is an argument in favour of the conventional interpretation. E. Löfstedt in several places (1908: 80–1, 1936: 170–3, 1956: 1.271) cited examples from later Latin of *quantum* unambiguously meaning ‘how much’, and he made the point (1936: 172–3) that the accusative of price is rarely found (until very late: see below) with nouns (as distinct from such neuters as *quantum*, *tantum*, *nihil*, *plus*). He also noted (1956: 1.271) that the usage with both *tantum* and *quantum* is reflected in Romance languages. The Petronian example may be an early surfacing of the idiom. For *quantum* see e.g. Auson. *Epigr.* 101.4 *quantum deprensi damna pudoris ement* (‘what a lot they’ll have to pay for their loss of modesty when they are caught in flagrante’, Kay 2001: 264; see also his note, 265). Note too (with E. Löfstedt 1936: 170) *Hist. Apoll.* 8 (Kortekaas 1984: 292–3), where the version RA has *Apollonius ait: ‘et quantum me proscripsit?’ Hellenicus respondit: ‘ut quicumque te uiuum exhibuerit, centum auri talenta accipiat; qui uero caput tuum absciderit, accipiet ducenta.’* The corrected version RB has the classicising *quanti me proscripsit?* (see also Kortekaas 2007: 100). There is also an example in a bilingual school exercise (where the Greek has a genitive): *CGL* III.214.34–6 *interroga quantum piscis*, ἐπερώτησον πόσου ὁ ἰχθύς (see Ferri 2008: 147).

In a few non-literary corpora several other possible accusatives of price of relatively early date (to add perhaps to that in Petronius) have been found. However, that at *Tab. Vindol.* 343.38–41 (on which as such see Adams

1995a: 116, 2003c: 20) can be explained in a different way (see Adams 2007: 615), and the other, in the letters of Terentianus (469.17 [*m]erca minore pretium*), is also open to more than one interpretation. On these interpretations see Adams (1977a: 40–1). Either the construction here is an accusative (of price), with *-m* omitted from *minore*, or it is an ablative, with a hypercorrect addition of *-m* in *pretium* (or, better, a mechanical lapse into an accusative form). The first explanation may seem easier, but against it is the fact that until very late Latin it is not possible to quote cases where this accusative is found with nouns (see above, and, for details, below).

The instances with *quantum* and the like suggest that the origin of the construction may lie partly in the internal adverbial (neuter) accusative (see E. Löfstedt 1936: 173). Not that such an accusative represents a particularly striking innovation. The accusative of ‘extension’ (also classifiable as an internal accusative) is used in expressions of distance, dimension, degree and measure (note e.g. Varro *Ling.* 5.173 *denarii, quod denos (nummos/asses) aeris ualebant* (‘*denarii*, because they were worth ten *asses* of copper’), and see Adams 1977a: 41 for examples of these uses; also Ernout and Thomas 1953: 32, remarking on this example: ‘il s’agit alors de mesure, et non de prix’), and expressions of price differ little from these. Norberg (1943: 105) particularly stresses the role of *ualere* + acc. (described as an ‘Inhaltsakkusativ’) in generating the accusative of price, and he cites another example from Varro, as well as late examples. Value is merely a slightly more general notion than price. In much later Latin *ualeo* (usually in the present participle, *ualens* or *ualiens*) is construed with an accusative (of some monetary unit) denoting the cost of an object, as in the Visigothic slate tablet 102.11.5 *colisia ualiente tremisse u[nu]* (see the discussion of Velázquez Soriano 2004: 360) (for further examples see Bastardas Parera 1953: 52), though it has to be said that here too the idea of value may be more dominant than that of price.

The nominal examples (as distinct from the *quantum* type) cited by E. Löfstedt (1936: 172–3) are very late, in e.g. Gregory of Tours, the *Vita Caesarii Arelatensis* and the *Actus Petri cum Simone*. The construction with nouns is taken up also by Norberg (1943: 103–4), who adds to Löfstedt’s examples others from late law codes such as the *Edictus Rothari*, *Leges Alamannorum*, *Liutprandi leges* and the *Lex Curiensis*. Norberg (1943: 104) observes that the Romance use of nouns without prepositions in expressions of price and value must go back to this late use of the accusative (rather than to an ablative). Later (1956: 256–7) Norberg added several instances. For a few medieval examples see Bastardas Parera (1953: 52).

The construction is very frequent (with nouns) in the Albertini tablets: e.g. IV.10–12 *emit Gem(inius) Felix* [the object of *emit* is to be understood as the *particellas agrorum* defined from l. 5 onwards] *de s(upra)s(cri)p(tis) uenditoribus folles pecuniae numero quingentos quos folles quingentos acceperunt Iulus Restitutus et Donata uxor eius uenditores* (cf. e.g. III.26–32, XI.8–9). For *folles* indicating a sum of money from the time of Diocletian see *TLL* VI.1.1017.17ff. Note too XV.19 *ex ac die emit Geminus Felix auri solidum unu* ('from this day Geminus Felix has bought (the above) for one *solidus* of gold'). Väänänen (1965: 37) says that the accusative of price occurs twenty-two times in these documents.

It is possible that the accusative of price was stigmatised for a time and thus existed below the literary level, but that is to attach considerable weight to the example in a freedman's speech in Petronius, as offering a glimpse of a lower social dialect. An alternative possibility is that this case was an ad hoc extension of an earlier use of the accusative. Those using the construction in the very late period were admitting it in laws and other legal documents, and they could hardly have regarded it as substandard.

2 Some double accusative constructions

Latin had various double accusative constructions, some of which are of no interest here. For example, some verbs (e.g. *rogo*) could quite normally be construed with two accusatives, at least in certain phrases. In early Latin there are also a few compound verbs that may take a double accusative, with the one accusative dependent on the verb and the other on the prefix: e.g. Cato *Agr.* 141.2 *agrum terram fundumque meum suouitaurilia circumagi iussi* (passive, but reflecting an active construction, *agrum suouitaurilia circumago* = *circum agrum suouitaurilia ago* (see further Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 44, E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.252 with n. 1, commenting on Plaut. *Persa* 70 *ubi quadrupulator quempiam iniexit manum*, on which see Woytek 1982: 179). This section is about a different topic, substandard uses of double accusatives arising from conflation.

Consider *Comp. Luc.* A 14 *tinctum ungues subtiles uitria<s>* 'smear thin sheets of glass with a solution (of glue?)' (see Hedfors 1932: 83 on the meaning). *Vnguo* is one of a number of verbs that had competing constructions. It might be accompanied by an accusative denoting either the substance smeared on, or the patient who is smeared. See Ahlquist (1909: 35), citing on the one hand *Mul. Chir.* 555 *unges axungiam ueterinam* and on the other 511 *omnem locum ungito*. The constructions are potentially interchangeable, if a different complement is added in the two cases. In the first the patient

of the smearing might be expressed in the dative (e.g. *iumento*). In the second the substance by means of which the patient is smeared might be in the ablative (e.g. *axungia*). A conflation of the two constructions produced a double accusative (of the type *unges axungiam omnem locum*), as in the *Comp. Luc.* above. Some of the verbs (see below) with a conflated double accusative in late Latin are compounds, and it might seem tempting to construe at least some of them as the passage of Cato is construed above. But at *Comp. Luc.* A 14 the verb is not a compound and conflation is the only possible explanation; compounds with two accusatives in later Latin, some of them of this same root (see below), are best explained in the same way. There is extensive bibliography on this type of conflation, and only a few illustrations will be given below: see E. Löfstedt (1908: 67–74, 1936: 145–53, 1956: 1.249–52), Ahlquist (1909: 35–6), Svennung (1935: 226–9), Norberg (1943: 107–31) (the most detailed discussion), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 44–5), Adams (1976a: 58–9, 1995b: 478 with n. 86), Ferri (2008: 155). Such conflation occurs mainly in late technical or low-register texts, and one does not find it in the high literary language (but on republican Latin see below).

The archetypal verb with the two interchangeable constructions defined above is *dono* (*dono aliquam rem alicui* = *dono aliquem aliqua re*). So it is that *dono* turns up with a double accusative (see Norberg 1943: 111–12 for examples). Compounds of *unguo* also have the conflation (see *TLL* x.1.1884.iff. on *perunguo*): e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 145 *perunges eum acetum*, where *eum* denotes the patient, i.e. the horse (see e.g. Adams 1995b: 589–91).

A development of the double accusative construction is to be seen in its extension to verbs that did not admit of two competing constructions that might have been conflated. Such extensions were made on the analogy of verbs of the same semantic fields that did possess two constructions. Norberg (1943: 112–13), for example, discusses the use of the double accusative with *do* and *trado* (on which see also Adams 1976a: 59, restoring an example to the text of *Anon. Val.* 11.52 and citing parallels), which was generated by the analogy of *dono*.

Verbs of removal, theft and the like sometimes have a double accusative in late Latin, even when they themselves did not have two constructions subject to conflation. In these cases too the analogy of other verbs of the same or overlapping semantic fields must have been influential. Note e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 691 *si collectionem fecerit, ut eum ossum fractum eximas*. *Eum* denotes the patient from whom the bone is to be removed (see above). *Furo(r)* ‘steal’ is used with a double accusative in one version (c 6) of *Pactus legis Salicae* 27.34 *si quis mulierem brachilem furauerit* (see Adams

1976a: 59). Neither *eximo* nor *furor* had two constructions to generate the blend, but (*de*)*fraudo* did. For *fraudo aliquem* see *TLL* VI.1.1262.82ff., and for *fraudo aliquid*, 1264.34ff. For the double accusative with this verb see *TLL* VI. 1263.78ff., Norberg (1943: 115). For *defraudo aliquem* see *TLL* V.1.372.74ff., and for *defraudo aliquid* 373.22ff. *Defraudo* turns up with a double accusative early, but the accusativus rei is at first an internal accusative (pronominal): Plaut. *Asin.* 95 *ten ego defrudem, quoi ipsi nihil est in manu | nisi quid tu porro uxorem defraudaueris?* There is an extension of use at Varro *Men.* 329 *aes defraudasse coponem*. Norberg (1943: 115) takes this to be a double accusative (with a noun of the thing stolen); so Woytek (1970: 67), Cèbe (1987: 1406). For the same construction later see Vulg. Luc. 19:8 *et si quid aliquem defraudavi reddo quadruplum*, where the Greek does not have two accusatives (καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἔσυκοφάντησα ἀποδίδωμι τετραπλοῦν).

There are in Plautus one or two similar verbs with a double accusative: *Bacch.* 523 *neu quid ei suscenseat | mea caussa de auro quod eum ludificatus est*,¹ *Curc.* 629 *anulum, | quem parasitus hic te elusit* (see Norberg 1943: 115). To judge from the treatment of *ludificor* and *eludo* in the *OLD*, the double accusative was not otherwise current with them in Classical Latin. It is possible that *defraudo* was influential in this case, even though its use with a double accusative in Plautus is of a special type. Alternatively one may suggest a vaguer conflation, of the type *eludo senem + eripio seni aurum*.

For another semantic field (that of ‘surrounding’) in which there is at least one verb displaying such an extension of usage see Adams (1976a: 58) on *Anon. Val.* II.71 *muros alios nouos circuit ciuitatem*.

There are hints of such conflated double accusatives in early Latin but then they disappear for centuries.

3 Conclusions

The accusative of price started as an internal accusative in the neuter (of adjectives such as *quantus*) and then spread in later Latin to nouns. The classical construction over a long period was the genitive, and we saw a redactor of the *Historia Apollonii* restoring the genitive for accusative in one passage. Whether the accusative (e.g. *quantum*) genuinely belonged to lower sociolects in the earlier period or was merely an occasional ad hoc variant for the genitive not specific to any one level of the language is not

¹ But here *quod* may be a subordinator rather than a relative. De Melo (2011) translates ‘... and not to be angry with him for my sake because he fooled him about the gold’.

clear. In much later Latin the accusative is well represented in legal texts, and it could not by then have been stigmatised.

Verbs of certain semantic fields, particularly if they admitted of two different constructions marked by a double (nominal) complement, had the potential to acquire a double accusative construction even in the Republic. It is, however, in late Latin and in low-register texts (notably the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) that there was a flowering of the double accusative, which was probably stigmatised by educated purists. The construction occurs with a restricted group of verbs (see the list at Ahlquist 1909: 35).

Locative, directional and separative expressions: some variations and conflations

I Introduction: some topics

Latin case inflections, prepositional expressions and to some extent adverbs were capable of rendering a threefold local distinction, embracing what we might call a directional meaning (= 'to'), a static ('at') and a separative ('from'). In town/city names the distinctions could be expressed by case inflections alone (*Romam*, *Romae*, *Roma*). With other types of nouns a variety of prepositions was available to make the same distinctions (*ad/in*, *apud/ad/in*, *ab/ex*). A single preposition might convey more than one idea depending on the case with which it was used (e.g. *in* + acc. versus *in* + abl.). There were some sets of adverbs comprising three complementary terms with the three meanings (e.g. *ibi*, *eo*, *inde*: see further XXIII.3), and others with just two complementary terms (e.g. *intus*, *intro*, static and directional). But the distinctions expressed in these various ways were not stable or consistent. Even in Classical Latin in plural town names such as *Athenae* the ablative (*Athenis*) could be either static or separative. *Intus*, just cited, was originally separative not static, and it still means 'from within' sometimes in Plautus (see XXIII.3). In imperial (and not exclusively low-register) Latin it also acquires a directional use (= *intro*) (see below, 3). The preposition *ad* is both directional and locative in Classical Latin, a combination of ideas that was to be replicated in later Latin in accusative place names meaning 'at' as well as 'to' the place (see 5). Such semantic distinctions and conflations will come up again in the chapter on compound prepositions and adverbs (see e.g. XXIII.3–5). In this chapter we will deal with two types of usages (mainly non-standard) that span the period from early to very late Latin, first the intrusion of prepositions into local expressions containing the names of towns (2), and second some types of breakdown in the distinction directional/static/separative (3–5).

2 Prepositions with names of towns

The statements of school books to the effect that prepositions were avoided in expressing motion to or from a town present an idealised picture. Augustus, who, we are told, was indifferent to the rules of grammarians (see Suet. *Aug.* 88 and below, 6), used prepositions with the names of towns to avoid 'obscurity': Suet. *Aug.* 86.1 *quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem uel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitauit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis*. But it is the usage of Plautus and Livy that is particularly striking.

In Plautus prepositions are common with names of towns, with *in* + acc. marking 'motion towards' and *ex* 'motion from'. There are about thirty-one cases of the plain accusative, compared with twenty-one of *in* + acc. The figures for accusative versus *in* with specific names are as follows:¹ *Alidem* 1:2, *Anactorium* 0:1, *Athenas* 10:0, *Calydonem* 1:1, *Capuam* 1:0, *Cariam* 2:4, *Carthaginem* 2:0, *Chalcidem* 1:0, *Cyrenas* 1:0, *Elat(r)iam* 0:1, *Ephesum* 3:7, *Epidamnum* 2:2, *Epidaurum* 0:1, *Eretriam* 1:0, *Naupactum* 2:0, *Seleuciam* 0:1, *Sicyonem* 0:1, *Sutrium* 1:0, *Syracusas* 1:0, *Tarentum* 2:0.² Bennett (1910–14: II.238) states that in a few cases the preposition 'seems to serve the purposes of perspicuity, but on the whole no such purpose is discernible, and it seems best to recognise a wavering usage as characteristic of the early language'. But a distinction can be discerned between the plain accusative and the prepositional usage, and the latter cannot be dismissed merely as a feature of the 'early language'. With the names of the six towns which arguably would have been most familiar to Plautus' audience (Athens, Capua, Carthage, Sutrium, Syracuse and Tarentum) the plain accusative predominates by 17:0,³ whereas with the other, lesser known, names it is *in* + acc. which is preferred, by 21:14. Towns in Italy and Sicily are always given the plain accusative. This distinction suggests that the preservation of the inherited accusative was supported by the frequency of reference to well-known towns, but that in the case of lesser places the accusative was dying out and the preposition was more likely to be used for clarity.⁴ Sometimes, when one of the more exotic or distant towns is

¹ The figures are compiled partly from Lodge (1924–33: 1.779–80) and partly from Bennett (1910–14: II.236–8).

² There has been some discussion whether Plautus conceived Alis/Elis and Caria as regions or towns. I list them as towns without getting involved in the matter.

³ Sutrium was a strategically important Etruscan town only about 28 miles north-west of Rome.

⁴ Cf. the remarks of Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 50).

mentioned for the first time in a play, the preposition is used, but later Plautus switches to the plain accusative. In the *Miles gloriosus* at 113 and 384 *in* is used with *Ephesum*, whereas at 439, 975 and 976 the plain accusative is adopted. The first occurrence of *Alidem* in the *Captiui* has *in* (379), but the next the plain accusative (573).

There is a correlation between the distribution of the accusative versus *in*, and that of the ablative versus *ex* + abl. In reference to Athens and Carthage the plain ablative predominates by 11:0,⁵ whereas in reference to Alis, Anactorium, Caria, Ephesus, Seleucia and Sicyon (the only other places in the list above from which separation is expressed) *ex* is preferred by 10:2.⁶ There is also one instance of *ex Troia* (but none of the plain ablative) (*Bacch.* 1058 *effertur praeda ex Troia*; a notable example, because the prefix of the verb already expresses separation). Hofmann at *TLL* VII.1.73ff. does not bring out the issues, and Bennett (1910–14: 11.288–9) does not have a complete collection of the prepositional examples.

There are comparable expressions elsewhere in early Latin. Livius Andronicus (*Od.* frg. 8 (9)) has *in Pylum deuenies*, which has been compared with both *Od.* 1.284 ἐς Πύλον ἐλθέ and 2.317 Πύλονδ' ἐλθών. Note too Cato *Agr.* 135.1 *tegulae (emantur) ex Venafro*, though here there is no verb of motion and a preposition is not unusual in such a context (see below).

Both *ab* and *ad* are sometimes distinguishable from *ex* and *in*, as in the early and classical period they may mean rather 'from/to the region of, from/in the direction of', without any implication that an exit from or entrance into the confines of the city walls had been made.⁷ Note for example Quint. 7.2.3 *quare ad Troiam quinquaginta reges nauigauerint?* ('Why did the fifty kings set sail for Troy?'). One does not usually sail into a town itself. The distinction between *ad* and *in* may be seen at Cic. *Phil.* 5.22 *nisi ad urbem uel in urbem potius exercitum maximum adduceret* (see Wölfflin 1893: 295).

But there is more to be said about *ab*. Examples at Pacuvius 318 Ribbeck (233 Schierl) (*nihilne a Troia adportat fando*) and Acc. *trag.* 682 (*repudio eiecta ab Argis iam dudum exsulo*) are no different in meaning from *ex* above: Plautus, it was noted, has *ex Troia*. These are not stray examples. There is good republican and Augustan evidence for the encroachment of *ab* on

⁵ See Bennett (1910–14: 11.288) and Lodge (1924–33) s.vv. *Athenae*, *Carthago*. I omit ablatives that are locative rather than separative.

⁶ The statistics are taken from Lodge (1924–33), who has entries for place names.

⁷ See Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.477–8) on the use of *ad* and *ab* with names of towns in Classical Latin; also Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 102) on *ab*.

the plain ablative marking departure from a town. Cicero has the same expression as Pacuvius, *ab Troia* (*Verr.* 4.72 *Segesta est oppidum peruetus in Sicilia, iudices, quod ab Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in haec loca ueniente conditum esse demonstrant*), as too does Vitruvius (1.4.12 *Diomedes ab Troia rediens*), who also, like Accius above, uses *ab Argis* (2.8.12 *cum autem Melas et Areuanias ab Argis et Troezeze coloniam communem eo loci deduxerunt*). This same phrase appears with a verb of motion in Virgil (*Aen.* 7.286 *ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis | saeua Iouis coniunx*). Virgil also has *a Troia* (*Aen.* 3.149 *penates, | quos mecum a Troia . . . | extuleram*), and Cicero uses *ab* with another name of Troy: *Div.* 1.24 *an Achiuorum exercitus et tot nauium rectores non ita profecti sunt ab Illo ut. . .* (cf. too Varro *Men.* 471, Hor. *Odes* 4.4.53). See further *TLL* 1.14.42ff., 15.31ff. (with more examples from e.g. Cicero and Virgil).

But it is the practice of Livy that is particularly noteworthy. He regularly uses *ab* with names of towns, most notably *Roma* (see Riemann 1885: 274, describing this use of *ab* as 'vraiment caractéristique pour la langue de T.-Live'; also Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.478, Haverling 2006: 351), e.g.:

3.23.7 et alter consul, postquam moenibus iam Romanis pulso hoste periculum esse desierat, et ipse ab Roma profectus.

6.31.7 a Volscis timentibus ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret incursiones in extrema finium factae erant.

21.59.2 iam enim redierat ab Roma.

26.15.8 eques citus ab Roma uenit.

There are fifty-four examples of *ab Roma* with verbs of motion or implied verbs of motion, but none of *Roma* (abl.).⁸ Cicero by contrast rarely adds *ab* (see Riemann 1885: 274 n. 3; note also *Phil.* 5.23 *infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat*). Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.478) cite further examples from other writers of the classical period, such as Sallust (*Jug.* 104.1, *Cat.* 40.5) and the pseudo-Caesarian works, and also Servius Sulpicius ap. Cic. *Fam.* 4.12.2 *cum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem*. So in the Vindolanda tablets 'motion to' a town is expressed by the plain accusative, but 'motion from' usually by *ab* (see Adams 1983: 72, 1995a: 110–11). It will be noted that the frequency of *ab* with the most familiar of all town names, *Roma*, in Livy rules out for *ab* in the classical period the sort of explanation advanced above for the use of *in* and *ex* in Plautus.

⁸ I am grateful to John Briscoe and Giuseppe Pezzini for supplying me with information on this point, the latter in tabulated form.

Such uses cannot conceivably be described as 'vulgar', as they are in high-style texts as well as down the educational scale in Vindolanda tablets. There must have been some difference of opinion among the educated in the classical period, though it was only *ab*, not the prepositions expressing 'motion to' a town, that was acceptable to some as an equivalent to the plain case. In late Latin too there is evidence that the plain accusative with names of towns to express 'motion to' was more persistent than the plain ablative to express 'motion from'. There are late texts in which the latter idea is conveyed regularly by *de* but the former by the accusative (Adams 1976a: 55–6). Clearly *ab* was encroaching on the ablative in this role even in the Augustan period, though there was presumably resistance to it by grammarians and other purists (as is implied by Suetonius' remark about Augustus). Nevertheless examples may be found, for example, in Tacitus (e.g. *Hist.* 4.33.3; see Gerber and Greef 1877–90: 1.1, A.2).

We return to the expression of 'motion to'. The construction with *in* is not a peculiarity of early Latin. It turns up from time to time, but in contexts which suggest that it was substandard and maintained an existence below the level of literature. There is an implication in Atticus' criticism of Cicero for writing *in Piraea* and Cicero's defence of himself that *in* would have been wrong (i.e. substandard) if Piraeus were a town (note particularly *Att.* 7.3.10 *non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco*: here *hoc* refers to *in*, and Cicero maintains that Piraeus was a locality not a town). Quintilian (1.5.38) finds fault with the expression *in Alexandriam* as a solecism: . . . *ut fiat adiectione 'nam enim, de susum, in Alexandriam', detractioe 'ambulo uiam, Aegypto uenio, ne hoc facit'*.⁹ *De susum* here is incidentally an expression that will come up in a later chapter (xxiii.2, 5 (1)). For an imperial example of the *in*-construction see Russell (2001: 1.144 n. 46). This type of phrase is also common in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, where the place names are usually exotic (see van Oorde 1929: 103–4), and the circumstances motivating the preposition thus replicate those in Plautus. When the writer expresses motion to a town with a familiar

⁹ It is incidentally of interest that to the grammarian Pompeius several centuries later the preposition marking the solecism had changed: *GL* v.252.21 *non debeo dicere ad Karthaginem uado sed Karthaginem uado*. This use of *ad* is reflected in the Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *je vais à Londres*), though *in* was not to die out entirely. In Romanian, for example, cities and smaller localities take either *în* or *la* (< *illac*) in accordance with a subtle semantic distinction: the former implies that the speaker is in the locality being spoken about, whereas the latter does not (e.g. *a mers la Roma* 'he went to Rome' versus *a venit în Roma* 'he came to Rome'). On the other hand in Spanish it is *a* < *ad* not *en* < *in* that is used to mark motion towards towns; cf. *a* in Italian with small islands, cities and towns (*vado a Cipro/Cambridge/Elly*) (information from Adam Ledgeway).

Greco-Latin name, she does not use *in* but the plain accusative: e.g. 3.8, 9.6 *Alexandriam*, 17.3, 23.8 twice *Constantinopolim*.

Non-literary texts are throwing new light on the matter. That Plautine usage was not simply aberrant or short-lived is shown by the attestation of the *in*-construction on ostraca from both Africa and Egypt of the imperial period: *O. Bu Njem* 68 *missi in Hyeruzeriān Iulius Rogatianus Iulius...*, *O. Max.* inv. 254.13 (see Bülow-Jacobsen *et al.* 1994) *qui cibaria ferunt in Mys Or(mum)*.

Prepositional phrases as a means of expressing direction are as old as recorded literary Latin. The Plautine evidence suggests that the prepositional construction was making inroads into the plain accusative and ablative, which were most secure in the case of familiar place names. The evidence of Quintilian shows that grammarians were conscious of one prepositional construction as a substandard usage that had to be resisted. Much later Pompeius (*GL* v.252.21–2) also castigated the use of *ad* with *Carthaginem* and a verb of motion (see n. 9). Augustus was notorious for disregarding the rules of the grammarians (see Suet. *Aug.* 88). But if *in* + acc. and later *ad* were rejected in such contexts by grammarians, *ab* is a different story: we should not lump together *ab*, *in* and *ad* as equally stigmatised with the names of towns. The school rule is revealed as inadequate.

3 The locative to express 'motion towards'

We come to a different topic, the confusion or falling together of different types of local complements, particularly static and directional. There is an increasing tendency in the Empire for 'motion towards' to be conveyed by the verb alone and not by the accompanying adverbial; a static adverbial is used to complement the verb rather than a directional. So in English 'come hither' has given way to 'come here', except in the most contrived style. In Latin *hic* (*uenio*) came to be used for *huc* (see *TLL* vi.2–3.2763.34ff.; common in late Latin from the Vulgate onwards but already in a letter of Terentianus, 468.43 *hic errasse*; see also the next paragraph on a Pompeian graffito), *ibi* for *eo* (*TLL* vii.1.145.21ff., mainly late Latin) and *ubi* for *quo*.¹⁰ The last two usages are already found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, a work which drew on lower registers. For the first see Callebat (1968: 196), citing Apul. *Met.* 4.7 *ibi cum singuli derepsissent*, 'when they had crept there one by one', and 7.20 *ibi memet improvido saltu totum abicio*, 'without

¹⁰ There is an extensive bibliography on this phenomenon. See e.g. Saloniuss (1920: 216–18), Svennung (1935: 382–92), and particularly Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 277–8), who provide a full review of the bibliography.

forethought I jumped and threw myself completely there'. Similarly, for *ibidem*, see 10.19 *tanta etiam ibidem de me fama peruaserat*, 'such a report about me had spread even to that same place'.¹¹ The earliest clear-cut case of *ubi* for *quo* (the only one cited by the *OLD*) is in Apuleius (*Met.* 9.39 *ubi, inquit, ducis asinum istum?*), in direct speech (see also below, p. 334, for a possible case in Tacitus). It is put into the mouth of a soldier in a scene 'de ton volontairement populaire' (Callebat 1968: 196). Such uses are typical of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*: e.g. 23.1 *ubi cum peruenissem* (for details see Väänänen 1987: 25–6).

Comparable confusions (sometimes of the inverse type, that is a directional adverbial used with a static verb, though that phenomenon is less common: see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 277) go back a long way. Quintilian (1.5.50) notes as a solecism the confusion of *intus* (static) and *intro* (directional), giving as examples *eo intus* and *intro sum* (see the discussion of Önnersfors 1955: 149–53). The latter usage (*intro* for *intus*) is found in Cato (*Agr.* 157.7, 15). Lucilius (1215–17) also states the distinction between *intus* and *intro*, and distinguishes as well between *aput te* and *ad te*. The fragment suggests that the distinctions were not always made in the second century BC. There are several confusions in early tragedy (see Halla-aho and Kruschwitz 2010: 148–9), as for example Acc. *trag.* 231 *quo me ostendam*, which is a conflation of *quo me uortam* and *ubi me ostendam*. The other three examples cited by Halla-aho and Kruschwitz from tragedy all show confusion of *in* + acc. and *in* + abl., which is not uncommon (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 277 and below on *abicio in* + acc./abl.), unsurprisingly, given that there is a fine line between e.g. placement in and into (*impono* is found in Classical Latin with both *in* + abl. and *in* + acc.: see *OLD* s.v., heading). The adverb *humi* means in Classical Latin both 'on the ground' (*TLL* VI.2–3.3125.15ff.) and 'to the ground' (3125.70ff.). *Aput te* occurs with *uenio* in the archive of Terentianus (472.10–11 *spero me celerius aput te uenturum*) (see further Adams 1977a: 37–8). A Pompeian graffito (*CIL* IV.2246) has *hic ego cum ueni, futui, . . . redei domi*, where *domi* is for CL *domum*, and *hic* can be construed both with *ueni* (= *huc*) and with *futui*. In a bilingual school text edited by Dionisotti (1982) note 42 *regreditur domi*, 64 *eamus domi*. In this last case the Greek has ὄγωμεν οἶκον, and

¹¹ Callebat (1968: 196) suggests that the *ibidem* is found in the sense 'to the same place' once in Plautus (*Trin.* 203 *atque egomet me adeo cum illis una ibidem traho*), with the verb *traho* (*Trin.* 412 may be added, where the same collocation occurs). But *traho* here does not mean 'drag', a sense which would indeed be likely to have a directional complement, but rather 'reckon among'. In this sense the construction with *traho* may have been influenced by *pono*, which has much the same metaphorical meaning and typically takes *in* + abl., i.e. a static complement (see *OLD* s.v. 22b) (I am grateful to Wolfgang de Melo for information here).

domi cannot be put down to Greek influence (see Ferri 2008: 143 with n. 108). This use of *domi* is widespread, usually in late or non-standard texts (*TLL* v.1.1957.53ff.)

These confusions between locative and directional expressions were censured over a long period by grammarians, and they must have been stigmatised, except in the case of *humi*. We have already seen Quintilian (and possibly Lucilius) on the subject. The use of *apud* for *ad* (see above) is castigated: Donatus *GL* iv.393.23 (on solecism) '*apud amicum eo*' pro '*ad amicum*', Cledonius *GL* v.77.2–3 *apud tantum in loco significant, ut 'apud amicum sum', nec possumus dicere 'apud amicum uado'*. In the same passage Donatus also finds fault with *intro sum* for *intus sum* (see above on Quintilian) and *foris exeo* for *foras exeo* (for this use of *foris* see *TLL* vi.1.1048.37ff.; mainly late, but see further below). On the other hand there are confusions of these types in late bilingual school exercises (*hermeneumata*), which might lead one to think that such usages had become respectable, but there is the possibility of Greek influence in some cases (see Ferri 2008: 143 for examples and discussion). We will cite in the next section grammarians on the use of locative place names for the accusative.

Sometimes even in the literary language there is some slippage (see above on *humi*), in keeping with an observation that we have made several times (I.2, XI.1) that stigmatised usages do occur in higher social dialects, but less often than in lower. Pliny the Elder five times has *foris* for *foras* (e.g. *Nat.* 21.7 (*mortuus*) *dum intus positus esset forisue ferretur*; see *TLL* loc. cit., Önnerrfors 1956: 51, 99 n. 36). *Intus* for *intro* is found, for example, in Ovid: *Met.* 10.457 *iamque fores aperit, iam ducitur intus* (see further Önnerrfors 1955: 152, and below, XXIII.3). For examples in Lucretius and Tacitus see XXIII.3. On the other hand in a particular context there might be a possible ambiguity, with the writer choosing to stress one idea rather than the other, such that a 'solecism' is apparent rather than real. A use of *apud* at Tac. *Ann.* 11.8.4 cited at *OLD* s.v. 2 under the rubric 'w. words of motion' is not the same as that above from the archive of Terentianus; it can be interpreted as static. A use of *ubi* = *quo* occurs in Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.22.2), in a speech (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 277). The verb here is *abieceris*: *responde, Blaese, ubi cadauer abieceris*. Goodyear (1972: 216) ad loc. cites several classical examples of *abicio* with *in* + abl. as distinct from *in* + acc. (e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 5.92 *anulum . . . in mari abiecerat*, where, however, the text could be easily changed), which are parallel in type to *ubi* with the same verb. A verb of 'throwing' (away), in a tense, particularly perfective, of the passive, is close to a verb of lying ('where he has been thrown' = 'where he lies'), a fact that is brought out by the occasional use of *iaceo*

'lie' as the equivalent of the passive of *iacio* 'throw' (e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 1.42, 3.85). Madvig (1876: 774) on Cic. *Fin.* 5.92 above cites Caes. *Gall.* 5.10.2 *navis... in litore eiectas esse*. The verb in Tacitus is not passive, but the association of ideas may prompt a static adverb in such cases. The question virtually means 'where is the corpse that you have cast away?' It remains possible that Tacitus was intentionally lax (see further 1.7 (iii)) in a heated speech delivered by an ordinary soldier (*gregarius miles*, *Ann.* 1.22.1); so in Apul. *Met.* 9.39 above a soldier in a speech uses *ubi* for *quo*.

4 Locative for accusative in place names

A locative place name such as *Romae* complementing a verb of motion belongs to the same category as e.g. *ibi* for *eo*, *ubi* for *quo*. The usage occurs early, in a freedman's speech at Petron. 62.1 (*forte dominus Capuae exierat*). It is castigated by several grammarians (Diom. *GL* 1.455.27 *si interrogati quo pergamus respondeamus 'Romae' (fieri soloecismum)*, Pompeius *GL* v.289.31 *quando... dicitur 'quo uadis?', et tu dicis 'Romae' soloecismus est*). It is now found six times as well in one letter (471) of Terentianus, always in the same place name (*Alexandrie*) (see Adams 1977a: 38). One of these examples has the same verb as that in the Petronian passage just cited (15–16 *se exiturum Alexandrie*), an indication that Petronius has adopted a genuine subliterate usage.¹² In the other five instances the name complements the verb *uenio*. There are also three possible instances of *Coris* < *Coriis* (< *Coria*, = 'to Corbridge') in Vindolanda tablets (266, 611, 617), though the text and interpretation are not certain in every case.¹³

What is striking about these locatives is that they turn up in very familiar place names, such as Alexandria and Rome.¹⁴ In literary texts this is particularly clear in the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, in which there are about ten instances of locative town names in conjunction with verbs of motion, and in eight cases the name is *Romae* (-e) (pp. 48.18, 48.27, 48.30, 49.33, 52.22, 53.12, 57.5, 57.10). Twice (57.5, 57.10) the verb is *uenio*, but other verbs (*reuertor*, *festino*, *ascendo*, *consequor*) are also so complemented. In addition *Rome* is used for the accusative with *usque* once (53.2 *hinc enim usque Rome*

¹² For the authenticity of the freedmen's Latin as demonstrated now by new non-literary finds see Adams (2003c).

¹³ See Adams (2003b: 551). The first example (266 *uolop ueniat ad me Coris*) may be taken in other ways, either as an ablative, or as an adnominal locative attached to *ad me*, with the latter conveying the idea of motion to (cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.8.1 *Batonius e nauis recta ad me uenit domum Ephesi*).

¹⁴ To the material already cited add e.g. *Vet. Lat.* 11 Tim. 1:17 (cod. *d*) *uenisset Romae*, and see too Galdi (2010: 367) for Jordanes *Rom.* 225 *Archelaus Romae adueniens*, where Jordanes' source had *Romam*, and Kalén (1939: 15); also below.

silice strato). The other possible examples of the usage are 51.14 *adplicuisset Puteolis* and 63.18 *quae ducit Neapoli* (but here final *m* might have been omitted: cf. 64.4 *quae ducit Neapolim*). In the case of place names other than Rome the accusative is used (see 64.4 just quoted, also 85.6 *tollerent extra Romam Aricia*, = acc.).

The locative usage here and the *in*-construction discussed at 2 above complement each other. The latter, as was noted above, is used both by Plautus and in later non-literary documents and the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* when the town to which motion is expressed is exotic or insignificant (though it was seen that Quintilian gave as an example of solecism *in Alexandriam*, which may have been particularly offensive to a purist, given that the place was so familiar). The locative by contrast turns up when the city is universally known. Behind this latter usage must lie a tendency for the name of a place constantly referred to to be fossilised in one of the cases in which place names constantly recur; the locative is a commonly heard case form of a prominent toponym. The most striking example seen above is that at *Actus* 53.2, where the locative *Rome* is dependent on the preposition *usque* (= *usque ad*), which would normally take an accusative. Fossilisation is definitely in evidence here, if the text is right. The grammarian Consentius attests to place names that had only one case form, and a number of the examples he lists are locative: *GL* v.349.4–5 *interdum efferuntur nouo modo et quasi monoptota, ut Curibus Trallibus Turribus Sulcis Seruitti Gadir Viniolis Bilbilis*. Some Romance place names are thought to derive from Latin locatives, such as *Brindisi*, *Girgenti*, *Rimini*, *Tivoli*, *Firenze*, *Aix* < *Aquis*, or from other oblique case forms.¹⁵ Some late Latin itineraries list places not in their nominative but in an oblique case that may often be interpreted as locative (i.e. usually the ablative, which had a locative use: see below, 5). That is so at *CIL* xi.3281–4, in the so-called *Itinerarium a Gadibus Romam*, found at Vicarello (see Zangemeister 1902: 169); see also Rohlfs (1968: 10) on the forms of names in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Another case that is sometimes fossilised in Latin is the accusative, most notably in the late-Latin use of *Constantinopolim* and other names in *-polim*. Norberg (1944: 52–3) quotes examples of *Constantinopolim et sim.* from the *collectio Auellana* (letters e.g. of emperors and priests, particularly Roman, of the fourth to sixth centuries), Gregory the Great, Paul the Deacon, the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* and Jordanes functioning as locative, separative (ablative) or nominative. Note *Per. Aeth.* 23.1 *nam proficiscens de Tharso*

¹⁵ See e.g. Bianchi (1886: 378–9), E. Löfstedt (1956: 11.74 n. 3), (1959: 137 n. 1), Montenegro Duque (1960: 529) (on Spanish cases such as *Aquis Flauis* > *Chaves*, *Sacris* > *Sagres*), Rohlfs (1968: 8–11), Adams (1976a: 58).

perueni ad quandam ciuitatem supra mare adhuc Ciliciae, que appellatur Ponpeiopolim. The writer (unlike some others: see XII.6.3, p. 243) regularly uses the correct nominative in the passive form of this naming construction, as two sentences later (*quae appellatur Seleucia Hisauriae*) (see van Oorde 1929: 28–9 s.v. *appello*), and we may therefore see fossilisation here rather than an aberrant use of the accusative. For a locative use see *Anonymus Valesianus* II (e.g. 57 *et moritur Constantinopolim Zeno imperator*).¹⁶ Other case/prepositional forms fossilised as the name of a place are cited from Greek, such as *Istanbul* < εἰς τὴν πόλιν and *Isnik* < εἰς Νίκαιαν (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1959: 137). *Constantinopolim*, like the locative names in *-ae* seen above, is the name of an important and often mentioned place. It does seem that the prominence of a place contributed to the petrification of its name in one of the case forms with a local function.

5 The other side of the coin: accusative for locative

The accusative for locative is also common in late Latin. Since the plain accusative (of place names) shared with *ad* a directional meaning, and since *ad* also had a locative meaning, the plain accusative (of place names) might by analogy have acquired this locative use too. We saw a parallel in the prepositional system of Latin (above, 3): *intro*, normally directional (= ‘to within’), had a substandard use with static verbs (*intro sum*) (see further Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 277). Similarly for *foras* = *foris* see Petron. 44.14, *CGL* III.216.14 *quid foras stas*, cited by Ferri (2008: 143).

Timpanaro (1978: 423–6) defends three instances of the accusative for locative in the *Historia Augusta* (as well as offering an explanation of the usage, 424): *M. Ant. phil.* 6.1 *Hadriano Baias absumpto, cum Pius ad aduehendas eius reliquias esset profectus*, 8.9 *ipse Romam remansit*, *Comm.* 8.5 *appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules quod feras Lanuuium in amphitheatro occidisset*. Editors have either added *apud* or changed the accusatives to locative forms (see Timpanaro 1978: 423).

One may have reservations about accepting the locative accusative of place names in a text such as the *Historia Augusta*, but it is certainly well attested in lower-register sources (for examples from the *Anonymus Valesianus* II see Adams 1976a: 57), perhaps most notably in the *Notitia dignitatum*, a work of uncertain date (fifth century?) that had been subjected to revisions. This is a text that is full of adnominal locatives, attached to the titles of officials or military units based in a place. The ‘locative’ forms

¹⁶ See Funaioli (1904: 323), Norberg (1944: 53), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 277), Adams (1976a: 57).

vary. It is worth setting out the variants, which have something to reveal about the formation of the locative in late Latin.

First, in the first declension feminine singular the old *-ae* locative was very much alive. That is no doubt due to the influence of *Romae*, a form which, as we have seen, also widened its use to express direction as well as location:

- ND Or.* 34.18 equites Dalmatae Illyriciani, Benosabae.
 34.19 equites promoti Illyriciani, Menochiae.
 34.20 equites scutarii Illyriciani, Chermulae.
 34.21 equites Mauri Illyriciani, Aeliae.
 34.23 equites promoti indigenae, Sabaiae.
 34.24 equites promoti indigenae, Zodocathae.
 36.19 equites scutarii Illyriciani, Amidae.
 36.30 praefectus legionis secundae Parthicae, Cefae.
 41.17 cuneus equitum sagittariorum, Laedenatae.
 41.35 praefectus militum exploratorum, Taliatae.
 41.37 praefectus militum exploratorum, Zmirinae.
 42.17 cuneus equitum Dalmatarum, Augustae.
 42.20 cuneus equitum scutariorum, Aegetae (but 42.34 *Aegeta*).
Oc. 32.44 praefectus legionis quintae Iouiae cohortis quintae partis superioris, Bononiae.
 32.52 praefectus classis Histricae, Mursae.
 33.34 equites Dalmatae, Constantiae.
 33.43 equites Dalmatae, Florentiae.
 33.59 tribunus cohortis, Vincentiae.
 34.15 cuneus equitum stablesianorum, Arrabonae.
 34.32 equites sagittarii, Lentiae.
 35.20 praefectus militum Vrsariensium, Guntiae.
 42.6 praefectus militum iuniorum Italicorum, Rauennae.
 42.16 praefectus militum musculariorum, Massiliae Graecorum.

In the second declension masculine singular the old *-i* locative is unusual (see *ND Or.* 11.20 *Damasci*, *Oc.* 32.22 *Cornacii* (for *Cornaci?*), 26, 35 *Aciminci/Acimirci*, 59, 50, 54 *Sirmi*, 55 *Seruitii* (for the fossilisation of this name in the locative see the passage of Consentius quoted above, 4). By contrast the ablative is used frequently with locative function:

- ND Or.* 39.16 cuneus equitum catafractariorum, Arubio.
 39.18 cuneus equitum Arcadum, Talamonio.
 39.22 milites Scythici, Carso.
 39.25 milites primi Constantiani, Nouioduro.
 39.32 praefectus legionis primae Iouiae, Nouioduno.
 40.28 milites nauclarii Altinenses, Altino.

- 41.30 praefectus legionis quartae Flauiae, Singiduno.
 41.31 praefectus legionis septimae Claudiae, Viminacio.
 42.19 cuneus equitum stablesianorum, Almo.
 42.36 praefectus legionis tertiaedecimae geminae, Burgo Nouo.
Oc. 28.16 praepositus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensium, Branoduno.
 32.31 equites Dalmatae, Cornaco (cf. above for *Cornaci*).
 32.38 equites promoti, Tauruno.
 32.47 praefectus legionis sextae Herculeae, Teutiborgio.
 33.26 cuneus equitum Constantianorum, Lusonio, nunc Intercisa.
 33.28 cuneus equitum Fortensium, Altino.
 33.29 equites Dalmatae, Odiabo.
 33.30 equites promoti, Crumero.
 33.40 equites Dalmatae, Lusonio.
 33.60 tribunus cohortis, Quadriborgio.
 34.28 praefectus classis Histricae, Arrunto siue Vindomanae.
 41.17 praefectus militum Anderetianorum, Vico Iulio.
 41.21 praefectus militum armigerorum, Mogontiaci.

This distinction between the fate of the locative forms of the first and second declension is foreshadowed from quite early on. The *-ae* locative was very persistent well into late Latin, but the masculine *-i* form was rivalled by the ablative from about the Augustan period onwards (see Funaioli 1904: 315–16, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 145). Note e.g. from the Augustan period *Vitr.* 2.8.9 *in Italia Arretio uetustum egregie factum murum*, 2.8.11 *cum esset enim natus Mylasis et animaduertisset Halicarnasso locum naturaliter esse munitum*. The distinction between the two declensions is clear already in the Vindolanda tablets, where *-ae* and *-o* are in complementary distribution (see Adams 1995a: 110; *Londini* however occurs at *Tab. Vindol.* 310). In a new tablet (*Tab. Vindol.* 858; see Bowman, Thomas and Tomlin 2010: 200) *Londinio* and *Brigae* both have locative function. Similarly at *ND Oc.* 34.28 above *Arrunto* and *Vindomanae* are juxtaposed.

Frequently too in the feminine declension the ablative is used as an alternative to *-ae*, presumably on the analogy of *-o* once that was established (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 146 on the late locative use of *-a*). It will be seen that in one place above (*ND Oc.* 33.26) a feminine ablative is juxtaposed with a masculine (see also below, *ND Oc.* 32.43). It goes without saying that there may sometimes have been textual corruption, with *-m* omitted, but it would be perverse not to follow transmitted readings, given that an ablative is more straightforward with locative meaning than is an accusative. Another possibility is that forms in *-a* may be nominatives, but since there is only one unambiguous nominative in the text where a

locative is expected (*Sebastapolis*: see below) it is simplest to see the ablative in such forms:

- ND Or.* 41.27 auxilium Taliatense, Taliata.
 42.13 cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium, Bononia.
 42.39 praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae, Sucidaa.
Oc. 32.43 auxilia ascarii, Tauruno siue Marsonia.
 33.27 cuneus equitum stablesianorum, Ripa Alta, nunc Conradcuha.
 33.31 equites Mauri, Solua.
 33.35 equites Dalmatae, Campona.
 33.38 equites sagittarii, Intercisa.
 33.39 equites Dalmatae, Adnamantia.
 33.41 equites Dalmatae, Ripa Alta.
 33.61 tribunus cohortis, Iouia.
 34.46 tribunus cohortis, Cannabiarca.
 37.20 praefectus militum primae Flauiae, Constantia.
 40.41 tribunus cohortis quartae Gallorum, Vindolana.

In third declension singulars the ablative is used:

- ND Or.* 31.24 cuneus equitum scutariorum, Hermupoli.
 31.27 equites sagittarii indigenae, Diospoli.
 31.29 equites sagittarii indigenae, Maximianopoli.
Oc. 33.51 praefectus legionis primae adiutricis cohortis quintae partis superioris, Bregetione.
 35.34 tribunus cohortis Herculeae Pannoniorum, Arbore.
 42.26 praefectus legionis septimae geminae, Legione.

Here is a selection of accusatives with locative function:

- ND Or.* 28.17 equites Saraceni Thamudeni, Scenas Veteranorum.
 28.26 ala septima Sarmatarum, Scenas Mandrorum.
 28.34 ala quinta Praelectorum, Dionisiada.
 28.42 cohors prima Epireorum, Castra Iudaeorum.
 31.37 legio prima Maximiana, Filas.
 31.38 legio tertia Diocletiana, Thebas.
 40.30 praefectus legionis primae Italicae, Nouas (but cf. *Or.* 41.34 *Nouis*, 41.23 *ad Nouas*).
 40.31 praefectus ripae legionis primae Italicae cohortis quintae pedaturae superioris, Nouas.
Oc. 26.19 tribunus cohortis tertiae Asturum, Tabernas.
 26.20 tribunus cohortis Friglensis, Friglas.
 28.21 praepositus numeri exploratorum, Portum Adurni.
 32.24 cuneus equitum Constantianorum, Burgenas.
 32.28 equites Dalmatae, Nouas.
 32.40 auxilia Nouensia, Arsaciana siue Nouas.

- 32.46 praefectus legionis quintae Iouiae, Burgenas.
 32.59 tribunus cohortis primae Thracum ciuium Romanorum, Caput Basensis.
 35.27 tribunus cohortis sextae Valeriae Raetorum, Venaxamodorum.
 41.20 praefectus militum secundae Flauiae, Vangiones.
 42.36 praefectus laetorum Francorum, Redonas Lugdunensis tertiae.
 42.69 praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, Lingonas.

There are twenty examples here, of which about 70 per cent are plurals in *-as*. Completeness is not claimed for the list. Uncertainties of interpretation and reading would make it difficult to obtain a full and accurate list, but the predominance of forms in *-as* here is certainly a true reflection of the state of the text. Some of the terms are of Greek or Latin origin, others foreign (*Burgenas*).¹⁷

Such *-as* forms are not exclusive to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (see the material at Schulze 1904: 4 with n. 3). For a comparable form in an eastern inscription (*Aegeas*) see Galdi (2004: 448). At *CIL* XI.1441 (*D. M. Q. Largenni[o] Q. f. Gal. Seuer[o] aedili Pisas Q. Largennius Chresimus pater. . . dedit*) *Pisas* is attached adnominally to *aedili* ('aedile at Pisae'), just as at *ND Oc.* 26.20 *Friglas* is attached to *tribunus cohortis Friglensis*. In the *Itinerarium a Gadibus Romam* (*CIL* XI.3281–4), referred to at 4 above, there is, among numerous ablative (locative?) place names, a group of names in *-as* (*Baeterras, Cuttias, Seterras, Summas Alpes*). In Jordanes there appears to be the occasional instance of an area- (as distinct from town-) name in *-as* with locative function (or = *in* + abl.): *Get.* 31, 162, p. 100.7 *sed mox a Galliis, quas ante non multum tempus occupassent, fugientes, Spanias se recluserunt* (see Kalén 1939: 75, not accepting such an explanation).

In several other inscriptions there are cases of *-as* that throw a different light on the role of the form. Sometimes town names in *-as* do not have a locative role but indicate the *origo* of a person referred to. Note for example *CIL* III.430 *L. Cauio Sab. Vescenniano domo Volaterras*. The ablative *domo* shows that L. Cavius was 'from' Volaterrae, and an ablative would have been expected, as e.g. at *CIL* VI.2661 *M. Titinius C. f. Pom. Verecundus domo Arretio*. In other inscriptions the town name in *-as* is tacked on to the personal name without a preceding *domo*, but it has the same function of marking the place of origin of the referent: *CIL* VI.2683 *Sex. Ladinius Sex. f. Sab. Modestus Volaterras mil. coh. VIII*, VI.2702 *C. Cattio C. f. Aniensi Luciliano Vercellas mil. coh. VIII* (cf. VI.2664, also with *Vercellas*).

¹⁷ On the other hand for accusative singulars for the locative see (apart from the few examples in the list) Funaioli (1904: 316).

A striking inscription also containing town names in *-as* denoting an *origo* is *CIL* VI.2379a, a marble tablet with personal names followed mainly by ablative place names such as *Arretio*, *Capua*, *Clusio*, *Falerione*, *Fauentia*, *Luca*, *Neapoli*, *Roma*, *Ticino*, *Venusia*, and in the plural *Faleris*, *Formis*, *Volsinis*, *Stobis*. But there also occur in this document *Ti. Claudius Optatus Cumas* and *Q. Fi[. . .] Clemens Pisas*.

What is to be made of these various uses of the form *-as*? Feminine plural place names must have been developing a fixed form that could have at least three functions, locative, as in the case e.g. of *Pisas* in the inscription *CIL* XI.1441 cited earlier, ablative (marking origin), as in the examples in the last paragraph, and (one assumes) directional, given that that was the inherited function of the accusative of a town name and it had not died out. One may speculate further that the *-as* form might also in some idiolects or registers have served as the base form (i.e. the nominative) of feminine plural town names, given that *-as* nominative plurals in other types of nouns are so common in inscriptions and elsewhere (see XII.6.6). For invariant place names see above, 4, on *Rom(a)e* dependent on a preposition and on *Constantinopolim*, and also on a passage of Consentius commenting on the phenomenon. The modern place name *Limoges* may possibly be traced back to the *-as* form *Limouicas* (see Schulze 1904: 4).

The juxtaposition *Arsaciana siue Nouas* (*ND Oc.* 32.40, above) is of interest. Here *-as* has an identical function to the locative ablative singular. *-am* does not seem to have been capable (in the eyes of the writers of this document) of expressing the same locative idea, and it seems to follow that it was not straightforwardly the accusative form as such that lay behind the usage. It is to the feminine plural accusative that the role particularly belonged.

One must register an uncertainty about the interpretation of original tribe names such as *Lingonas* at *ND Oc.* 42.69 above (for this first declension form for the usual *Lingones*, of the tribe, see Lucan 1.398 and *CIL* XIII.2873 *Ti. Cl. Professus Niger omnibus honoribus apud Aeduos et Lingonas functus*). Had these become the name of a particular settlement, as distinct from the tribe? If not the accusative might be explained not as locative but as an implied direct object of the type often found in verbless lists (see above, XII.5.3): the *praefectus* (in the example referred to, *ND Oc.* 42.69) might have been conceived of as in charge of the territory of the tribe.

For the Greek type (*Dionisiada* at *ND Or.* 28.34) see e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 7.6 *Pithona etiam ciuitas, quam edificauerunt filii Israhel. . . ipsud nunc Phitona castrum est*, 10.4 *Libiada* (see further Wölfflin 1887: 276). These forms have a nominative not locative function. By contrast at *P. Abinn.* 1.10

Dionusada is used where a genitive would have been expected: [*promo*]uere me . . . *praefectum alae Dionusada* (cf. 1.13 [*p*]raefecturae alae *Dionusados*). Here are further instances of an oblique case inflection of a place name becoming invariant. However, these usages might have originated in Greek not Latin.

At *ND Oc.* 42.23 (*praefectus classis Anderetianorum, Parisius*) *Parisius* is also probably a locative accusative plural, this time, unusually, masculine (on this form see Funaioli 1904: 317, Schulze 1904: 5, Vielliard 1927: 196, and for the accusative plural *-us* for *-os* in general, B. Löfstedt 1961: 86–8, with bibliography). *Parisios* occurs later in the same chapter (*Oc.* 42.66 *a Chora Parisios usque*).

For completeness two other types of adnominal locative in the *Notitia Dignitatum* may be mentioned. First, plural place names are sometimes used in the ablative, even in the feminine declension, e.g.:

Oc. 35.32 praefectus numeri bar[bari]cariorum, Confluentibus siue Brecantia.

41.16 praefectus militum Menapiorum, Tabernis.

42.57 praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, Aquis siue Tertonā.

42.59 praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, Vercellis.

Finally, there is at least one place where a nominative is tacked onto a noun phrase:

Or. 38.36 cohors prima Claudia equitata, Sebastopolis.

We conclude with a few remarks about exotic place names, which provide a special category of evidence. These may be used in Latin in a single form with oblique case roles (cf. XII.3.1 on uninflected personal names), and in particular if they resembled the Latin accusative plural they could be used as locatives. At *O. Bu Njem* 81 (*ad usus militum morantium Golas*) and 75 (same expression, but less well preserved) *Golas* has locative function (see Adams 1994b: 110). A parallel can be found in two Egyptian documents. *CEL* 156 = *ChLA* 3.204, a receipt, and *CEL* 157 = *ChLA* 1.12, a registration of the receipt dated the same day, were both written at the same (unidentified) place. The place is called *Puluinos* in both texts, and in both it is locative (see Adams 2003a: 612). In the first the closing formula begins *actum Puluinos nonis Octobris*, and in the second *actum Puluinos nonar[u]m Octobrium*, with a Greek genitive of time. In the first document at line 9 there is a statement *scripsi nonarum Octobrium ad Puluinos*, where the locative is marked by the preposition *ad*. For the same *actum*-construction without preposition in Africa see *Tabl. Alb.* VI.26 *actum Tuletianos*, cf. V.39, VII.24, IX.23, XXII.

In the Greek ostraca from Mons Claudianus the place name Ῥαίμια occurs with prepositions (*O. Claud.* II.255.4–5 ἐν, 276.12 ἰς, 383.8 ἀπό) but is never inflected. It sometimes has an oblique-case function without an accompanying preposition. For example, the Latin title κουράτωρ is used in the corpus with a genitive indicating the sphere over which the official presides (e.g. 376.3–4 κουράτωρ μετάλου Κλαυδιανοῦ). But Ῥαίμια is sometimes attached directly to the title without a genitive or locative marker: e.g. II.366.2 κουράτωρ Ῥαίμια ‘curator at Raima’ (cf. II.368.2, 369.2, 370.2, 371.2). Note also II.375.1–2 κουράτωρ πρεσιδίου Ῥαίμια ‘curator of the praesidium off/at Raima’, where only the first noun is given a genitive inflection. By contrast a Latin letter from the same corpus (I.2) has the same name with a preposition: *a Raima te, frater, salutó*. To judge from the limited Latin material collected in this paragraph, an uninflected (exotic) name might more readily have been used with locative or directional function than separative (for which a preposition tends to be preferred).

6 Conclusions

Aberrant case forms in locative and directional expressions cannot be reduced to a simple formula. Complex factors, such as the fame of the place and gender of the name, were operating at the same time. The diversity of these factors is in no sphere clearer than in the use of the accusative for locative and locative for accusative. We have referred to these above as different sides of the same coin, but that phrase is misleading, because each seems to have been subject to at least one determinant of its own. The locative for accusative is found particularly in the singular of the feminine declension in the names of very famous places, such as Rome and Alexandria. The accusative for locative, on the other hand, is found particularly in the plural of the feminine declension in names of Greek, Latin or foreign origin designating places of no particular significance. Another usage that seems to be related to the prominence of the place referred to is *in* + acc. designating motion to a town. The preposition was less likely to be used in early Latin (and, probably, later, but the evidence is not as good) if the place was very familiar to writer and audience.

There is probably no area of Latin syntax in which it is easier to see social variation than in static and directional expressions. There is abundant evidence that most of the abnormal usages discussed in this chapter were stigmatised at some time (but see below on *ab* with town names), and they are almost entirely absent from the vast corpus of literary Latin (with just a

minimal amount of slippage particularly in the use of certain adverbs such as *intus*). Suetonius presents it as an abnormality that Augustus should have used prepositions with the names of towns, and the emperor is described as resistant to the recommendations of grammarians and by implication tolerant of usages that a person of his standing should have avoided. The use of *in* + acc. with the name of a town is castigated by Quintilian and attested early in Plautus and later in ostraca, a pattern which suggests that the construction had a subliterate existence over a long period. It would have been one of the usages admitted by Augustus. The use of locative for accusative in place names, and confusions between static and directional uses of prepositions and adverbs, are several times ridiculed by grammarians. The distribution of such uses, in, for example, the letters of Terentianus, low-register texts such as the *Peregrinatio Aetherae*, and special texts or contexts such as Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and a speech by a common soldier in Tacitus, confirms their non-standard character. The locative use of the plain accusative had no place in the high literary language, and may possibly derive in part from a non-standard widening of the functions of the plural form *-as* from its usual accusative role to a nominative and then multi-purpose role. The same widening occurred of compound names in *-polim*.

The use of *ab* with names of towns is a case apart. Its frequency in Livy, supported by occurrences elsewhere in high literature of the classical and Augustan periods, illustrates the impossibility of setting up a standard or classical language with features consistently adopted by all members of the educated class. Where two variables exist, it may not always be plausible to assign one to higher levels of the language and the other to lower. The *ab*-construction occurs, for example, at one level in informal letters at Vindolanda, but at another level in historiography and also in references to departure from Troy (Pacuvius, Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Vitruvius). Yet it was avoided by others. The language was probably moving in the direction of the prepositional usage to mark starting point from a town, a usage that to some members of the educated class was completely acceptable already by the time of Augustus (cf. XVIII.1 on Livy's use of prepositions with *domus*). But there was to be continuing resistance to the preposition by others.

The reflexive dative

1 The pleonastic reflexive dative

In a phrase such as *quid tibi uis?* ('What do you want?') the dative pronoun is reflexive and may in some contexts appear to add little or nothing to the meaning (see below, 4). Such datives tend to attract the label 'pleonastic', a term that occurs in the title of the book by Dahlén (1964). Nevertheless in conjunction with transitive verbs (if not *uolo* itself) the dative can often be interpreted as a dative of advantage with a clear point in the context. On the other hand when the verb is intransitive the semantics of the pronoun may be more complicated.¹ What is to be made of the dative in Augustine's phrase (discussed below, 5) *uadam mihi?* The whole category of such reflexive dative constructions has aroused considerable interest, not least because early (and also later) Romance languages have numerous reflexive verbs (including verbs that are intransitive) in which the function of the pronoun is difficult to grasp, i.e. is possibly 'pleonastic' (see for example Buridant 2000: 299–309 on reflexives in Old French such as *s'apercevoir*, *soi morir*, *soi dormir*, *soi gesir*, and below, 6). The question arises whether some of the Romance reflexives may reflect dative, rather than accusative, uses of the reflexive pronouns in Latin. This is a question that has usually been answered in the affirmative, at least by Latinists. It is addressed at greatest length by Dahlén (1964), (1977), but comes up too in earlier accounts of the Latin material, such as that of E. Löfstedt (1956: 11.387–91). Cennamo (1999: 141–2) has recently related some reflexives in central/southern Italian dialects (e.g. several Molisan varieties) to uses of *sibi* in Latin. Notable discussions of the Latin side are by Löfstedt himself (1911: 140–3), Salonijs (1920: 265–71) and Norberg

¹ An adjectival expression in which *sibi* is close to pleonastic is *suus sibi*, which is discussed at length by Dahlén (1964: 178–86) and particularly de Melo (2010: 80–9); cf. also Wölfflin (1892b: 476), Landgraf (1893: 43–4), Wistrand (1933: 126), Svennung (1935: 317), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 94), Cennamo (1999: 118).

(1943: 167–72). Reflexive datives have also entered discussions of the so-called ‘unaccusativity hypothesis’ (see Cennamo 1999). There has been some discussion among Latinists about the interpretation of individual examples of the dative. Dahlén in particular went into considerable detail.

2 The reflexive dative as ‘colloquial’

Like other unusual constructions, the reflexive dative, whether pleonastic or not, has often been treated as colloquial, frequently without discussion or without consideration of the distribution of its various manifestations. See for example Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 93–4, 294), stating of the reflexive dative at 93, ‘mit volkstümlicher Betonung der persönlichen Interessiertheit an der Verbalhandlung’, and citing *mihi uolo* and *malo mihi*. According to E. Löfstedt (1911: 141) these reflexive constructions belong to ‘die lebendige Volkssprache’ (cf. 140). Later (1956: 11.387–96), when he was concerned to show that some Romance reflexives derive on the one hand from Latin accusative and on the other (see 390–1) from dative reflexives (e.g. 390 OFr. *soi morir*, 391 Fr. *s’en aller*, OFr. *soi fuir*, mod. Fr. *s’enfuir*), Löfstedt (389) directly linked the extensive early Romance use of reflexives to the same tendency ‘in dem volkstümlich gefärbten Spätlat.’ Fraenkel (1957: 18 n. 6) cites Augustus’ *sume tibi* from a letter quoted in the *Vita Horati* of Suetonius, and calls it a ‘colloquial phrase’. He cites selective parallels to support this assertion from Cicero’s letters (*Fam.* 13.29.6, 13.50.1), but Dahlén (1964: 190–1) was able to give examples from e.g. Caesar, Nepos, Livy and Pliny’s letters.

There is now no excuse for disregarding the distribution of such constructions, as Dahlén (1964; also 1977) has provided extensive data covering early Latin and onwards through to the medieval period. Two questions that must be considered here are whether such datives are functional or pleonastic, and whether any of their uses can justifiably be called substandard or stigmatised. A distinction must be made, as we will see, between reflexive datives with transitive verbs, and those with intransitives, with only the latter suitable to be assigned to lower sociolects.

3 The ethic dative

The reflexive dative should not be confused with the ethic dative. The latter construction (see e.g. Landgraf 1893: 48–50 for abundant examples) may be illustrated by the following: *Rhet. Her.* 4.14 *deinde, ubi uisum est ut in alueum descenderet, ecce tibi iste de trauerso*, Cic. *Att.* 1.14.5 *hic tibi*

rostra Cato aduolat, 2.15.3 *cum haec maxime scribebam, ecce tibi Sebosus*, *Luc.* 121 *ecce tibi e trauerso* . . . *Strato*, *Varro Men.* 411 *cum dixisset Vitulus, ecce tibi caldis pedibus quidam naucularius semustilatus irrumpit se in curiam*. In these sentences the dative pronoun *tibi* is not reflexive, and it is not syntactically part of a verb phrase, as *tibi* manifestly is in a clause such as *quid tibi uis*. The ethic dative is detached from the syntax of its clause, and may be seen as a means of evoking the interest of an addressee or reader or stressing the interest of the speaker (see below on *Cic. Cat.* 2.10). However the reflexive dative is to be interpreted in a particular case, it is part of the syntax of the verb phrase in which it occurs. The ethic dative (of the above type) occurs in excited narrative (note the ellipse of the verb of motion in three of the passages and the presence of *ecce*), and as such is not infrequently found in informal style, but to describe it as characteristic of vulgar language (Cennamo 1999: 115) would be going too far (note the literary examples cited by Landgraf 1893: 50). The example from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* above is from a specimen of the simple style. For an example in a speech of Cicero see *Cat.* 2.10 *qui mihi accubantes in conuiuuiis, complexi mulieres impudicas, uino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia*. Here the writing is rhetorical rather than simple, with the prolonged nominative participial/adjectival construction containing a series of chiasitic pairs. Dyck (2008: 140) aptly remarks that *mihi* ‘keeps C. present as the disapproving observer’ and adds that the ethic dative is ‘used in lively and ironic statements’. See also Baños Baños (2009: 208), citing e.g. *Cic. S. Rosc.* 133.

4 The reflexive dative with some transitive verbs

A distinction to be made is between the reflexive dative with transitive verbs, and that with intransitive. Some datives of the first type pose fewer problems of interpretation. With transitive verbs from such semantic fields as wanting, having, taking (to oneself) and preferring a reflexive dative of advantage is common, and not only in texts that one might be tempted to classify as colloquial. Sometimes the semantic force of the dative is very marked, and there can be no question of treating it as pleonastic. Note for example *Plaut. Mil.* 331 *mihi ego uideo, mihi ego sapio, <mihi> ego credo plurimum*: | *me homo nemo deterrebit quin ea sit in his aedibus* (‘I see for myself’; a dative of advantage),² *Cas.* 516 *nunc amici, anne inimici sis imago*,

² See the note of Brix and Niemeyer (1901).

Alcesime, | *mihi sciam, nunc specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur* ('I shall find out for myself'). A Ciceronian example with *malo* is at *Brut.* 256 *malim mihi L. Crassi unam pro M'. Curio dictionem quam castellanos triumphos duo* ('I would myself/for myself/for my part prefer a single speech of L. Crassus on behalf of M'. Curius than two triumphs over petty strongholds'). A great orator is superior to a minor general. The preference is presented emphatically as the speaker's own, with the implication that there may be others who prefer something else for themselves. The dative is derivable from one of advantage. This same idiom is found in a speech by Trimalchio in Petronius: 50.7 *ignoscetis mihi quod dixero: ego malo mihi uitrea, certe non olunt*. This phrase must be read in context. An object of Corinthian ware (bronze) has just been brought in, and this leads Trimalchio to joke about his 'true' Corinthian ware. He then states that for himself/his own part he prefers glass. Again the dative is not pleonastic, and the presence of the identical usage in Cicero would undermine any attempt to present the construction as socially stigmatised or particularly casual in style (more examples from different periods at *TLL* viii.205.29ff.).

But, as remarked in the first section, a reflexive dative with verbs of this type may contribute nothing to the meaning (or at least nothing that is discernible to the modern reader) and be interchangeable with the construction without dative. At *Vitr.* 9.praef.10, for example (*rogauit Archimeden uti in se sumeret sibi de eo cogitationem*), there is definite pleonasm, given the presence of *in se*. Note too *Plaut. Amph.* 1025 *quid nunc uis? :: sceleste, at etiam quid uelim, id tu me rogas? . . .* 1028 :: *quid me aspectas, stolide? quid nunc uis tibi?* Here the phrases *quid nunc uis* and *quid nunc uis tibi* are both in the same short exchange and both are uttered by the same speaker. There is no difference of meaning. In *Plautus* *quid uis* and *quid tibi uis* alternate, without obvious semantic differentiation (e.g. *Aul.* 636 *quid uis tibi? ~ Asin.* 371 *quid uis?*).³ It may be tempting to take the pleonastic usage as non-standard, casual, colloquial etc., as Fraenkel took Augustus' *sume tibi* (see above; note too L. C. Watson 2003: 391 on *Hor. Epod.* 12.1 *quid tibi uis*: a 'blunt and colloquial expression'), but that would only be justified if the dative with this verb had a suggestive distribution. It is found in Cicero, not least in the speeches, and in other classical writers (see Landgraf 1893: 45). Note *Cic. Div. Caec.* 70 *quid sibi iste uult?*, *Cat.* 2.23 *quid sibi isti miseri uolunt?*, *Flacc.* 5 (frg. Bob.) *quid sibi meus necessarius Caetra uoluit?*, *Dom.* 29 *quid sibi iste uult?*, *Phil.* 10.6 *quid tibi quod sibi quisque uelit non relinquetur?*, *De orat.* 2.269 *roganti ut se in Asiam praefectum duceret 'quid*

³ Note the material at Lodge (1924–33: 11.905a).

tibi uis, 'inquit, 'insane?' This last expression occurs in exactly the same form at Prop. 1.5.3 (*quid tibi uis, insane*). The syntax itself (of *sibi*) cannot be described as non-standard, but this stereotyped phrase, with its abusive content, must have belonged to informal speech. See also OLD s.v. *uolo* 16 (to be distinguished from the sense 'mean, signify', OLD 17). For examples of *uolo* with a direct object (often pronominal) but without a reflexive dative see Merguet (1877–84: IV.1008–9). It is the question formula *quid tibi uis/quid sibi uult* (with variants of person and number) that contains the dative, whereas *uolo* in general is not as a rule so accompanied.

Lucr. 3.772 is slightly different: *quidue foras sibi uult membris exire senectis?* (see Dahlén 1964: 61). Here *sibi uult* is complemented by an infinitive, and the dative is surely pleonastic. The same construction may be at Plaut. *Mil.* 5 *nam ego hanc machaeram mihi consolari uolo*. Here *mihi* has sometimes been taken as an ethic dative (see e.g. Ernout and Thomas 1953: 72, Hammond *et al.* 1963: 77), which it is clearly not on the definition of ethic dative given above. It is not detached from the syntax of the sentence, but there is uncertainty about the phrase to which it belongs. If it goes with *hanc machaeram* it is possessive. If it goes with *uolo* it is a pleonastic reflexive dative (of advantage) (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 93). The passage of Lucretius favours the second explanation. If it is taken in this way it could not readily be dismissed as non-standard, given the poetic parallel.

The distribution of the reflexive dative depends to some extent on the transitive verb with which it is associated. Whereas, for example, *uolo* is used with a *dativus commodi* in the expression seen above (last paragraph but one) both in comedy and in classical prose, the dative with *capio* shows a different distribution. The construction is found in Plautus and early Latin (e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 1059 *cape hoc tibi aurum* . . . , alongside 1062 *cape uero*, Cato *Agr.* 40.2 *capito tibi scissam salicem*)⁴ and is sometimes pleonastic (Dahlén 1964: 32). On the other hand classical writers avoid the dative with this verb (Dahlén 1964: 33), but the dative construction reappears in the imperial period (Dahlén 1964: 33–4). For the pattern whereby the reflexive turns up with a verb in archaic Latin and later Latin but not in the classical period see the summary at Dahlén (1964: 76). Another pattern is exemplified by *uindicare*, which is employed with the dative first by Cicero (Dahlén 1964: 46). Thereafter the construction became constant throughout the whole of literary Latin, with some variations according to personal taste. Celsus, for example, always uses the reflexive dative, whereas Petronius uses *uindicare* without a dative (Dahlén 1964: 47).

⁴ The last passage also has *sumito tibi*.

Different writers had different attitudes to the construction with different verbs; the reflexive dative of advantage with transitive verbs did not have a general character that determined its acceptability or otherwise in the eyes of purists with all verbs,⁵ and therefore sweeping descriptive terms such as 'colloquial, vulgar, socially low' are not appropriate.

A reflexive usage may be associated with an idiom or a technical/special register. *Habere sibi* had a place in a divorce formula, *tuas res tibi habe* (or *suas... sibi habere*), which seems to go back to the Twelve Tables (Cic. *Phil.* 2.69).⁶ The formula is employed several times by Plautus, e.g. *Trin.* 266 (see Dahlén 1964: 179). Used more generally *habere sibi* is Ciceronian and found in the poets (see *TLL* vi.2–3.2399.48ff., Dahlén 1964: 23–6, with an extensive collection of material from Plautus and Terence, Classical and later Latin). The pronoun sometimes seems to be redundant (note for example the alternation at Plaut. *Mil.* 1099–1100 *aurum atque uestem muliebrem omnem habeat sibi | quae illi instruxisti: sumat, habeat, auferat*), but it is easy to miss subtle nuances, and commentators on literary texts are often the best judges of the tone of a phrase (see below). The expression continued in legal language, as at Cic. *Verr.* 1.148 (see Dahlén 1964: 25). Fordyce (1961: 86), commenting on *habe tibi* at Catull. 1.8, observes a difference between the legal and non-legal uses: '*sibi habere* is a regular phrase of Roman law in reference to the disposal of property, but colloquially *tibi habe* often implies a certain indifference which is here in keeping with the self-disparagement of the following words' (i.e. those in Catullus, *quidquid hoc libelli*). The examples which he then cites (Plaut. *Men.* 690, Cic. *Verr.* 4.18, Sen. *Epist.* 81.32) support this characterisation well. Fordyce was following the gist of Munro's (1886) excellent note on Lucr. 3.135, where it is stated that the phrase (as in the passage of Lucretius) 'generally indicates contempt; and is common enough'. Munro cites three passages from Cicero (not including that in Fordyce) and others from Juvenal and Martial, without using the term 'colloquial' introduced by Fordyce. A contemptuous phrase common in the high literary language does not because it is contemptuous qualify automatically for the designation 'colloquial'. What this use of *sibi habere* shows is that a dative of advantage may take on idiomatic nuances in particular phrases.

⁵ See the remarks of Dahlén (1964: 39) on the variable practice of Jerome in construing *tollo* with a reflexive dative. It is not the character of the reflexive as such that determines its use or avoidance, but the Greek verb that lies behind the Latin in his Biblical translations. λαμβάνω has a reflexive dative in the Greek originals and may be rendered by *tollo* + dat., whereas αἴρω does not have a dative and is rendered with *tollo* alone.

⁶ For examples see Landgraf (1893: 45).

It may be true that such dative constructions seem particularly common in Plautus (as appears from Dahlén's (1964) collections of material: e.g. 32–3, 34, 50–1, 54, 59, 61–2, 64), but that should not lead one to think that they were early or non-standard, as many can also be found in classical prose (see the preceding paragraph). Detailed statistics showing absence versus presence of the dative would be needed before it could definitely be stated that such constructions had a higher incidence in Plautus compared, say, with Cicero.

A limited range of transitive verbs has been seen in this section. There are others with which the reflexive dative is less usual, and these are best considered separately, given that, as has been suggested above, there is not a single category of reflexive datives with a uniform stylistic level. A small selection of additional cases is offered here.

Sentire is found several times with a reflexive dative and an accusative object in the Latin Soranus (Mustio), and also in a recently published text, the *Liber tertius* (see K.-D. Fischer 2003). The accusative object denotes an illness or its manifestation: Soranus Lat. p. 13.1 *Rose aliquando et dolorem sentiunt sibi*, p. 54.12 *nam et aliquando et obripilationes et punctiones sibi sentiunt*, p. 65.21 *et grauedinem in renibus sibi sentiant*, *Liber tertius* 34.5, p. 310 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) *si solum sibi sentit dolore <m>*. Both of these late works are of African origin (Adams 2007: 529, 534). The pronoun seems to be pleonastic. The usage is rare. Dahlén (1964: 147) cites no examples, and E. Löfstedt (1956: II.258) cites only two of those from Soranus Lat. However, there is an elliptical expression in a Roman funerary inscription (*CIL* VI.27556) of much the same type: *qui sibi senserunt III Idus Sept.* Here *morbum (ingruentem)* or the like has to be supplied (see Dahlén and Löfstedt locc. cit.). Since the ellipse was obviously comprehensible the idiom *sibi sentire* + disease term must have been established beneath the literary level.

In Petronius *notare sibi* is used three times (never in the *Cena Trimalchionis*) in the sense 'notice': 6.1 *non notaui mihi Ascylyti fugam*, 103.5 *unus forte ex uectoribus . . . notauit sibi ad lunam tonsorem*, III.6 *cum miles . . . notasset sibi [et] lumen inter monumenta clarius fulgens*. A collection of examples from other sources is found in Heraeus (1937: 123). It has been suggested (see Dahlén 1964: 165–6) that *notare* retains something of its primitive sense 'graver dans sa mémoire, dans son cœur' in this expression. *Notare* cannot be construed with a dative complement in the sense 'put a mark on oneself', but the idiom might possibly derive from a phrase such as *notare sibi (in) mente aliquid*, of making a mental note (note the uses of *notare* illustrated at *OLD* s.v. 9c). Whatever the case, the three Petronian

examples share a semantic feature: the reference is to spotting something unexpected, particularly something that someone might wish to be concealed. This nuance will be seen later (below, 6) in an early Romance verb of perception. *Notare sibi* should not be dismissed as colloquial or sub-standard, not least since in Petronius it does not occur in the speeches of freedmen. A late example (but without the Petronian nuance) not noted by Dahlén is in the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 17.2, p. 40.14 van Beek *notate tamen uobis facies nostras diligenter*, where the Greek does not have a comparable construction (πλὴν ἐπιστημειώσασθε τὰ πρόσωπα ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῶς).

There is an interesting instance of *uideo mihi* in a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto: p. 34. 7 van den Hout *'uide tibi istos equites', inquit, 'nam illi solent maximas rapinationes facere'*. Van den Hout (1999: 90) describes *tibi* as an ethic dative and compares *ecce tibi*, but *tibi* is part of the syntax of the clause and not detached like the examples in 3 above. We have already seen (above, 4) an instance of *uideo mihi* in Plautus, where *mihi* was a dative of advantage. The speaker in the passage just quoted is issuing a warning, as the *nam*-clause shows: the *equites* are dangerous. The imperative does not mean simply 'see', but 'see in such a way as to be advantageous to yourself'. The phrase must be idiomatic, = 'watch out for, be wary of'. Haines (1919–20: 1.151) catches the force: 'Marry, keep an eye on those mounted fellows, they be rare hands at pillaging.' The expression has now turned up in a revealing context in the *Liber tertius* (see above): 3.2, p. 296 *rotas etiam currentium raedarum uel figulorum si[bi] uideant*. The passage is about *scotomatici*, who suffer visual disturbances and dizziness. They should be wary of wheels that are spinning, as the sight of these will set their symptoms off. The last thing they should do is 'see' them.

This use of *uidere sibi* is identical to that of Marcus Aurelius. Dahlén (1964, 1977) did not discuss it.

5 The reflexive dative with some intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs the reflexive dative occurs mainly in later Latin. We begin, however, with a striking example from the Augustan period: Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.75 *adde | quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis*, 'add such other things as would mean pain to our human nature, if withheld' (Loeb), = *adde ea quae, si negata sint, humana natura doleat*. Here *sibi* belongs with *doleat* (of which *humana natura* is subject) and, if it is to be given any meaning at all, it would have to imply some such idea as 'would grieve

on its own account'. Dahlén (1977: 42) describes the reflexive construction with this verb as belonging to 'latin tardif', and illustrates it (43) from Lucifer of Cagliari. A contrastive example cited from Gregory the Great (henceforth Greg. M.) *Dial.* 2.8.4 (*illi magis quam sibi doluit*) brings out the full force that the reflexive may have ('he grieved more for that man than for himself'). At Lucifer p. 55.17 too (*dole tibi nobiscum et mitte lacrimas pro te*) *tibi* has a strong meaning ('grieve for yourself, along with us, and shed tears on your own behalf'). Dahlén (1977: 42 n. 1) refers to his other work (1964: 175) on verbs of feeling with a reflexive dative, and a passage of Cicero cited there for *mihi gaudeo* also has the reflexive pronoun with the same contrastive force (a dative of interest or advantage): *tibi gratulor, mihi gaudeo*, 'I congratulate you and rejoice for myself'. In the passage of Horace above, however, though it is much earlier than Dahlén's examples of the reflexive dative with *doleo*, the pronoun seems to be entirely without any contrastive meaning and to be redundant.

Superficially similar examples in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* (see Sherwood Fox 1912, 'Plotius') are not parallel:

ni dicere possit
Plotius quid [sibi dole]at: collum, umeros,
bracchia, d[i]git[os, ni po]ssit aliquit
se adiutare: [pe]c[tus, io]cinera, cor,
pulmones, n[i possit] senti(re) quit
sibi doleat.

Here an unspecified body part is subject of *doleat*, and the datives refer reflexively not to the subject of that verb but to the subject of the higher verb *possit*.

Dahlén (1977: 43) sees in *sibi dolere* the origin of various Romance reflexives, OFr. *soi doloir* (*douloir*), It. *dolersi*, Sp. *dolerse*.

In later Latin several senses may be distinguished of dative pronouns with intransitive verbs.

(1) The dative may mean 'of its own initiative, of its own accord, naturally' (= *per se*). This meaning may be illustrated first from a participial idiom, *mortuus sibi* (for the finite verb *morior* with a reflexive dative see below, 6). Note e.g. Soranus Lat. p. 109.12 Rose (of haemorrhoids) *sic puluerem adponebant ut paulatim sibi mortuae caderent* ('they put on dust in such a way that little by little they fell dead spontaneously'). For the idiom *sibi mortuus*, applied to animals that have died a natural death (= *morticinus*) as distinct from being slaughtered, see Rönsch (1887–9: II.48–9), citing numerous examples of the neuter plural (*sibi mortua*)

from the *Vetus Latina*, alongside some places where the Vulgate substitutes *cadauera* or *morticina*. In the Vulgate there is not a single case of *sibi mortuus*, but twenty-one examples of *morticinus* (eleven in Leviticus) and fifty-eight examples of *cadauer*, four of them in Leviticus. Rönsch (1887–9: II.49) cites about ten cases of *sibi mortuus* from the old Latin versions of Leviticus. In the Vulgate the following two passages are of note: Lev. 5:2 *siue quod occisum a bestia est aut per se mortuum*, Num. 19:16 *per se mortui*. Jerome has adopted an alternative to *sibi*. *Per se* (and its reflexive equivalents in other persons) is a classical and well-attested expression in this function (TLL X.I.1159.8ff.). Jerome seems to have excluded the phrase *sibi mortuus* that he must have seen in earlier versions, particularly of Leviticus, and his decision may reflect unease about the substandard character of the phrase (cf. Salonijs 1920: 267 ‘Das sicher volkstümliche *sibi mortuus* . . .’).

For *sibi mortuus* Dahlén (1964: 115–16) draws on Rönsch. He notes (116) that the alternative *per se mortuus* is found in medieval Swedish Latin (see above for examples in the Vulgate).

At *Mul. Chir.* 414 *sibi* is attached to *refrigerare* ‘recover’: *si quod iumentum strophosum fuerit, signa erunt haec . . . et non post multum solet sibi refrigerare* (‘. . . and after a short time it usually recovers on its own’). After the symptoms are described the above statement is made. There is no mention of treatment, and *sibi* must mean ‘naturally, on its own’, i.e. without treatment. There then follows a description of various alternative treatments (if the horse does not recover by itself). Vegetius, drawing on the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, does not keep the construction but rephrases: *Mul.* 2.121.1 *intermissis horis refrigerationem sentit et requiem*.

A revealing case is at *Mul. Chir.* 364: *in locis necessariis nascuntur tubergula plena sanie, quae et per se erumpunt et sana<a>tur sibi et aliis locis renascuntur similiter* (‘in the sexual parts there grow swellings full of gore, which break out spontaneously and heal on their own and grow again elsewhere in the same way’). Here *sibi* is a variant of *per se* in the preceding clause.

Much the same usage is found at *Mul. Chir.* 502, but with the periphrasis *sani fiunt*: *qui et sibi quidem post unam horam sani fiunt* (‘these (animals) get better even on their own after a single hour’). Here the pronoun is emphatic, as is shown by both *et* and *quidem*. The passage continues: *quibus tamen oportet sanguinem de palato detrahare, ut releuetur corpus* (‘nevertheless, blood should be drawn from the palate, so that the body is eased’). Significant here is *tamen*, the implication of which is that, though the victims get better on their own in about an hour, it is appropriate to help them with blood-letting.

The above examples show that the reflexive dative had a clear function with verbs or expressions of healing or recovery. But in an African poem from Bu Njem in the name of a centurion Avidius Quintianus (Courtney 1995 no. 40; discussed by Adams 1999a) it seems difficult to give *tibi* in association with *sanum* any real force: 16–17 *noli pigere laudem uoce reddere | ueram qui uoluit esse te sanum tibi*, ‘do not be reluctant to render genuine praise with your voice (of him) who wanted you to be healthy’. Could *tibi* be taken to mean ‘by your own efforts’, in the public baths (without the assistance of anyone else)? Even if so it is close to pleonastic. This example alongside that above from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* shows the ease with which the reflexive could lose its special force. Some of the Romance reflexives that may plausibly be derived from Latin reflexive datives are without the distinctive nuances that their Latin forerunners usually display (see below, 6).

At *Mul. Chir.* 52 it is a case of a condition breaking out spontaneously (see above on *per se erumpunt* at 364): *est enim genus uulneris, qui sibi nasca[n]tur locis commissuralibus* (‘(impetigo) is a type of sore that grows of its own accord on the joints’). Vegetius at this point sticks closely to the wording of his source but drops the reflexive pronoun: *Mul.* 2.51 *impetigines quoque in articulis uel genibus inter neruos commissuralibus locis aliquando nascuntur. Sibi* is not empty of meaning but Vegetius seems not to have liked the construction.

There is a dative with *fugiet* at *Mul. Chir.* 681 that has been taken as pleonastic (so Cennamo 1999: 125): *cum bene usseris, teneto manu[m] fortiter, ne refugiat, et laxato linum, et locum ab axungia et oleo satiato. remitte: statim fugiet sibi*. The condition under treatment is described at 680: *quodcumque iumentum ueretrum submiserit et reuocare non poterit* (‘if a horse brings forth its penis (from the *folliculus* or sheath that usually contains it) and cannot recall it’). The reference is to an erect organ that will not retract again into the *folliculus*. The *ueretrum* is to be held firmly with the hand lest it get away, treated with certain substances, and then released. *Sibi* is taken by Oder (1901: 429), followed by Fridh (1965: 784), to mean ‘of its own accord, on its own’: it will ‘flee’ spontaneously when treated (back into the *folliculus*). Dahlén (1977: 13–14) attempts to counter the views of Fridh, taking the pronoun in a ‘sens séparatif-local’ (14), on which meaning see below.

The function of the reflexive dative seen in this section seems to have been substandard. It occurs particularly in low-register texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, and it is eliminated in some places from a source by Jerome and Vegetius.

(2) The dative may have what Dahlén (1964) describes as a local or separative force (e.g. 102 'valeur séparative-locale'; cf. Salonius 1920: 266, speaking of 'eine mehr oder weniger ausgeprägte lokale Bedeutung'). Such descriptions are vague, and it is perhaps better to paraphrase the meaning as seen in specific examples. One such sense is 'on his own', 'alone'.

Note first *Per. Aeth.* 36.5 (spoken by a bishop): *ite interim nunc unusquisque ad domumcellas uestras, sedete uobis et modico, et ad horam prope secundam diei omnes parati estote hic, ut . . .* ('in the meantime go now each one of you to your little homes and sit for a while on your own/by yourself, and just before the second hour of the day come here all of you ready to . . .'). The addressees are to go off individually (*unusquisque*) and then reassemble as a group later.

At Bened. *Reg.* 43, p. 65.17 Linderbauer there is another instance of the idiom *sedere sibi*: *nam si foris oratorium remaneant, erit forte talis, qui se aut recollocet et dormit aut certe sedit sibi foris* ('for if they should remain outside the chapel, there will perhaps be one who either lies down again and sleeps or at least sits on his own outside'). See Linderbauer (1922: 320), allowing a local nuance. Note the juxtaposed *foris*, implying that the referent is apart.

See also Greg. M. *Dial.* 1.4.7 *sedebam mihi super lactucam* (with Dahlén 1964: 102).

At *Vit. patr.* 3.5, *PL* 73, 741 (*supradictus autem senior separate in alio loco quiescebat sibi*; see Salonius 1920: 266, Dahlén 1964: 102) the force of *sibi* ('by himself, alone') is brought out by *separate* and *in alio loco* in the same sentence.

Vagari sibi is found in an inscription on a brick from London: *RIB* 2491.147 *Australis diebus XIII uagatur sib<i> cotidim*. The meaning seems to be 'every day for thirteen days Augustalis goes off on his own'.

Itin. Ant. Plac. 36 in one manuscript (*G*) has the following: *ambulauimus nobis per heremum dies v uel vi*. On the text see E. Löfstedt (1911: 141), Dahlén (1964: 88), and for the sense Dahlén (1964: 89 n. 1): 'we walked on our own through the desert for five or six days'.

The dative expressing the idea that the action of the verb is carried out by the subject 'alone' must derive from the dative of advantage. *Hoc mihi facio* 'I do this for myself', for example, may be interpreted in some contexts as meaning 'I do this on my own'. Salonius (1920: 266) cites *Vit. patr.* 5.10.76, *PL* 73, 926 *dico mihi duodecim psalmos in die et duodecim in nocte*, where the ambiguity is apparent: 'I say to/for myself', > 'alone, on my own'; see also Dahlén (1964: 135–6). At Bened. *Reg.* 48, p. 67 Linderbauer *aut forte qui uoluerit legere sibi, sic legat, ut alium non inquietet* the *ut*-clause shows

that the referent is not alone. The sense here is more unambiguously 'read (aloud) to oneself' (see Dahlén 1964: 136). Cf. Bened. *Reg.* 52, pp. 69–70 Linderbauer *sed et si aliter uult sibi forte secretius orare*. It is not clear here whether *sibi* is to be taken closely with *uult* (cf. Lucr. 3.772, above, 4, p. 350 for *uelle sibi* + inf.), or with *orare* (of praying alone/to oneself in greater privacy); the latter seems more likely.

The examples above are again in low-register texts. The *Regula* of Benedict is well known for substandard usages (R. Coleman 1999a).

(3) Finally, a meaning close to the second may be paraphrased as 'away, apart', the semantic development being 'by oneself' (the second sense above) > 'apart' > 'away'.

Note (with Dahlén 1964: 96) *Edict. Roth.* 216 *et uadant sibi ubi uoluerint liberi* ('and let the children go off where they want';⁷ cf. Fr. *ils s'en vont* < *illi sibi inde uadunt*, with however an additional marker of separation, *indelen*), 217 *mortuo . . . marito, uadat sibi una cum filiis suis et cum omnis res suas* ('when the husband . . . is dead, let the wife go off/depart along with her sons and all her possessions').⁸

Norberg (1943: 168) cites August. *Epist.* 34.3, CSEL 34, p. 24.16 *uadam mihi ad eos, qui nouerunt exsufflare gratiam in qua ibi natus sum, destruere formam quam in utero eius accepi*. Even a highly educated man such as Augustine, he suggests, had allowed himself the pleonastic usage. These are the imagined words of a *iuuenis* deserting his physical and his spiritual mother (the Church) to go over to the party of Donatus. *Vadam* does not simply mean 'I shall go'. The reference is to joining the Donatists, of going over to them. The nuance may be separative ('go away (from you) to them'), or in this case the dative may imply self-interest, the selfishness of one who would abandon the grace in which he was born and the womb which formed him.

Cennamo (1999: 124–5) cites two cases of the imperative *uade* with *tibi*, taking the dative as fully pleonastic (cf. E. Löfstedt 1911: 141, Norberg 1943: 168–9). Three such examples are cited by Dahlén (1964: 95), but interpreted as separative.

Jer. *Epist.* 18B.4 looks to be similar, but it is a special case: *legimus in Canticis canticorum* (2.10–11) *uocem sponsi dicentis ad sponsam: 'surge, ueni, proxima mea, sponsa mea, columba mea, quia ecce hiems transiit, pluuiam abiit sibi'*. Jerome is quoting the Song of Songs, and the question arises what

⁷ There is an ambiguity about this example: it might be translated '... go off on their own'.

⁸ In the same context (216) the following expression occurs: on the death of the husband 'let the wife reuertatur sibi ad parentes suos'. Does this mean 'on her own', or is the pronoun completely pleonastic? The latter alternative is distinctly possible.

the original has. The example is cited (in part) by Cennamo (1999: 125) as fully pleonastic, but there is a more comprehensive discussion by Dahlén (1964: 108–10). In the Vulgate version (Song of Songs 2:11) Jerome left out the reflexive (*imber abiit*), a fact which might prompt the conclusion that in the letter Jerome admitted a pleonastic reflexive. However, the Greek of the Septuagint has a reflexive (ἐπορεύθη ἑαυτῷ), as does the Hebrew original (Dahlén 1964: 109–10), and there are other Latin citations of the passage with a dative reflexive (Dahlén 1964: 108). There must have been an earlier (*Vetus Latina*) version of the Latin, used by Jerome in the letter, which preserved the construction of the original. The reflexive construction, though determined by the source, was tolerable in a Latin version because Latin admitted a reflexive dative emphasising the idea of separation. Note Dahlén (1964: 109) on the separative–local force: ‘la pluie s’en est allée pour elle-même, à part’ (see also the material cited by Dahlén 1964: 110).

If Dahlén’s two studies of a wide range of reflexive verbs in Latin are anything to go by, dative reflexives accompanying intransitive verbs with the functions identified in this section are hard to find in the high literary language, and it seems reasonable to speak of a largely submerged usage that was to leave its mark, if for the most part in a watered-down form, in the Romance languages (see below, 6).

6 Romance

It was noted above (5(3)) that some reflexive constructions with verbs of motion in Romance appear to continue separative uses already attested in Latin. But in other cases, though the Romance reflexive no doubt derives from a pre-existing Latin construction, there may be no close semantic relationship between the Latin usage and the Romance. The nuances identified above in the Latin material may have faded, or the Romance continuators may have acquired their own nuances. It is worthwhile to consider a recent treatment of reflexives in one early Romance language.

There is a detailed account of reflexive verbs in Old French by Buridant (2000: 299–309). He does not trace the pronoun back to specific cases of the Latin reflexive, but some of the usages could only reflect a Latin dative. Under a general heading (300) ‘*Se marque un rapport privilégié au sujet et souligne sa participation au procès verbal*’ he offers a first category in which the pronoun is employed to mark an ‘intense participation of the subject in the process’. For example, he cites *regarder* from Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople* (1216) 66.30–2: *Quant li Griu les virent, si*

s'escrierent, et nos François se regarderent. Quant il les virent, si eurent molt grant peur ('When the Greeks saw them, they uttered cries, and our French looked around them. When they caught sight of them they were greatly afraid'). He notes that the pronoun is not the verbal object as *le* might be in the expression *il le regarde*, but underlines the active participation of the subject ('they looked around'). On this view the pronoun is not redundant but stresses the interest of the subject in the activity. The reflexive might be said on this interpretation to reflect a straightforward *dativus commodi*, but Buridant's translation ('regardèrent autour d'eux') if it is accepted adds a nuance that is not present in verbs of seeing accompanied by a reflexive dative in Latin (see above, 4, p. 348 on *uideo mihi* at Plaut. *Mil.* 331, and p. 353 on the same phrase in Marcus Aurelius and the *Liber tertius*). In a general sense the Old French example carries on the Latin facility for attaching a reflexive dative to a verb of this semantic field, but it has its own distinctive implication.

The verb *s'apercevoir* may be used in Old French without a complement (i.e. a direct object), expressing particularly 'la conscience que prend le sujet de quelque dissimulation' (300): *Le roman de Tristan* 97–8 *Quant ot oï parler sa drue, | sout que s'estoit aperceüe* ('En entendant parler son amie, il comprit qu'elle s'était aperçue de la présence du roi'; the king was hidden in the tree, and Iseut had spotted this). This is a force that is strongly suggestive of that of *notare sibi* in Petronius (4, p. 352), though *notare sibi* does take a direct object.

Buridant (2000: 304) gives to *soi morir* and various other verbs such as *soi dormir* and *soi gesir* a durative value, 'au moins à l'aspect imperfectif'. The frequent attestations of the participle *mortuus* with the dative (see above, 5), and also a few examples of finite forms with the dative (Dahlén 1964: 118), suggest that the Romance reflexive (*soi morir*) derives from a Latin dative, but again the Latin examples are not semantically close to the Romance verb as it is described by Buridant. For finite uses of *morior* with a reflexive dative see *Anth. Lat.* 408.8 *uiuere doctus | uni uiue tibi, nam moriere tibi*, Vulg. Rom. 14:7 *nemo . . . nostrum sibi uiuit et nemo sibi moritur; siue enim uiuimus, domino uiuimus, siue morimur, domino morimur* (ἐὰν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ζῇ). These are explicit cases of the *dativus commodi/incommodi*.

Cennamo (1999: 141–2) illustrates various reflexive verbs from central and southern Italian dialects, deriving the pronoun from *sibi*. Some of her examples have parallels in the Latin material assembled above, though a nuance in the Latin may have been lost. There are, for instance, verbs of

dying (*s'è morta* 'she died') and healing (*la ferita s'è guarita* 'the wound has healed').

7 Conclusions

The reflexive dative with transitive verbs such as 'want', 'have', 'take' sometimes seems to be redundant (particularly with the first). The reflexive construction *quid tibi uis* alternates with the non-reflexive *quid uis* in the same contexts in the plays of Plautus without difference of meaning. But the element of pleonasm should not be exaggerated. The apparent synonymy even of a mundane verb such as *habeo* with its reflexive correspondent may be misleading, because the reflexive sometimes has a nuance that is easily missed. Commentators have observed that *tibi habe* was dismissive and contemptuous, whereas *habe* could be neutral. Another transitive verb with which *sibi* is semantically determined is *notare* in Petronius. The verb phrase indicates the spotting of something that someone wished to be concealed. The uses of the dative that have been seen here with transitive verbs often either overtly express advantage or are derivable from the dative of advantage. The assumption should in principle always be made that the dative pronoun has something to add to the meaning.

There has been a tradition of marginalising reflexive constructions with transitive verbs, particularly if the force of the dative is not obvious, as colloquial or popular. We saw, however, that these reflexive constructions were at home in literary language in the classical period.

The reflexives with intransitive verbs discussed in section 5 are more obviously not pleonastic. *Sibi* in the expressions seen there is often equivalent to *ipse* or *solus* or adverbial usages: note *TLL* VII.2–3.334.69ff., especially 72f., on a category of uses of *ipse* which is reminiscent of the functions of *sibi* in 5: 'vi fere distinctiva: spectatur aliquis (aliquid) per se solum' (also *OLD* s.v. 7). With intransitive verbs of the types discussed in section 5 it is hard to find reflexive datives that can with certainty be described as pleonastic, though there are one or two candidates. Cennamo's list (1999: 124–6) of 'fully pleonastic' cases consists mainly of examples in which the pronoun can be given one of its usual functions.

In Romance languages verbs of the same intransitive types as those illustrated from late Latin in section 5 are sometimes reflexive, and the pronoun in Romance must reflect the Latin dative (see the material assembled by Cennamo 1999: 141–2 from some Italian dialects), but in the Romance examples it is usually not obvious that the pronouns retain the same

distinctive functions that they have in Latin. There was presumably some weakening of the force of the pronouns in specific verb phrases, even though signs of that weakening are difficult to find in the Latin evidence itself. An interesting semantic correspondence is that between *s'apercevoir* in Old French and *sibi notare* in Petronius.

The question was posed in section 2 whether any of the reflexive dative usages can justifiably be called substandard. The reflexive uses with intransitive verbs discussed in § 5 are indeed found mainly in low-register or substandard texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. There are signs that for a time these uses were rejected by purists, though the evidence of the Romance languages shows that eventually they became widespread. We saw both Jerome in the Vulgate and Vegetius in the *Mulomedicina* eliminating reflexive datives with intransitive verbs that they had found in their lower-register sources, even when the reflexive pronoun was not empty of meaning. The isolated instance of *sibi dolere* in an informal literary genre (Horace's *Satires*) provides a hint that even at an early period in casual usage a reflexive might have been attached to an intransitive verb.

There is thus some evidence that there was a difference of status between reflexive datives with transitive verbs, and those with intransitive verbs, with the latter domiciled mainly in lower sociolects.

Prepositions and comparative expressions

1 Introduction

Most discussions of comparative expressions have concentrated on the origin and distribution of the ablative of comparison (see especially Wölfflin 1889, Neville 1901 (with information about the *quam*-construction as well), Bennett 1910–14: II.292–7, E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.304–30, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 109–10, with Baños Baños 2009: 247 on its origin). The history of the comparative ablative in Latin is only indirectly relevant here, as the construction was a literary one, which faded from use and left no trace in the Romance languages. It was restricted in use in early Latin, mainly to negative expressions, rhetorical questions implying a negative answer and proverbial expressions (Bennett 1910–14: II.292–7, Löfstedt 1956: 1.307–10). A little later there are signs of a lack of currency at informal levels of the language. In Cicero's letters to Atticus, as distinct from his other works, it is very rare (Löfstedt 1956: 1.314), and in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius it occurs in the narrative (28.4: Löfstedt 1956: 1.323–4) and formulae. Comparative + *quam* was the more mundane construction. In literary Latin, particularly poetry, from the Augustan period onwards the ablative of comparison is very common, particularly in some writers (see Löfstedt 1956: 1.314–23). Late writers who are traditionally classified as low-register make only a very limited use of the ablative of comparison. On the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* see Löfstedt (1956: 1.324) and on the *Mulomedicina Chironis* Ahlquist (1909: 45). A systematic account of the relative frequency in later texts of the ablative and *quam*-construction might have a certain interest (see the remarks of Löfstedt 1956: 1.305–6),¹ but it would throw no light on the possible existence of submerged deviations from standard Latin, because both constructions were acceptable in educated usage.

¹ Mørland (1933) covers familiar ground, and has nothing about late Latin. See the remarks on this work by Önnersfors (1956: 115).

Of greater interest here are the prepositional expressions, comparative + *ab* and comparative + *de*.

2 Expressions with *ab*

Of the two prepositional expressions the earlier and better attested is the *ab*-construction, which attracted the attention of grammarians and elicited comment about its acceptability. The rationale behind such a construction is considered briefly by Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.5–6) = Langslow (2009: 12). For a discussion of its origin and an overview of the literature see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 111–12). For examples see e.g. *TLL* 1.39.40ff., Rönsch (1875: 452–3), with Biblical instances, some with their Hebrew fore-runners, and with instances from various other late texts, Wölfflin (1892a: 125–9), with extensive evidence, Tidner (1938: 153–4), on the *Didascalia apostolorum*, with further bibliography, Josephson (1940: 183 n. 1), with bibliography, citing *Grom.* p. 344.1 Lachmann *plus a tres pedes habeat* (an example that has the additional interest that the accusative is used as the prepositional case), Salonius (1920: 117), citing *Vit. patr.* 5.16.16 *quid ergo plus facitis a nobis sedentes in eremo?* In the same passage note too *quid est quod plus facitis de nobis in solitudine ista?*, where *de* is used with the same function.

The germs of the comparative use of *ab* are to be seen as early as the Augustan period (see E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.329, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 111). Ovid *Her.* 16.98 *nec Priamo est a te dignior ulla nurus* is a transitional case showing one route by which the new function was acquired. Kenney (1996: 97) translates: ‘There is, next to you, none more fit to be Priam’s daughter-in-law.’ He notes that the sense of *a* is ‘after, next to’, and cites *OLD* 13c for the meaning (along with e.g. 18.69). Equally one might paraphrase *ab* as ‘starting from’. Since the comparative ablative is commonplace in exactly this type of context (in negative clauses, placed before the adjective: see Bennett 1910–14: 11.293, citing Ter. *Eun.* 1051 *nil est Thaide hac, frater, tua | dignius quod ametur*), the *ab*-construction was open to reinterpretation as an alternative to the ablative of comparison. We have already seen that in high literary genres such as historiography there was some exploitation and extension of prepositional uses to create novelty of expression (see XIII.3), and Ovid himself has been cited in this connection (XIII.6.4.2).

Later grammarians recognised the *ab*-construction alongside the plain ablative (and the *quam*-construction) (see the material collected by Wölfflin 1889: 448). For a neutral equating of the first two see Servius [Sergius]

Comm. in Donatum, GL IV.433.18–19 *nam quando dico 'doctior illo' et 'doctior ab illo', re uera eadem inuenitur elocutio*. By contrast Cledonius appears to reject the *ab*-construction: GL V.12.5 *est et septimus casus ablatiui similis sine praepositione, ut 'uelocior equus equo', non 'ab equo'*.² For Donatus' own discussion (which does not mention *ab*) see GL IV.375.4–12, illustrating first the ablative of comparison and then adding that sometimes *quam* is used instead (375.11–12 *interdum comparatiuus gradus nominatiuo adiungitur, ut 'doctior hic quam ille est'*).

Pompeius comments at greater length (GL V.157.20–8):

comparatiuus gradus iungitur tribus casibus . . . tu scire debes quoniam uere tribus iungitur casibus, ablatiuo, septimo et nominatiuo interposita particula 'quam'. ablatiuo iungitur, <'doctior ab illo'; septimo,> 'doctior illo'; nominatiuo, 'doctior hic quam ille', sed scire debes quod hodie in usu habemus septimo uti; non debemus aut ablatiuo aut nominatiuo. 'doctior illo' debeo dicere, non aut 'doctior ab illo' aut 'doctior quam ille'. si uis iterum adsumere aliquid, ad licentiam potes uti et nominatiuo, 'doctior hic quam ille'. frequenter debes uti septimo ad usum.

The comparative grade is attached to three cases . . . You ought to know that it is genuinely attached to three cases, the ablative, the seventh, and the nominative with the particle *quam* interposed. It is attached to the ablative in *doctior ab illo*. It is attached to the seventh case in *doctior illo*. It is attached to the nominative in *doctior hic quam ille*. But you ought to know that today in practice we have to use the seventh; we should not use either the ablative or the nominative. I should say *doctior illo*, not *doctior ab illo* or *doctior quam ille*. If you want to take up some point a second time, as a licence you can use the nominative as well, *doctior hic quam ille*. You should use the seventh frequently in keeping with usage.

According to Pompeius there are three types of comparative complement, the plain ablative, the ablative with *ab* and the *quam*-construction. One 'has to use today' the plain ablative, rather than *ab* or *quam*. This is prescription at its most striking. The ablative, as was noted above (1), was a literary construction without a Romance outcome. Pompeius has chosen to promote it for everyday use and has banned the other two complements. There is a hint of such promotion too in Donatus (above), who only allows that the *quam*-construction is used 'sometimes' (*interdum*). Pompeius does say that under special circumstances one can also use *quam*, 'if you want to take up something a second time', a difficult expression which may mean that the *quam*-construction is acceptable if one wants

² Or has he merely mentioned *ab equo* to highlight *equo* as being *sine praepositione*?

to repeat a comparison.³ Grammarians sometimes accepted developments that had taken place in the language, and sometimes attempted to preserve the status quo against change. Pompeius goes further here in arguing for the high literary construction over the well-established and perfectly acceptable *quam*-construction. He does not say anything specific about the *ab*-construction, but it is by implication placed at a lower level than *quam*, which is at least acceptable sometimes.

Pompeius does not follow his own prescriptions. For *ab* see 155.5–6 (*utique quo modo positivus paululum significat, comparativus plus a positivo, superlativus plus a comparativo, ita . . .*). Pompeius was not alone among grammarians in using it. Cledonius, it was noted above, in one place seemed to dismiss it, but note, a little later in the work, *GL* v.38.31 *comparativus aliquotiens minus a positivo significat*. See too Sergius *GL* iv.481.21 *quae idcirco dicta est sescupla, quia plus ab aequa significat, minus a dupla*. On grammarians using *ab* see Wölfflin (1892a: 128–9).

Another commentator on Donatus ([Sergius] *Explan. in Donatum*, *GL* iv.492.9–13) also lists the three constructions, but distinguishes clearly between the acceptability of the plain ablative and that of *ab*:

comparativus gradus tribus casibus iungitur, ablativo, item septimo et nominativo adiecta particula quam. dicimus enim 'fortior ab illo' et 'fortior illo'. sed illud quamvis et rationem et auctoritatem habeat, in usu non est, ut dicamus 'fortior ab illo'; sed dicimus 'fortior illo', 'pulchrior illo'.

The comparative grade is attached to three cases, the ablative and also the seventh and the nominative with the addition of the particle *quam*. For we say *fortior ab illo* and *fortior illo*. But although the former may be supported by reason and authority, it is not current usage to say *fortior ab illo*. We say *fortior illo*, *pulchrior illo*.

The plain ablative is better than *ab*, which is 'not in use'. Grammarians not infrequently speak in this way (see xxiii.5 (2), (6)). The author means that the *ab*-construction was in use but should not be. He goes on to accept the *quam*-construction as well as the ablative (18–19 *iungimus etiam nominativo adposita particula quam, ut 'fortior quam ille'*). This passage differs from that of Pompeius, who also rejected the *quam*-construction. [Sergius] is merely concerned to eliminate the new prepositional usage.

³ The punctuation of Keil has been changed here. He prints the comma after *ad licentiam* but here it is placed before, a change which gives the sense that the *quam*-construction may be used in special circumstances as a licence, i.e. as an exception to the norm: see *GL* v.196.11 for *licentia* contrasted with *regulas* (information from Anna Chahoud).

Servius *Comm. in Donatum* GL IV.407.25–9 is much the same:

comparatiuus autem gradus iungitur casibus tribus, ablatiuo, septimo, et nominatiuo interposita particula quam: ablatiuo, ut ‘doctior ab illo’, septimo, ut ‘doctior illo’, nominatiuo, ut ‘doctior hic quam ille’. sed frequenter utimur septimo, ablatiuo paene numquam.

Doctior illo is said to be used frequently, *doctior ab illo* ‘almost never’.

Thus grammarians acknowledged the existence of *ab* but did not approve of it. They saw it as a substitute for the old ablative of comparison, and were recommending a return to that. The advocacy by Pompeius of the latter against *quam* is a striking attempt to support a usage against standard practice: there can be no doubt that the *quam*-construction was always the normal one.

One might expect on this evidence to find the *ab*-construction mainly in low-register texts, were it not for the fact that grammarians who condemned it had a habit of using it themselves. In fact the comparative use of *ab* is well attested in learned later writers, as well as low-register works. The former include Arnobius, Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, Porphyrio and Augustine (see Wölfflin 1892a: 126–8 for these and others). Wölfflin misguidedly saw *ab* as at first an ‘Africanism’ (126), which later spread elsewhere (127), but that was a familiar way in the late nineteenth century of interpreting the distribution of widespread linguistic phenomena. It is not difficult to trace the development of the *ab*-construction and attitudes to it. When *ab* came into use in comparative expressions there was some resistance from purists (a common reaction to linguistic change), but they had no success in stopping its spread to classicising prose. The full extent of its currency in the learned language could only be determined from a comparative study of the competing constructions, which is beyond the scope of the present work.

There is one substandard text for which there is good information, the dietary work of Anthimus. Comparative expressions in this are collected by Liechtenhan (1963: 55). There are two types, *quam* and the *ab*-construction. For *quam* see pp. 14.10 *plus . . . quam*, 17.1 *melius quam*, 19.4 *melioris sunt quam illi*, 24.14 *melius congrua est quam illa faua fresa*. Three of the four cases are with *melius/melior*. There are two sure instances of *ab* (9.15 *sanioris ab aliis sunt*, 18.7 *aptioris sunt ab aliis piscibus*), both in the same expression *ab aliis*. A third case is in a passage bracketed by Liechtenhan: 18.5 *meliores ab aliis boletis*, and another is classified as doubtful (13.7). Anthimus was using two constructions, with lexical factors apparently influencing his choice.

Other medical texts, and not only those that might be classed along with Anthimus as low-register, have *ab*, but full statistics about the four possible late constructions (*quam*, the ablative and *de* as well as *ab*) are not available. For *ab* see Soranus Lat. p. 89.4 Rose *et si plures ab uno fuerint*, with V. Rose (1882: 149) for further examples. The *de*-construction is not cited in Rose's index. Mørland (1932: 115) cites numerous examples of the *ab*-construction from the Oribasius translations, alongside only a small handful of examples of the *de*-construction, declaring it to be 'selten'. Note too Cass. Fel. p. 29.18 = 19.5 Fraisse *minus a solito excludere*, p. 6.18 = 1.12 Fraisse *a solito minus cibum accipiant*, p. 69.2 = 33.2 Fraisse *a solito minus potum accipiant* (see V. Rose 1879: 222). No examples of the *de*-construction are cited s.v. *de* by Rose (1879: 231–2). *A solito* is also in the *Liber tertius*: 51.7, p. 320 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) *a solito amplius propendet*. The comparative use of *solito* (without preposition) goes back to Accius (*trag.* 129 *solito . . . longius*), and it continued until very late: note e.g. Cael. Aurel. *Tard.* 2.13 *radius uirilis paralyisi uitiatus solito maior aut minor efficitur*.

Caelius Aurelianus wrote more learned and classicising prose than most of the medical writers just mentioned, apart from Cassius, and he has more than thirty examples of *ab* (Wölfflin 1892a: 128). The indexes to the standard edition (Bendz 1990–3) do not note the *de*-construction, but for *quam* see Bendz (1990–3: II.1150): e.g. *Cel.* 1.129 *nihil enim in ipsa grauius quam uentris est fluor*. Caelius also used the plain ablative (see the last paragraph).

3 Expressions with *de*

The *de*-construction seems to be much later: see *TLL* v.1.64.34ff., citing only a small number of examples. The first is in Tertullian (see Hoppe 1903: 33), but this is rejected by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 112). According to the *TLL*, 'subest notio separationis' when *de* is used for the ablative of comparison. There is little unity to the list in *TLL*, though it does include Commodian and the Oribasius translations, both substandard texts. On the latter see Mørland (1932: 115), who, as we just saw, points out that the comparative use of *ab* is common in the work but *de* rare. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 112) say that definite examples are not found before the fourth or fifth century. A few late instances are cited by Väänänen (1981a: 113), including Caesarius *Serm.* 132.1, *CC* 103, 543 *neque enim melior erat de sancto Iohanne euangelista*, a construction paralleled by Italian *miglior di alcuno*. See also above, 2, on *Vit. patr.* 5.16.16. Svennung (1935: 352 n. 1)

cites the Roman inscription *ILCV 3887A ipsa uixit de annos septe minus dies xi* 'she lived eleven days less than seven years'. On *de* in medieval Latin see Sacks (1941: 99–100), Bastardas Parera (1953: 90) and Stotz (1998: 312–13). The *de*-construction looks like an inevitable development out of that with *ab*, given that *de* replaced *ab* in later Latin (see XIII.2.6, 6.4.3), though there have been other ways of explaining it. Salonius (1920: 117) raised the question whether the comparative use of *de* is a replacement of the ablative of comparison or of a partitive genitive.

The comparative use of *de*, unlike that of *ab*, survived in Romance (see the Italian expression in the last paragraph). On *de* in Old French marking the second term of the comparison see Buridant (2000: 475, §380.10, citing e.g. *Chanson de Roland* 13 *environ lui plus de vint milie humes* ('autour de lui, plus de vingt mille hommes')). See also Buridant (2000: 648–9) on *que* versus *de*. In Italian *di* with the comparative is quite widespread, but in most Romance varieties (e.g. French, Spanish, Catalan) the use of *de* in comparative expressions is restricted to those with numerals (as in the Old French passage just cited). The example of *de* in the Roman inscription quoted in the last paragraph is in such a context, and at *TLL* v.1.64.34ff. two comparable instances are cited, but most of the passages there do not show such a restriction. There are thus only the merest signs of such a specialisation in the meagre Latin material of the period covered by the *TLL*. On the other hand in the medieval Latin examples from documents of Portuguese and Spanish provenance collected by Sacks and Bastardas Parera (see the last paragraph) *de* invariably precedes a numeral, a fact noted by Sacks (1941: 99) and related to Portuguese and Spanish usage.

It may be noted in passing that *ex* is sometimes attested in comparative expressions: see *TLL* v.2.1125.70ff., Svennung (1935: 360 n.), the latter explaining the usage as based on the analogy of *de*.

4 Conclusions

The attempt by grammarians to establish the plain ablative as the main expression of comparison is interesting. In extant Classical Latin it was never the principal exponent of comparison, but its frequency in poetry and higher genres shows that it had a literary flavour. Some grammarians must have been moved by its literary credentials to promote it as the 'best' form of expression. However receptive they might have been to change, they never lost sight of an ideal of the classical, and that did not necessarily match actual classical usage, never mind educated usage of their own time.

The grammarians' condemnation of *ab* should not be seen as evidence that the construction had started and was domiciled in lower social dialects. On the contrary, there is every reason to think that here we have another linguistic change that began high on the social scale. First, we have seen the beginnings of the construction in Ovid. Second, *ab* was by definition literary by the time that grammarians came to comment on its comparative use, since it was replaced in most of its uses by *de* during the Empire. Third, the *ab*-construction may be seen as a prepositional equivalent of the ablative of comparison, and that was a construction with marked literary credentials. Grammarians in this case were bothered by an innovation that they knew from educated usage, including their own. As for *de*, it was a natural development out of *ab* given the obsolescence of the latter term. If the *ab*-construction had a rarefied character by about the fourth century, given that *ab* had largely fallen out of use, that does not mean that the *de*-construction would on the contrary have had a substandard feel. The early history of the usage is a matter of speculation given the lack of evidence, but we should not simply relegate it to the lower reaches of the social scale. It must surely have begun as an optional variant of the *ab*-construction, and it is likely to have been users of *ab* who first adopted it. The evidence available would not support a conclusion that *de* in expressions of comparison had long been current (say, during the period when *ab* shows up in literature) at a submerged level. It is as likely that there was a late shift from *ab* to *de* as the former fell out of use.

*Case and prepositions: some conclusions***1 A Visigothic tablet and the case system**

Some observations may be made about the state of the case system in late antiquity from a late non-literary text from Spain, one of the Visigothic slate tablets edited by Velázquez Soriano (2004), no. 40.11, dated to the first half of the seventh century. This is a declaration of a servitude (*OLD* s.v. 3, ‘a liability resting on a property by which the owner is bound to give certain defined facilities to a neighbour’), though the text is too incomplete for the full details of the situation to emerge. We may not have decisive answers to such questions as why there was in the long term a structural shift to case marking by prepositions, and why it would seem to be the accusative form of many nouns that survived, but this text, particularly if compared with a substandard corpus of much earlier date (the letters of Terentianus, of the early second century), does at least bring out some of the changes that had taken place and some possible motivations:

ego Vnigild(us) de locum Langa
 Tomanca, dum uenisse ad loc[um . . .]
 tum lirigiare ad domo Froilani, ego ad-
 duxsi teste ipse Froila, fraude ad-
 domo Desideri, dum istare in dom(o) Desideri,
 fu(i)t ueniens Froila et dix(it) mici: ‘leua, leuita,
 et uadam(us) ad domo Busani et Fasteni [. . .]
 sucisit fuim(us) ad domo Busani [..] unam ra[. . .]
 [. . .] pro Froilane et dixsit nouis: ‘uadam(us)
 ad fragis, ad uinias p[o]stas et pono te ibi in fragis et le-
 uauui de domo Desideri p[. . .]rales duos, dolabra una,
 [. . .]o quanto laspare una’.

Declaration of a servitude. I, Unigildus, from the place Langa Tomanca, when I had come to the place . . . to litigate at the house of Froila, I brought as witness Froila himself, because of the fraud at the house of Desiderius. While I was in the house of Desiderius, there came along Froila and he

said to me: 'Up you get, clerk, and let us go to the house of Busanus [?: or Busa] and Fastenus [?: or Faste]. So it transpired, we went to the house of Busa . . . on behalf of Froila and he said to us: 'Let us go to the strawberries, where there are vineyards planted, and I will put you among the strawberries; and I have taken from the house of Desiderius two . . . and one hoe . . .

The features of case and prepositional usage are presented below in a list, and some comparative material will also be introduced from elsewhere in the same corpus.

(1) In line 4 *ipse Froila* is nominative and direct object of *adduxsi*, whereas the juxtaposed appositional term *teste* has the accusative form. The occasional non-inflection of personal names (usually in special contexts) we have attributed to a feeling that the base form or nominative was the essence of the name (XII.3.1.1.1). It was noted that it was the nominative of quite a few personal names that survived in Romance languages (XII.2). This name itself survived in Old Spanish in the form *Fruela*, reflecting the nominative *Froila*, and also in a different form, *Froilán*, reflecting the oblique case form, *Froilane* (see Penny 2002: 14, and below, (7) with n. 1 on the formation). A blatant nominative for accusative of this type dependent on a transitive verb would have been unthinkable at any period in the literary language (see XII.3.1, 3.1.1.1, 3.1.1.2, 3.3, p. 219 for some uninflected nominatives of special types; the last passage refers to personal names in some medieval documents), and this example shows how far the potential for treating personal names as invariant had come. Usually, however, names are inflected in this text, and the fossilising of a nominative form must have been an optional resource adopted for special effects. In a previous line *Froila* is inflected in the genitive. In line 4 the man's presence as witness may be presented as a revelation, with the nominative highlighting his identity. It is also possible that *teste* was intended as the primary object, with *ipse Froila* appositional ('I brought a witness, Froila himself', rather than 'I brought as witness Froila himself').

(2) In pronouns a distinction is maintained between nominative (*ego Vnigild.*), accusative (*pono te ibi*) and dative (*dix. mici, dixit nouis*). The oblique case pronouns are placed immediately after the verb in an enclitic position, and the nominative pronoun is placed at the head of its sentence. In Romance there is some preservation of case distinctions in pronoun systems (see XIII.5.1, XX.3.1; also Wright 2011: 72), and we have a foreshadowing of that here.

(3) There are twelve prepositional expressions in the text, and seven of these (*ad domo* four times, *de domo*, *in dom(o)* and *de locum Langa Tomanca*)

would or could have been replaced by an unaccompanied case inflection in Classical Latin. This is a high proportion, which might be compared with figures from the letters of Claudius Terentianus. In the long and well-preserved letters 468 and 471 there are thirty-six prepositional expressions, only one of which could have been replaced by a plain case in Classical Latin, but there the text is almost certainly wrong (468.34).

The three expressions with *domo* are equivalent to CL *domum*, *domo* and *domi*, *domus* being a term which is regularly used in Classical Latin without prepositions, even when accompanied by an adjective or genitive, in the meanings 'to, from and at home'. The novelty here lies in the invariable use of prepositions to convey these ideas, not in the use of the prepositions themselves. Already by the Augustan period (e.g. in Livy) prepositions start to appear with *domus* in contexts in which Classical Latin would have used an unaccompanied oblique case form (see Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.483, Woodcock 1959: 6; cf. above, xv.2 on Livy's use of *ab Roma*). By the seventh century as evidenced by this text an old but occasional usage had hardened into the norm (on this pattern see Adams 2011: 260). Phonetic developments had obliterated the distinction between the accusative and ablative singular of this word, and, we might add, the locative, because the form *domo* had long since come into use for *domi* (on locative *domo* see Adams 1977a: 38–9). Thus we see old prepositional uses extended to make good the deficiencies of the inflectional system once this was affected by phonetic change.

(4) In this text of just eleven lines (omitting the defective last line) and seventy-four words there are three adnominal prepositional expressions (*Vnigild(us) de locum Langa Tomanca, fraude ad domo Desideri, ad fragis ad uinias p[o]stas*; in this last example the first *ad* is part of a verb phrase and the second is adnominal). This is a remarkably high incidence. Wharton (2009: 201) has recently calculated the frequency of adnominal prepositional phrases per 1,000 words of text in thirteen writers from Cato through to Gregory of Tours. There is variation from 1.3 in Augustine to 3.0 in Tacitus, with an average of 2.2 (see Wharton 2009: 192). By contrast the figure for the slate tablet is almost 40. Wharton (191) notes a striking increase in the incidence of such adnominals in some modern languages, including the Romance language French, the figure for which is given (192) as 26. The high figure for the slate tablet is statistically unreliable, given the diminutive size of the text, but there can be no doubt that the writer was using such constructions with particular freedom, in line with what must have been a development in the language. The second example ('because

of a fraud at the house of Desiderius') is very striking; in Classical Latin it is highly likely that *fraude* would have been accompanied by a participle such as *facta*. In the two letters of Terentianus 468 and 471 there is just one adnominal prepositional phrase, but that is in the textually problematic passage referred to above.

De locum + place name in the first line is an adnominal expression denoting the provenance of the person named. We have seen (XIII.4.6) in Classical and early imperial Latin adnominal uses of *de*, but these do not express provenance pure and simple but characterise the referent. However, with *ex* adnominal expressions denoting provenance on its own are as old as Plautus (*Capt.* 509 *Philocratem ex Alide*) (see K. M. Coleman 2006: 163), and *de* is the replacement of that.

(5) Some decline is in evidence in the extent of inflectional case endings. This is discussed below in this section, (5), and in (6) and (7).

In the singular there is no distinction between the accusative and ablative. In line 4 *teste* is accusative but *fraude* ablative. The form *domo* with the prepositions *ad* and *de* does service for both the old accusative and ablative, with the function of the phrase now marked exclusively by the preposition. The single *o*-ending in the tablet reflects both the loss of *-m* and the merger of long *o* and short *u*. In the second last line *dolabra una* is accusative. Should we call *domo* and *dolabra* accusatives, or are they dual or even multi-purpose forms arising from several phonetic developments (including the loss of vowel length in final syllables)? Such forms raise doubts about the appropriateness of deriving Romance nouns of the third declension (singular) exclusively from the accusative (see XII.2). It might be better to speak of a composite form with its role indicated by the context or word order and by the semantics of any preposition to which it is attached.

(6) In the feminine plural of the first declension there is no distinction between nominative and accusative, though that does not emerge from this text on its own. The *-as* form serves for both cases, with the classical nominative *-ae* nowhere attested (see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 513–15). Here we find *-as* correctly used as an accusative (*ad uinias p[o]stas*), but with this phrase cf. e.g. 103.II.1–2 *uide [il]las tegolas cas astritas sunt* (= *quae astrictae sunt*) (further examples of the nominative at Velázquez Soriano 2004: 515) (on *-as* see further above, XII.6.6).

(7) There are seven genitives in the passage (all of them in personal names) and no instance of a preposition used to express any of the traditional roles of the genitive. What is noticeable, however, is that there has been a reduction in the number of genitive endings. In the masculine there is a single genitive form for both second and third declension words.

The old second declension form *Desideri* occurs three times. But *Froila*, a Latinised Gothic name of the structure *Froila*, *Froilanis*,¹ is given the second declension genitive ending *Froilani* instead of *Froilanis*, though its ablative form *Froliane* is of regular third declension type. It would appear that the masculine genitive singular ending *-i* had become stereotyped in personal names. The genitive *Busani*, which occurs twice, may also belong to a Germanic name (see Velázquez Soriano 2004: 231) and show the same stereotyping.

The spread of the *-i* genitive to the third declension probably had its starting point in the possessive use of the third declension dative (in *-i*), which often in inscriptions and late texts looks interchangeable with the genitive but is still readily interpreted as a dative (see Bonnet 1890: 340–2, Vielliard 1927: 116–17, Gaeng 1984: 70–1, and particularly Galdi 2004: 187–92). It would not seem plausible in our text to argue that the *i*-ending in some names was still conceived of as a dative but in others was a genitive.

(8) The genitive is not the only inflectional case that is used in the traditional way, without being rivalled by prepositions. In line 4 *fraude* is a causal ablative (with an adnominal prepositional complement).

1.1 Conclusions

The prepositional uses (those in local expressions) that show a particular frequency in this text were old, but in earlier Latin either optional or restricted in register. We might relate their increased incidence to phonetic developments, in that the ablative and accusative of a term such as *domus* were no longer distinct. But the decline of case inflections cannot be attributed exclusively to phonetic change. Two types of inflectional simplification commented on here are individualistic. *-as* as a nominative plural ending goes right back to the early Republic, its origin not decisively explained. It is common in inscriptions but for centuries had a shadowy existence beneath the literary language. It is only at a very late date and particularly in the medieval period that it ousted *-ae*, at least in some

¹ Late Latin acquired from Gothic/Germanic a third declension inflection type, particularly in names, *-a*, *-anis*, as in *Attila*, *Attilanis* ('little father', from *atta* 'father' (see in general Piel 1960: 430). On relics in Spanish from the time of the Visigothic rule in Spain of this formation see Penny 2002: 14–15) (mostly in Germanic personal names, such as OSp. *Froilán* < *Froilane* (the oblique case form; see above (1)) but also in one or two common nouns of Germanic origin, such as *guardián* 'guardian' **wardjane*). For Germanic names of this formation in Gregory of Tours see Bonnet (1890: 380). Some parallels are *scriba*, *scribanis* [**scribanem* > Fr. *écrivain*; see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 212 s.v.], where the inflection has spread to a term of Latin root, and *barba*, *barbanis* 'uncle' (for which in Latin see Adams 2007: 511–12).

corpora (areas?) (see XII.6.6). The spread of the *-i* genitive to the third declension reflects a reinterpretation of an original dative. Presumably the old genitive in masculine personal names was always so widespread that it would only have come under threat from prepositions once genitival uses of prepositions in other contexts had become very well established. It would not do to present the inflectional system as moribund by this period. The inflectional class seen in the Gothic masculine name *Froila* (ablative *Froilane* (found in this text), expected genitive *Froilanis* but here *Froilani*) is new (masc. *-a*, *-anis*), despite the fact that the name is foreign and foreign names in Latin were sometimes left uninflected and given prepositional complements. The inflection corresponds to a Gothic type. Latin was still capable of assimilating a foreign type to its traditional case system, with *-o*, *-onis* providing an analogy.

Several changes have been pointed between the time of the letters of Terentianus and the slate tablets.

2 The case system and social variation: a summary

Case syntax is one area in which many non-standard developments are attested that had virtually no influence on literary texts. These give us a glimpse of lower social dialects. There is also abundant comment by grammarians and other purists revealing attitudes to these developments. We start, however, with some reservations.

Since the modern observer looking at the Romance languages on the one hand and Classical Latin on the other is bound to be struck by the abandonment of case inflections in favour of prepositions as markers of oblique case roles, it is not surprising that a conventional narrative has evolved that would have it that any unexpected prepositional uses in earlier Latin were substandard, usually submerged and directly connected with later Romance practice. It is indeed true that we know of usages (such as *in* + acc. with the names of towns) that were kept out of higher genres but existed over a long time in lower sociolects and casual style, but it is impossible to generalise about the stylistic/social status of prepositions vis-à-vis superficially equivalent unaccompanied case usages within the Latin period, for at least three reasons.

First, there was a good deal of flexibility in the use of prepositions and cases in the classical period itself, with interchangeable usages (such as the final dative and final use of *ad* (see above, XIII.5.5) and *ab* alongside the plain ablative with the names of towns (xv.2)) current at the same time and equally acceptable in the literary language.

Second, poets and writers of artistic prose (such as historians) had a habit of innovating in their use of prepositions (see XIII.3). Sallust and Tacitus used *de* where an objective genitive would have been possible, and Ovid used *de* as an instrumental equivalent (XIII.6.4.2) and *ab* where an ablative of comparison might have been expected (XVII.2). Such innovations sometimes happened to anticipate more general developments in later Latin that were to affect the Romance languages (see Bauer 2010). That is not, however, to say that Ovid and Tacitus were dipping into an unseen low social variety. Case and prepositional syntax is an area in which poets and others set out to push the resources of the language to the limit.

Third, a prepositional expression that occurs in an early text or writer conventionally thought to provide information about lower sociolects (such as Plautus), and seems to be synonymous with a case usage that occurs in Classical Latin (e.g. *nuntiare*, *dicere* + *ad* alongside the dative), might in reality not be synonymous with the plain case at all. The effort to find anticipations in Plautus of Romance phenomena has sometimes caused scholars to disregard the subtleties of Plautine usage (see below, XXXIII.4). Once a ‘proto-Romance’ usage has been discovered in Plautus, later uses of the construction in Classical Latin are conveniently dismissed as vulgar. It is necessary to be certain that the preposition and plain case are interchangeable before comparing their distributions. *Nuntiare* and *dicere* + *ad* do not have the same meanings as *nuntiare* and *dicere* + *dat.*; their use is semantically, not socially or stylistically determined (XIII.5.1).

Once these reservations are taken into account it remains possible to identify some distinctions between standard and non-standard practice, and over a long period. The main non-standard usages that we have discussed are listed below. In one respect the following list coheres with the findings of the case study in the previous section. The most striking non-standard phenomena below (particularly if we take into account only the classical period and the first four centuries AD, as distinct from late antiquity) are all local expressions, directional, static or separative. So the abnormal prepositional phrases in the slate tablet all denote relations of space. It is beyond doubt that the rigid classical system to do with movement and place was rivalled at a subliterate level (and in one instance at a higher level (*ab Roma* et sim.)) by alternative forms of expression, some of them prepositional but others showing aberrant uses of inflectional forms. These phenomena all belong to a circumscribed category, and are not merely a part of a wider shift from case to prepositions. Developments in place expressions should not be presented as symptomatic of a general trend towards the Romance prepositional system.

(1) The locative of town names such as *Romae* used with directional meaning is attested quite early but kept out of literature for centuries (see above, xv.4). An example is put into the mouth of a freedman by Petronius, a mark of its low prestige in his eyes. The usage was admitted freely by Claudius Terentianus and castigated by grammarians.

(2) The use of the preposition *in* (+ acc.) with names of towns to denote arrival at the place is uniformly suggestive of a low status (see xv.2). The usage had its existence almost entirely at a subliterate level (Plautus, a special case, aside), and there is evidence that it was frowned on by the educated. Since the Romance languages express motion to (as well as from) towns by means of prepositions there was in this case a continuity of sorts between Plautine practice and Romance, with non-literary sources and *testimonia* between the two chronological extremes revealing the continuing currency of the prepositional construction in stigmatised varieties of Latin. The Romance languages differ from Plautus in two respects, first in making regular rather than occasional use of a preposition in this role, and second in the preposition used. The Plautine *in* came to be rivalled in later Latin by *ad*. *In* was the preposition castigated by Quintilian, and in the second century it is attested in subliterate documentary texts, but it was *ad* that was castigated some centuries later by Pompeius, and reflexes of *ad* are widespread in Romance with names of towns, though *in* did not disappear entirely (see xv.2 with n. 9). The marking of departure *from* a town by means of a preposition (as in *ab Roma*) is a different matter. The prepositional usage had found its way into high literature by the republican and Augustan periods (though it was avoided by many). It would seem that the rise to respectability of prepositions marking such spatial relations began in expressions designating departure.

(3) The fossilising of town names in oblique cases such that a single form was used with several functions (a phenomenon that overlaps with 1 above) is noted by a grammarian and occurs mainly in low-register texts (see above, xv.4–5). We drew attention to a little noticed manifestation of this habit, namely the use of the *-as* accusative plural with locative and other functions. Such uses of *-as* are admitted in bureaucratic texts and inscriptions without stylistic pretensions but were otherwise non-literary.

(4) The preposition *per* construed with the nominative turns up occasionally in the first three centuries AD but exclusively in low-register sources (see XII.3.1).

(5) Personal names in the nominative standing as object of a verb occur very late and in non-standard or even proto-Romance texts such as the Visigothic slate tablet (Velázquez Soriano 2004) 40.11 (see XII.3.3, p. 219).

(6) Unconstrued nominatives in the predicate of naming constructions where an accusative would be expected (as in the pattern 'they call something X') are avoided in literary Latin but are a marked feature of the low-register *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (see XII.3.3, p. 224).

(7) The asyntactic nominative of apposition belongs particularly to careless inscriptions in which the writers were more concerned to represent a title, profession or affiliation in its base form than to get agreements right (see XII.3.3). Strikingly there is one example in Cicero, where its detachment from the syntax perhaps made its content the more arresting, though other explanations are possible. Users of standard language occasionally adopt non-standard usages.

(8) The asyntactic accusative of apposition, which should be distinguished from the 'accusative in apposition to the clause or sentence' (see XII.6.2), which is not asyntactic, is exclusively in low-register inscriptions and the like (XII.6.1).

(9) Accusative subjects of both passive and intransitive verbs are attested in low-register texts, not the literary language, though there is some uncertainty about the evidence because textual corruption is possible in several texts (most notably the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) (see XII.6.3-4). There is, however, no uncertainty about the credentials of the feminine plural *-as* used as a nominative (see above, XII.6.6). For centuries this is found mainly in non-standard inscriptions. By the early medieval period, in Spain and France, it had become the standard nominative plural form. It had risen in status, and its history represents the phenomenon of change from below (XXXIII.1.2).

(10) The different distribution of certain uses of the preposition *de* illustrates the impossibility of making blanket generalisations about the social status of prepositional phrases in relation to plain cases. The characterising adnominal use of *de*, which was to survive in Romance languages, is well represented in literary Latin from Cicero onwards (see above, XIII.4.6). Similarly partitive uses, including that approaching a partitive article, were acceptable in educated varieties of the language (with a separative idea present) (XIII.4.5). On the other hand the instrumental use of *de*, which was also to survive in Romance, seems to have been rejected by some purists in the late period (fourth and fifth centuries), particularly in uses in which it had lost all separative force (so by Ammianus, Augustine, Vegetius), though we saw it in Ovid (XIII.6.4.2). Some of the usages in this section were features of the language in general, whereas another was stigmatised.

(11) The adnominal possessive use of *ad* for the sympathetic dative of Classical Latin occurs once in a substandard inscription and a few times

in early medieval Latin (see XIII.5.5). Here is a construction that must have been completely submerged.

3 Final conclusions

There is abundant evidence that many changes affecting case and prepositional usage occurred at first or mainly down the social or educational scale. The rise of the *-as* feminine nominative plural is a paradigm of this model of change. On the other hand we have suggested (xvii.4) that the comparative use of *ab* was an innovation that started at the higher end of the social scale.

PART 4

*Aspects of nominal, pronominal and
adverbial morphology and syntax*

CHAPTER XIX

Gender

1 Aims

The aim of this chapter is to determine whether there are types of gender variation or change in Latin that occurred in lower social dialects, and specifically whether changes that might seem to anticipate the gender system of the Romance languages can be attributed first to such varieties. Gender in Latin is a vast topic that has not been comprehensively investigated, and there are many types and causes of variation. It is unjustifiable simply to latch on to a deviation (such as a use of the masculine where a neuter might have been expected) that may be superficially related to Romance developments, without considering other possible reasons for the abnormality.

2 From Latin to Romance

The history of Latin to the Romance languages shows a transition from a three- to a two-gender system, with the neuter lost, though recently this conventional view has been questioned and it has been argued that there are four-gender systems in part of the Romance family (Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011), an argument based on definitions of gender that will not be entered into here. No Romance language on the traditional account has a morphologically separate neuter gender, though most have remnants of old neuter morphology that have acquired a new identity (see Maiden 2011a: 171). Italian, for example, retains in some words the neuter plural ending *-a*, but this has been reinterpreted as a feminine plural (see below, 9.1). It is often stated or assumed that Romanian has a neuter (see e.g. Mallinson 1988: 398–9, Matasović 2004: 51–2, Acquaviva 2008: 135–6, Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 398–400, for whom (399) the ‘Romanian neuter is a gender, if only a controller gender’), but the matter is complicated (see the discussion of Corbett 1991: 150–3), and it might

alternatively be said that it has a class of nouns with masculine endings and masculine agreement in the singular, and with the endings *-e* or *-uri* in the plural showing feminine agreement (Maiden 2011a: n. 36 at 701–2, and below, 9.3). For a few other ‘neuter’ relics in Romance see e.g. Acquaviva (2008: 132–3) and Maiden (2011a: 170–4).

The modern grammatical tradition has helped to promote a view that gender within Latin itself was relatively fixed. In reality it was quite variable, not only in the early period but also in Classical Latin (see e.g. Renehan 1998: 213–14). In early Indo-European dialects in general gender is variable (see Matasović 2004: 144–5). Many words in Latin are attested in two or even three genders, and it is sometimes impossible for dictionaries to assign a word a predominating gender. Certain writers, for example Plautus, Ennius (see Skutsch 1985: 680), Varro and Virgil, have variations that are particularly numerous, and ancient grammarians such as Nonius and Charisius were much exercised in classifying the variability. Though they sometimes lay down the law, they seem to have been content to illustrate diversity without making much of an attempt to standardise.

The Latin data of gender variation have different stories to tell. On the one hand there are variations ongoing from the earliest period. These are determined by such factors as analogy and the morphological structure of terms. A range of special factors is discussed in the next section (3). One or other of these may cause, say, a masculine to pass into the neuter, but an ad hoc change of gender with a special determinant should not be seen as a direct anticipation of the Romance loss of the neuter.

On the other hand in some writers (or corpora) there may be reason to see signs of a general, proto-Romance, development. If the changes of gender in a writer (or part of a writer’s work) overwhelmingly show a movement away from the neuter, then it may be reasonable to see in the text the beginnings of the Romance shift, although even then special influences might have been operating. If, however, a writer has a haphazard mixture of gender changes (including masculine to feminine and feminine to masculine, as well as neuter to masculine or feminine) determined by factors such as those discussed in the next section, we can hardly speak of anticipations of the Romance system.

3 Factors causing change or variation of gender

Ten factors causing changes or variations of gender are listed here. These are presented separately but the categories overlap to some extent. No claim is made for the comprehensiveness of the list.

3.1 Semantic analogy

The gender of a word may possibly be influenced by that of a synonymous or associated term (or terms).

Turpilius 40 (*quia non minus res hominem quam scutus tegit*) has *scutus* as a masculine, on the analogy of *clipeus*, *gladius* (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 11).

On the other hand at Pomponius 27 Frassinetti *clipeum* is used in the neuter, under the influence of *scutum* (see Panayotakis 2010: 366–7 for further attestations of the neuter, and below, 3.3).

Fluuiia for *fluuius* (see Stotz 1998: 143) in republican Latin (Acc. *trag.* 505, Sisenna *hist.* 53, 54) was possibly influenced by *pluuia*. Both examples quoted by Nonius pp. 304–5 Lindsay are from the analogist Sisenna. *Fluuius* is in Plautus.

In these cases, if the explanation from analogy is accepted, a group of words (terms denoting weapons), or an exact synonym, or a term of identical structure may be seen as effecting the change. Less convincing is the claim that the use of *nares* in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* several times in the masculine (170 *nares extensos*, 398 *nares mundos*) reflects the influence of *nasus* (Svennung 1935: 172). Semantic analogy has quite a place in the literature on gender change, but a systematic reassessment of its influence might raise doubts about its importance.

3.2 Formal features

Sometimes a term may be influenced by the prevailing gender of the morphological class to which it belongs. Again (cf. 3.1) analogy is at work, but it is of a different type ('morphological analogy').

Porticus 'portico' is feminine (and inflected both in the fourth and the second declension: see *TLL* x.2.24.35ff., 45ff.), but its form is such that it shifted into the masculine (see below, 5 (i)). Another feminine of this type with a masculine variant is *humus* (see *TLL* vi.2–3.3121.56ff.).

Nouns in *-or* (originally *-os*) were almost without exception masculine (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.976, Ernout 1957: 27–54, Leumann 1977: 379; but see also below, 4.2.2 (25) on *calor* as a possible neuter; on the problematic feminine use of *ardor* in Laberius see Panayotakis 2010: 191–2), but *arbor* is feminine (see Ernout 1957: 26 for this feminine). It appears as a masculine in late Latin (*TLL* 11.419.61ff., Mørland 1932: 79, Svennung 1932: 129, B. Löfstedt 1961: 243, Stotz 1998: 150, and particularly Bögel 1966), and is masculine in all Romance languages other than Portuguese

and Logudorese (see Löfstedt 1961: 243). As the only clear-cut feminine in its morphological class *arbor* was brought into line with the other members (so Mørland 1932: 79). Also, the tendency for specific tree names in *-us* to shift from feminine to masculine (*alnus*, *fagus*, *fraxinus*, *populus*, *pinus*: see e.g. Väänänen 1981a: 226, Stotz 1998: 150) might have influenced the generic term. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 11) implausibly suggest the influence of *frutex*.

3.3 Semantic differentiation

If a word has two genders there may be a semantic distinction between them. A classic case is *dies* (see below, 4.1 (4)). Another is *cubitus* versus *cubitum*. Where the gender can be determined, the masculine *cubitus* is used of part of the arm, and the neuter of the measurement, with slight overlap (*TLL* IV.1274.39ff.) (see further below, 12, for a discussion by Jerome of the gender of this word). A motivation for the variation may be suggested. When the term designates a part of the body (animate) it is masculine, but it is neuter when the referent is abstract and inanimate. This explanation is not, however, decisive, because the names of many body parts are neuter (but see below, 4.2.2.1, p. 406 on 'active' body parts). However, the opposition animacy versus inanimacy does sometimes affect the gender of a word (see below, 3.7).

Nundinae means 'market-day', but the neuter *nundinum* 'period from one market-day to the next'.

Grammarians sometimes tried to find semantic justifications for variation. The neuter *clipeum* is discussed by Charisius (p. 98.1–14 Barwick). It is first stated that the word is masculine if it denotes a shield (Labienus is quoted on this point) but neuter if it has the metaphorical sense 'imago clipeata' (*TLL* III.1352.16ff.). It is then noted that the distinction is violated, by Asinius who used the masculine of the *imago*, and by Livy and Pomponius who used the neuter of the armour. Pliny (the name is restored to the text) (*Dub. serm.*) finally is cited for the term being of *indistincto genere*. We see here a grammarians' method of addressing the problem posed by variable genders. There is no move to eliminate one of the variants, but a semantic distinction is proposed between them.

3.4 Loss of a semantic distinction

Two genders of the same term may be semantically distinct in origin (3.3). If the semantic distinction is abandoned the two forms may be left in free

variation. Such a development may be observed in Ennius' use of *caelus* versus *caelum* (3.7, 5 (iii)).

3.5 Bilingual interference or imitation

A bilingual using Latin might be influenced by the gender of an equivalent Greek word, particularly if Greek was more familiar to him than Latin, or if he was translating a text with lapses of attention. Alternatively in high literature a writer might deliberately change the gender of a Latin word to match that of a Greek equivalent. Educated readers would be expected to spot the word play. However, possible examples are sometimes open to other explanations.

It is suggested by Mørland (1932: 67) that the masculine forms *ferrus* and *plumbus* in the Oribasius translations (for the examples see 1932: 65) are under the influence of the Greek terms that they render, σίδηρος and μόλυβδος.

Grex is usually masculine but there are traces of a feminine form (*TLL* VI.2–3.2329.77ff.). In earlier Latin there are just two instances of the feminine, in a fragment of a poem on the *bellum Histricum* by Hostius (see Courtney 1993: 53, frg. 2) and at Lucr. 2.662/3. Later, from the *Vetus Latina* onwards, the feminine became more common (*TLL* VI.2–3.2330.2–12). In the Bible translations the term regularly renders feminines in the Greek (νομή, ποίμνη, ἀγέλη; see *TLL* loc. cit.), and it is likely that there at least Greek influenced Latin (see Stotz 1998: 140). However, the feminine is not confined to translation literature. It occurs in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (192 *ceteras greges*, 193 *plurimas greges*), in a few inscriptions from northern Italy and Rome (*TLL* loc. cit.; also B. Löfstedt 1961: 243) and in some manuscripts of the *Edictus Rothari* (Löfstedt loc. cit.). It is impossible to say whether Greek had any influence on this change of gender beyond the Bible translations.

At Lucr. 2.1154 *funis* (of a 'golden rope') is used in the feminine rather than the usual masculine (*haud, ut opinor, enim mortalia saecula superne | aurea de caelo demisit funis in arua*), in allusion to Hom. *Il.* 8.19 (σειρήν χρυσεῖην) (see Bailey 1947: II.981 ad loc.). But while Greek imitation must be allowed in this specific phrase, *funis* does occur sometimes later in the feminine (*TLL* VI.1.1594.39ff.; see below, 4.2.1.4 (35)) and survives in the feminine in Italian (*fune*).

At Enn. *Ann.* 440 Skutsch *aer* is feminine (*aere fulua*) instead of the masculine usual elsewhere in Latin. In Homer and Hesiod the word is regularly feminine, but otherwise masculine in Greek, and Ennius probably

imitated the Homeric gender, as Gellius (13.21.14) allowed along with another factor (see Skutsch 1985: 599). This is an artistic and artificial gender change, and an aspect of imitation of Greek in learned Latin. In Italian *aria* is feminine, but derives from a form *aera*, originally the Greek accusative (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 16 s.v. *air*). By contrast in e.g. French *air* is masculine.

At Enn. *Ann.* 315 *puluis* is feminine (*puluis fulua uolat*). Skutsch (1985: 494) rejects the influence of the Greek feminine κόνις that has sometimes been suggested (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 11) on the grounds that the feminine is found elsewhere (Propertius); he argues that the gender, like that of *cinis*, was not definitely fixed. It is true that the term occurs occasionally in the feminine later (*TLL* x.2.2625.61ff.), surviving in Italian (*polvere*) as a feminine (for Romance forms and their sources see *TLL* x.2.2626.18ff.).

Skutsch (1985: 709) also takes a sceptical view of Homeric influence (of λίθος as feminine) on the feminine use of *lapides* at *Ann.* 567 (despite Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 11). He observes that the feminine is found in Varro, the *gromatici* and later authors, and draws attention to the unsettled gender also of *silex*. Contrast Nonius p. 311 Lindsay, citing the feminine from Ennius, *ad Homeri similitudinem, qui genere feminino lapides posuit*, a passage which at least reveals the concept that the gender of a Latin word might be changed to match that of a Greek correspondent. Cf. the fragment of Varro *Ant. rer. hum.* cited by Nonius p. 319 Lindsay *ut etiam multatibus, qui oues duos, non duas dicunt, Homerum secutis, qui ait πολλοὶ δ' ὄϊες*.

3.6 *Deliberate variation for literary effect*

Poets sometimes exploited gender variability for their own purposes, and this phenomenon was recognised by grammarians (see Renehan 1998 for a good account). Some such variations fall under other headings in this section as well, such as analogy (3.1) and bilingual imitation (3.5) (further details in Renehan). In other cases there may be a 'poetic' gender. *Tigris* for example is masculine in prose but feminine in poetry (Renehan 1998: 217); Renehan observes that 'a literary genre can determine gender'. Deliberate literary variation is of only marginal concern in this chapter, but is a large topic waiting to be studied.

3.7 *Personification: animacy versus inanimacy*

There is sometimes a gender distinction that relates to the opposition animate versus inanimate. This may be illustrated by *nuntius*. In the masculine the word has two meanings, 'messenger' or 'message', both of which are

widespread in Classical Latin. A neuter emerged, to distinguish a message from the messenger (see Adams 1995a: 124). Note Servius *Aen.* 11.896 *nuntius est qui nuntiat, nuntium quod nuntiatur*. The neuter probably had an artificial flavour. Nonius p. 317 Lindsay notes that it has no widespread authority, but is attested in some *docti*. It is cited by Varro *Ling.* 6.86 from the *tabulae censorinae*, and is occasionally found in literature (Catull. 63.75, Lucr. 4.704). A compound *renuntium* ('report') begins a number of Vindolanda tablets (*Tab. Vindol.* 127–53).

The original gender of *caelum* seems to have been masculine (first of the god), but the sense that the firmament was animate weakened and the neuter spread (see below, § (iii)).

The ancient relation between animacy and gender may be illustrated from a famous example. Indo-European languages have two words for fire, a neuter, as in Gk πῦρ, and a masculine, as in Lat. *ignis*. On the difference between them see Wackernagel (1926–8: 11.16) = Langslow (2009: 419). In the historical period the two words were divided across individual languages, but originally the distinction might have been thus (Langslow loc. cit.): 'the neuter was used when fire was viewed purely as an object, the masc. when it was seen as a personal, active force'.

In Greek the history of the words ὄνειρος and ὄνειρον may be cited as a parallel for the variations seen above (see e.g. Chantraine 1999: 802). In Homer in the masculine form there is still apparent an animate sense, as at *Il.* 2.8, where the Dream (or god of dreams) is personified. Elsewhere in Homer ὄνειρος is the dream itself, but it may as such be a force that acts on man. The neuter ὄνειρον occurs just once in Homer (*Od.* 4.841), where it denotes the thing seen in a dream. The neuter later became the standard term for a dream, as the idea of animacy was lost.

Sometimes a change is of the opposite type: a neuter that is felt to be personified or denotes something animate may shift into another gender. Examples will be discussed below from Plautus (4.2.1 (18)), Varro (4.1 (7)), Petronius (§ (iii)) and inscriptions (§ (iii)). Again, *mancipium* (of a slave) usually retains its neuter form, but it is cited with a masculine adjective from Jordanes and with a masculine nominative in *-us* from an inscription (*TLL* VIII.254.23f.). It is also masculine (*mancipios*) in the Visigothic slate tablet 103 (Velázquez Soriano 2004). *Scortum* is cited in the feminine from medieval Latin (see Blaise 1975: 829), and of a male prostitute is picked up by a masculine pronoun at Plaut. *Poen.* 17 *scortum exoletum ne quis in proscaenio | sedeat* (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

Personification does not necessarily effect a change from neuter to another gender. The change may be rather between the two animate genders: the attributes, male versus female, assigned to the personified

entity may influence the gender. Throughout Latin from Cicero onwards *amnis* is masculine, but in early Latin it is well attested as a feminine (TLL 1.1942.41ff.; e.g. Plaut. *Merc.* 859). Varro in keeping with his tastes (see below, 4.1 (7)) still uses the feminine (*Rust.* 3.5.9, *Men.* 415). Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 11) refer to the analogy of *fluuius* for the change, but there may be an alternative or additional factor. There was a tendency from an early period to personify rivers, and as male (so 'father Tiber' early on: see xxvi.7), and that may have affected the gender. Caper (*GL* vii.101.19) also notes a structural feature that he must have felt relevant (for this second phenomenon see 3.2. above, and below, 4.1 (8), 4.2.4.1 (36)): *omnia nomina in 'nis' finita masculina erunt, ueluti hic finis, crinis, cinis, [canis], amnis*. See Stotz (1998: 141).

An illustration of the effect of personification on gender may be seen from the history of *testimonium* (see E. Löfstedt 1936: 212–13). The word was abstract originally ('evidence, testimony'), but like many abstracts it took on a personal meaning, 'one who gives evidence, witness'. In this new sense the term is sometimes accompanied by a masculine adjective or pronoun in agreement: e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 45.4 (cited by Löfstedt) *si quis autem peregrinus est, nisi testimonia habuerit, qui eum nouerint, non tam facile accedet ad baptismum* ('[b]ut it is not too easy for a visitor to come to baptism if he has no witnesses who are acquainted with him', J. Wilkinson 1971). This is a sort of *constructio ad sensum*, with the personal reference of the abstract generating the masculine *qui*. There lies behind the usage a feeling that a person or personified entity should be referred to by means of the masculine or feminine rather than the neuter, and that is the idea that brings about forms such as *fatus* standing as the subject of verbs (see below, 5 (iii)). Fate, as a hostile force, may have been seen as having male characteristics.

3.8 Indeterminacy of the sex of a referent

If the sex of an animate (such as a small animal, insect, bird, snake) is indeterminate or a matter of indifference to laymen, the gender of its designation may oscillate (see below, 4.2.4.1 (38)). *Grus* 'crane', for example, is usually feminine but is masculine at Laber. 47 and Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.87. It may be possible sometimes to see a motive behind the choice of gender (see e.g. Renehan 1998: 221), but oscillations usually reflect an in-built variability based on the unimportance of the sex to human eyes. The sex of a domestic animal is a different matter (see below, 4.1 (3) on *canis*).

3.9 Persistent variability

The gender of many nouns is highly variable, particularly between masculine and feminine (see e.g. Renehan 1998: 213–14). A notable case is *callis* (on which see Stotz 1998: 141), which in Classical Latin varies between masculine and feminine (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.1000, *TLL* III.173.38ff., Stotz 1998: 141 with n. 10). The *TLL* gives it as of common gender, the *OLD* as m., f. In Varro it is masculine at *Rust.* 2.9.16 (*per calles siluestres longinquos*) but feminine at 2.2.10 (*calles publicae*). Another who uses both genders is Curtius (Neue and Wagener loc. cit.). It is masculine in Virgil and Ovid but feminine in Livy (Neue and Wagener, *TLL* locc. cit.), a variation which points to a lack of standardisation in the literary language of the Augustan period. Another poet who has the masculine is Valerius Flaccus, and Ammianus has the feminine (Neue and Wagener loc. cit.). This variability continues into the Romance languages. In Italian dialects reflexes are partly masculine and partly feminine, and in Catalan masculine but in Spanish feminine (Stotz 1998: 141). In Romanian *cale* is feminine.

Two other nouns that are of common gender in classical literary language are *cortex* and *silex* (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.985–6; on the gender of *cortex* in later Latin see Bendz 1964: 102–3). Nonius p. 293 Lindsay describes the former as *utriusque . . . generis*.

Clunis is given as both masculine and feminine at *TLL* III.1362.11 (see also 1362.14ff.).

Scrobis is assigned both genders by the *OLD*, which says of the word that it is chiefly masculine but then cites feminine examples from Ovid through to Tacitus.

u-stem nouns in general occur in all three genders, and some specific terms are of variable gender (Leumann 1977: 355–6). *Metus* for example is mainly masculine but is attested in early Latin as a feminine (Naevius and Ennius: Nonius p. 315 Lindsay, *TLL* VIII.906.84). *Specus* is mainly feminine but is neuter at Virg. *Aen.* 7.568, though there possibly under the influence of Gk τὸ σπέος (Leumann 1977: 355). *Penus* (4.1 (10)), *porticus* (5 (i)) and *sexus* (4.2.2 (24)) are discussed below.

3.10 Loss of the neuter

The modern Romance languages show that eventually the neuter was lost, but enough has been said in this section to show that there are factors other than the beginnings of that long process that may cause a neuter to appear in another gender. Only when other explanations are ruled out should one

contemplate the possibility that a proto-Romance tendency lies behind a masculine for neuter.

There follows an analysis of gender variation first in Plautus, then Petronius, the Vindolanda tablets and finally in some late texts. It will emerge that there is a difference between Plautus on the one hand and Petronius along with the Vindolanda tablets on the other. That difference has something to tell us about the chronology and social level of the transition to the two-gender system.

4 Plautus

Plautus is remarkable for the extent of his deviations from what modern readers might be attuned to regard as the norms of gender. He uses a cluster of terms in more than one gender, and has other terms in a gender that might seem abnormal by classical standards. There are also some problematic instances, that is aberrant genders that either can be emended away or are special cases. The items to be considered number more than fifty. Sources used here include commentaries, Nonius, Neue and Wagener (1892–1905) and Hodgman (1902) (Zimmermann 1924 is not comprehensive for Plautus). Since Plautus (along with other early writers) is sometimes held up as anticipating proto-Romance changes (see e.g. Campanile [1971] 2008: 1.349–50, speaking of a tendency for the neuter to be eliminated even in the republican period; cf. recently Maiden 2011a: 168 with n. 22 at 700), the question must be considered whether there is any pattern to his gender deviations that might be seen as anticipatory. For example, does the use in the masculine of a term that is usually neuter (e.g. *dorsus* for *dorsum*) have anything to do with the later loss of the neuter? It will be suggested here that gender variations or deviations in Plautus are too diverse to be dismissed as vulgar or as reflecting the starting point of Romance developments. Nor should one exaggerate the fixedness of gender even in the classical period (of the late Republic and age of Augustus).

This section is intended to have a complete collection of Plautine abnormalities. It begins with thirteen terms that appear in Plautus in more than one gender.

4.1 Terms of mixed gender

(1) *rete(m)*

Rete is neuter at e.g. *Rud.* 1168 (*rete extraxi ex aqua*), but there is slight support (Priscian, some manuscripts) for a form *retem* at *Rud.* 942 (with *uuidum*) and 984. Lindsay prints *retem* in both places but Leo *rete*. The

gender variation here is at best dubious, given that *retem* is not well supported, and it might be left out of the discussion.

(2) *loci, loca*

These two plurals are interchangeable in Plautus (see below, 11). *Loci* occurs at *Pseud.* 594–5 and *Trin.* 931, and *loca* five times (Hodgman 1902: 301).

(3) *canis* m., f.

Canis is indifferently masculine and feminine in Latin, with the gender determined by the sex of the referent when that was the animal itself. Plautus has the feminine eleven times and the masculine twice, both times in reference to men (*Bacch.* 1146, *Mil.* 268). The feminine too may refer to men (e.g. *Poen.* 1236), a curiosity that would merit further study. See further Hodgman (1902: 301).

(4) *dies* m., f.

Dies is used both in the masculine and the feminine in Plautus. There is a distinction between the two (see Fraenkel 1917 = 1964: 1.27–72). The masculine is used of any random day, whether of importance or not (e.g. *Aul.* 722a *tantum gemiti . . . | hic dies mihi optulit*). The feminine (ten times) is used particularly in business contexts, when there is a delimited period with an endpoint prescribed as a certain day: e.g. *Pseud.* 622 *argento haec dies | praestitutast, quoad referret nobis*. The distinction was breaking down by the classical and imperial periods, but for Plautine Latin the gender variation has significance, and is a classic illustration of the fact that variability may be semantically determined (see 3.3). On the other hand, on the gender of *dies* in late low-register texts (predominantly feminine), see E. Löfstedt (1911: 192–5). This later usage probably shows the operation of another influence on gender, namely the analogy of a term of related meaning (*nox*) (3.1). The original gender of *dies* was almost certainly masculine (Wackernagel 1926–8: 11.35 = Langslow 2009: 442–4), with the feminine a secondary development possibly itself caused by analogy, either that of the gender of other fifth declension nouns, or of *tempestas*, which has much the same meaning in the Twelve Tables as *dies* feminine in Plautus (Wackernagel loc. cit. = Langslow 2009: 443).

(5) *pugnus, pugnum*

Pugnus is masculine in Plautus where the gender is apparent (seven times: Hodgman 1902: 300), but at *Capt.* 796 Lindsay (1900: 299) defends

the neuter from *Dub. nom. GL* v.587.12: *nam meumst ballista pugnum*. Leo does not accept the neuter, which must be considered doubtful. The *TLL* and *OLD* cite no other neuter example, and the *TLL* quotes the passage with the masculine (x.2.2559.24).

(6) *caseus, caseum*

Nonius p. 294 Lindsay quotes *caseum* (neuter) from Plautus frg. 101 Lindsay (*cum uirgis caseum radi potest*). It is not clear whether the reference is to cheese as a substance, or to an individual (shaped) cheese. Twice elsewhere (*Poen.* 367 *meus molliculus caseus*, 390) the term is an endearment applied to a person, and the masculine is used, possibly because of the personification (see above, 3.7). Alternatively there may be a semantic reason for the masculine.

According to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 10) *caseus* means individual cheese, whereas the neuter is the mass term, of the substance cheese. If that distinction were original, it is not easy to spot in extant Latin (despite Zimmermann 1924: 234). At *TLL* III.513.7ff. the point is made that, while the word denotes both the substance and an individual cheese, it is generally uncertain which sense prevails in a given context. A list of examples tentatively interpreted as used 'de substantia' is followed by a list of those 'de caso formato', but there is no consistent correlation with the variation of gender. There is however a hint of a distinction in Cato and Varro. At *Agr.* 88.2 Cato refers to a brine in which meat or cheeses or salted fish may be pickled: *ea muries erit, uel carnem uel caseos uel salsamenta quo condas*. The masculine plural must refer to individual cheeses, or the plural would have no point: the masculine indicates cheeses as 'countable'. On the other hand at 76.2–3 in a recipe for *placenta* the reader is instructed to take 14 pounds of sheep's cheese and then to dry it out. The next instruction begins (3) *ubi omne caseum bene siccaueris* 'when you have dried all the cheese well'. Here the neuter indicates a large mass (as also in the next section) and not a shaped cheese. So at Varro *Rust.* 2.1.4 the neuter is definitely the generic substance: *ad cibum enim lacte et caseum adhibitum, ad corpus uestitum et pelles adtulerunt*. By contrast at 2.11.3 (*ex hoc lacte casei qui fiunt*) the reference is to cheeses 'made' from a type of milk, and these must be shaped. The masculine is used both here and later in the same passage in the same sense.

However, the distinction between neuter and masculine seen in these two writers was soon lost. In Celsus *caseus* is the form used for the substance, as at 2.25.1 and 2.26.2 (and elsewhere: see the list at *TLL* III.513.10). Here we see one of the factors that was to contribute to variability of gender in Latin: an

original semantic distinction between two forms may be eroded, leaving the forms in free variation (cf. 3.4). Charisius (p. 100.8–14 Barwick) in discussing *caseus* and *caseum* shows no awareness of a semantic distinction.

To return to Plautus, if the above semantic distinction were alive in his time he might have used the masculine as an endearment because it was more natural to compare a person with an object than a substance. But that is mere speculation.

(7) *corius, corium*

In Plautus *corius* is masculine at *Poen.* 139 (*tris facile corios contriuiisti bubulos*) and *frg. inc.* 122 Lindsay (*iam tibi tuis meritis crassus corius reddi-tus*), but the neuter nominative *corium* also occurs four times. In the first passage above, according to Lodge (1924–33: 1.317) s.v. B, the reference is to ‘lororum genus’, that is a type of thong or strap made from ox-hide, and the numeral shows that the objects are countable, like the cheeses above. It might perhaps be suggested that the masculine is semantically motivated. The four neuter nominatives all refer to the ‘hide’ of a person (e.g. *Rud.* 1000 *fiet tibi puniceum corium*; cf. *Bacch.* 434, *Cist.* 703, *Epid.* 65). A person’s or animal’s skin may be seen as a mass, until it is stripped from the body and becomes ‘a hide’ and countable. But in the Plautine fragment above the masculine *corius* is used exactly as the neuter is used in the passage just quoted. If there was originally a distinction between the masculine and the neuter, that distinction was fading already at the time of Plautus (cf. 3.4), if the fragment preserves a correct text.¹

It was the neuter which persisted into the classical period. The only other masculine instance quoted at *TLL* iv.951.82ff. from the early or classical periods is at Varro *Men.* 135 *nunc corius ulmum cum tuus depauit, pergis? heia*. Here there seems to be personification of *corius* (on which see Cèbe 1977: 599; on the personification of body parts in Varro and Plautus see also Cèbe 1972: 56, Fraenkel 2007: 75). Varro (and not only in the *Men.*) not infrequently admits genders that had otherwise been eliminated by the classical period (see above, 3.5, 3.7; also 6, and below 17, 20, 21, 29, 50, 56; also 7.3 (iv)).

¹ It has been suggested by Cennamo (2009: 313–14) that in early Latin including Plautus there is no gender variation in this term at all. The apparent neuter forms in *-um* occur ‘in syntactic contexts where the subject is inactive’ (313), for example as subject of passive verbs or inactive intransitive verbs. These forms are taken instead to be masculine accusatives. On this view there would be an early anticipation of the occasional late-Latin use of the accusative as subject of passive verbs and some types of intransitives (see xii.6.3–4). It is implausible to bring into existence accusative subjects in early Latin, when even in late Latin these are often textually dubious.

A few other instances of *corium* in early Latin (e.g. Cato *Agr.* 13.1, Lucil. 326) do not show their gender. Another example of the masculine, in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (466 *tenuem corium*: on this type of phrase see below, 8), belongs to a different era, and may well be related to the loss of the neuter as a category.

It would be problematic to connect the Plautine masculine examples to a general tendency to loss of the neuter. It is as possible that here again we have a failure of the language to maintain a semantic distinction between two different genders of the same term, with the result that the two forms were up to a point in free variation.

(8) *frons* m., f.

Frons, *frontis* is either masculine or feminine in early Latin, but mainly masculine (cf. the masculines *mons*, *fons* and *pons*): see Nonius p. 301 Lindsay. It has both genders in Plautus. For the feminine see *Rud.* 318 *contracta fronte*; also Naevius *com.* 51 (cited by Varro *Ling.* 7.107) *caperata fronte*. The masculine, for which see *TLL* VI.1.1353.9ff., is at *Mil.* 201 (*seuero fronte*) and in a fragment. It is also in Caecilius, Cato, Pacuvius, Titinius, Sallust, and then sometimes in Augustan and early imperial Latin (e.g. Vitruvius, Valerius Maximus, Celsus, Pliny the Elder). Although the feminine became the norm by the classical period (that is the gender given in the rubric in the *TLL*; the *OLD* has m. in brackets after f.), the masculine did not die out completely: there was a change in the predominating gender but it was not absolute. The masculine continued into medieval Latin, and is reflected in French (*le front*) (Stotz 1998: 148); the outcomes in Gallo-Romance are exclusively masculine (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 279; see also *FEW* III.822 on the division of the Romance reflexes into feminine and masculine). Here is an illustration of the limits of standardisation. If *frons* was syncopated from *frontis* (for such syncopation see Leumann 1977: 98, 449) it stands alongside a number of *-is* terms that show variation of gender: e.g. *amnis*, *anguis*, *callis*, *crinis*, *finis*, *funis*, *scrobis*, most of which come up in this chapter.

(9) *pilleus*, *pilleum*

In Plautus this word is both masculine (frg. inc. ap. Nonius p. 325 Lindsay *pilleus generis masculini*. Plautus *Captiuis*: '*pilleum quem habuit deripuit eumque ad caelum tollit*') frg. 11 among Lindsay's 'fragmenta dubia et suspecta') and neuter (frg. 65–6 Lindsay = *Cornicula* frg. VI *em te opsecro*, | *Lyde*, *pilleum meum*, *mi sodalis*, *mea Salubritas*; see *TLL* X.1.2140.42 'hyperbolice de servo'; the fragment comes from the same passage of Nonius,

preceded by *neutri*). The *TLL* (2139.66ff.) cites several *testimonia* on the variable gender of the term. The neuter is quoted there (2139.70ff.) from Plautus (above), Varro *Men.* 590 '*est tibi*' inquit '*si festinas, pilleum*', Paul. Fest. p. 225.17 Lindsay *pillea Castori et Polluci dederunt antiqui*, Val. Max. 8.6.2, Pers. 5.82, and it is added that it is common ('et saepe') (cf. e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.24, Mart. 14.1.2). But few examples of the masculine are cited (2139.72f.), and the usage is said to be rare ('raro') (note that the fragment of Plautus with the masculine was considered doubtful by Lindsay), though usually the gender is indeterminate because the word is often in the accusative singular. Dictionaries which cite the masculine as the primary form (e.g. *OLD*, Ernout and Meillet 1959; not however *TLL*) give a false impression of the attestations of the term.

The masculine failed to gain hold in the literary language. Some Romance reflexes are feminine not masculine (see *FEW* VIII.494 for OFr. *peille* 'chiffon'), and that would suggest that the neuter (plural) had a long life.

(10) *penus*, m., n.

u-stem nouns exist in all three genders (see 3.9), and some are of variable gender (Leumann 1977: 355–6).

The evidence from grammarians for the forms (*penus*, *-us/-i*, *penus*, *-oris*, *penum*, *-i*) and genders of this word is set out at *TLL* X.I.1122.54ff. The question of gender exercised the grammarians, and Gellius (4.1) has a chapter on *penus*, though gender was not his sole concern. Charisius expresses a general uncertainty: p. 94.21 Barwick *penus quo modo debeat declinari incertum est*. Some grammarians or scholars found two genders, but not necessarily the same ones, Gellius 4.1.2 neuter and feminine, Donatus *Gramm. mai.* 2.5, p. 620.8 (see *GL* IV.375.33 *app. crit.*) masculine and feminine (*TLL* X.I.1122.55ff.). Others found three, e.g. Nonius p. 219 Lindsay, Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 310 and Charisius p. 94.21ff. Barwick (*TLL* X.I.1122.58ff.).

Plautus has the masculine *-us* at *Pseud.* 178: *nam nisi mihi penus annuos hodie conuenit, cras poplo prostituam uos*. At *Capt.* 920 there is *penum aliud* (but Leo prints *alium*). At *Pseud.* 228 (*nisi hodie mi ex fundis tuorum amicorum omne huc penus adfertur*) *penus* is interpreted as neuter by Charisius (p. 94.21–3 Barwick), but the *TLL* (1123.12f.) expresses doubt, citing Leo (1912: 306–7). Leo (307) took the view that *omne* differed from *omnis* only graphically (i.e. there had been loss of final *-s*). However, it was before a consonant that final *-s* was lost, and the attempt to treat *omne* as a 'masculine' before *h* is not convincing. There is such gender variation among nouns of this class (*sexus*, for example, is neuter in Plautus

himself: see below, 24) that there is nothing exceptionable about a neuter case.

The evidence for the genders of the word from texts is found at *TLL* x.1.1123.5ff. The feminine nominative *-us* is well attested (14ff.). The neuter nominative *-um* is in the *Digest* (17f.). The accusative *-um* is often of uncertain gender, but for the feminine see *TLL* (38ff.). Possible masculine (36ff.) and neuter (33ff.) instances are not so easy to interpret.

(11) *panis, pane*

A neuter *pane* for masc. *panis* is cited by Charisius from *Curc.* 367: p. 113.23–114.2 Barwick *panis masculino genere dicitur. nam etsi neutro genere Plautus dixit 'pane et assa bubula', tamen uitiose.* The passage is also quoted for the neuter by Nonius p. 322 Lindsay. Manuscripts of Plautus have *panem* but editors (Leo and Lindsay) print *pane*. Leo however implies (1912: 307–8) that a neuter *pane* is not believable. He regards the reading itself as authentic, and as evidence for the loss of *-s* before vowels. But such a view of the treatment of final *s* would no longer be accepted (see above, 10). Otherwise Plautus uses the masculine, and has the form *panem* six times.

(12) *labium* and *labeae*

This term appears in Plautus as a feminine plural and probably as a neuter plural, and there is a difference also in the vowel in hiatus: *Stich.* 723a *refer ad labeas tibias*, *Mil.* 93 *meretrices labiis ducant* (on which see *TLL* vii.2.774.74, 775.36). This is a case which takes us into the world of gender variation in popular, even provincial, Latin, and it is the vowel in hiatus that is revealing.

The two words are given separate lemmata by the *TLL* (s.vv. *labea*, *labium*), but historically they belong together. *Labeae* must have been formed alongside the neuter plural *labia*, but the persistent spelling with *e* in hiatus is suggestive of a dialect form, on a par with forms such as *filea* = *filia* in non-Roman inscriptions and the 'Praenestine' *conea* for *ciconia* reported by Plautus (*Truc.* 691) (for which dialectalisms see Adams 2007: 68–72). *Labea(e)* (the singular of such terms hardly occurs: see below) has a distinctive distribution. Proportionately it is particularly common in the scanty remains of Atellan farce (three times in Pomponius (144, 153, 157 Frassinetti) and once in Novius (52 Frassinetti)), a genre with a regional origin, and in which there are no certain examples of the other words/forms for 'lips' (*labium*, *labrum*, *labellum*) (there is a possible example of the

neuter plural *labia* in Novius, cited by Nonius p. 813 Lindsay, but it has tended to be emended to *labias* and is marked with a question mark in the table at *TLL* VII.2.775; see Frassinetti 1967: 74 on Novius 17). This apparent preference in Atellana for *labeae* is distinctive, and contrasts with the distribution of the various terms even in Plautus. Plautus has *labrum* eleven times, *labellum* ten and *labia* (neuter plural) once (i.e. twenty-two examples), against the single case of *labeae*. The last is in a special context, in a passage of the *Stichus* (723, above) where the dramatic illusion is dropped and a piper addressed. In the early period *labeae* looks like a popular and provincial term (the cognomen *Labeo* is derived from it), set apart from *labia* not only by its gender but also by the vowel in hiatus. Plautus presumably chose the form to mark the switch to casual speech outside the dramatic dialogue, or to characterise the addressee. On the various terms see Flury *TLL* VII.2.774.81ff. ‘ante Christianos fere *labrum* praevallet, ceterum in Atellanis *labea* (POMPON. ter), in sermone amatorio *labellum*’. The provincial elements in Atellan farce were not necessarily determined by interference from Oscan (see Adams 2007: 695 with 154–5). There are also two instances of *labeae* in Lucilius, who does not, however, confine himself to this word for ‘lips’ (he also has *labra* and *labella*): 336 *rostrum labeasque hoc uociferanti* | *percutio*, 584 *Zopyrion labeas caedit* (cf. Novius 52 Frassinetti *uerberato populus homini labeas pugnus caedere*). The first example is notable for the use of the animal term *rostrum* ‘snout’ applied to a human (for which see Adams 2007: 385–9), and this juxtaposition is itself suggestive of a popular or provincial flavour. The similarity of the phraseology in the second example to that in the example from Novius points to the same conclusion.

For another term with *e* in hiatus see below, 4.2.4.1 (43) (*cochlea*).

Feminines that are derivable from neuter plurals often themselves are used mainly in the plural (see 4.2.3 (28); see also some of the material at Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.818–26), and that suggests that mere misinterpretation of a form in *-a* (as a feminine singular) is not the only possible cause of the gender change. Perhaps the feminine (plural) was sometimes semantically determined, though that was not the case with *labeae* (despite Zimmermann 1924: 226).

(13) *ramenta, ramentum*

This word (= ‘shaving’, <*rado*) is neuter singular at *Bacch.* 680 (strictly *ramento* is indeterminate between neuter and masculine but it is probably neuter, given that the neuter is securely attested in the period covered by

the *OLD* but the masculine never found), but feminine singular in three other places (*Bacch.* 513, 519b, *Rud.* 1016). The *OLD* cites no other cases of the feminine.

Ernout (1935: 78) on *Bacch.* 513 says that Plautus had there used a popular proverbial expression (with the feminine therefore a popular form). Perrot (1961: 308), however, suggests a distinction between the neuter and feminine forms in Plautus: the neuter is collective, the feminine individualising. This distinction seems to be correct. Note *Bacch.* 513 *uerum quam illa umquam de mea pecunia | ramenta fiat plumea propensior*, | . . . *malim* ('I would prefer [to do such and such] rather than that she should ever become heavier by a scrap/fraction of a feather from my money'). The reference is to the minutest amount, a single scrap of a feather. There is an identical usage a few lines later, in a passage deleted by Leo: 519a–b *sed autem quam illa umquam meis opulentis | ramenta fiat grauior aut propensior*, | . . . *malim*. There is the same use of the feminine at *Rud.* 1016: *numquam hercle hinc hodie ramenta fies fortunatior* ('you will never today from this become richer by a single scrap').

The force of the neuter example at *Bacch.* 680 is not the same: *quia patri omne cum ramento reddidi* ('because I have handed over to my father all (the gold) with every last scrap', i.e. 'every last scrap of the gold'). *Ramentum* does not denote a single scrap as *ramenta* does, but any scraps that there might be in addition to the mass itself: it is collective. It could not have been accompanied by *unum* in the above context, but *ramenta* might have been accompanied by *una*.

4.1.1 Some conclusions

Some variations of gender are semantically determined. That is so of *dies* feminine versus masculine and *ramenta* versus *ramentum*, and there are signs of a distinction between *corius* and *corium* and *caseus* and *caseum*. In the last three cases the neuter may denote mass or substance and the other gender may be individualising, i.e. denote manifestations of the substance that are countable. Variations in the gender of *canis* reflect the sex of the referent.

There are however instances where two different genders of a term seem indistinguishable. Sometimes this may be because an original semantic distinction was lost, leaving the two forms in free variation (so *corius* in one place in Plautus; cf. 4.1 (7)). But in many cases fixedness of gender had probably not been achieved. A specific cause of a particular variation may be impossible to identify. Modern grammar books may exaggerate the degree of standardisation (see above, 2). Ancient grammarians

(e.g. Charisius and Nonius) seem to make no consistent effort to enforce standardisation but to be interested more in illustrating variations, though this is a subject in its own right that deserves systematic investigation. In some word classes in particular (e.g. *i*- and *u*-stem nouns), or rather in some lexical items within such classes, variation is ongoing, and dictionaries may be unable to assign a term a predominating gender, even for the classical period.

The temptation to regard a deviation from a perceived norm as ‘vulgar’ should be resisted, unless there is a specific reason for doing so. *Labeae* alongside *labia* was indeed substandard, as is shown by its distribution, and it also has a vowel in hiatus that marks it out as of provincial origin. The gender variation in itself does not establish the term as vulgar, as there are examples in early Latin of such feminine plurals alongside neuter plurals even in the higher literary genres (see 4.2.3 (28)).

4.2 Terms of ‘abnormal’ gender

In this section terms are presented that appear in a different gender in Plautus from that expected in Classical Latin.

4.2.1 Masculine for neuter

(14) *aeuos* for *aeuum*

This word is masculine in an archaising context at *Poen.* 1187 *Iuppiter . . . per quem uiuimus uitalem aeuum*. The word does not occur elsewhere in Plautus. The masculine was probably older than the neuter, its transfer to the neuter determined by the influence of *tempus* (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 10, de Vaan 2008: 29). The masculine also occurs in Lucretius (2.561, 3.605).

(15) *uiscus* for *uisum*

The word is masculine at *Bacch.* 50 *uiscus merus uostrast blanditia* and possibly *Poen.* 479, but otherwise in Plautus the gender is not clear. The *OLD* cites no other masculine variants of *uisum*¹.

(16) *tributus* for *tributum*

This form, at *Epid.* 227 and 228, is given a separate lemma by the *OLD* from *tributum* but is equated with it (‘levy, tax’). It is cited also from Cato *Orig.* 125, and is noted by Gellius as used by many of the ancients: 13.21.19. ‘*hic tributus, quod tributum nos dicimus, a plerisque ueterum dicta sunt*. Plautus does not have *tributum*.

(17) *collus* for *collum*

Collus is regularly masculine in early Latin (numerous examples at Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.795; Accius, Lucilius, Caecilius, Plautus, Cato, Naevius, Varro: see Nonius pp. 294–5 Lindsay; also Leo 1912: 310) but is neuter from Cic. *Brut.* 313 onwards. The change of gender is difficult to explain, but at least carries a salutary message: it goes against the direction of gender change from Latin to Romance. Nor can the early cases be dismissed as vulgar variants, i.e. deviations from an established neuter of the early period. The masculine is the norm in early Latin, and it is attested in high as well as lower literary genres.

There have been attempts to explain the change of gender. According to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 11) the shift was due to the analogy of *caput*, but the semantic connection is not close. Ernout and Meillet (1959: 132) see one reason as the fact that many names for parts of the body are neuter. André (1991: 69) is prompted to ask then why *armus*, *umerus*, *digitus* etc. remained masculine.

Ernout and Meillet loc. cit. also state that *collum* was partly determined by the ‘collectif pluriel *colla*’, which they say was common. Leumann (1977: 276) raises this possibility (with a question mark). Here is an appeal to the vague concept of the neuter plural as collective (see below, 11 for discussion of this issue), an idea that runs through much discussion of gender from Latin to Romance, and is rarely explained. It is not stated in this case in what sense *colla* might be collective. The one thing that is certain about *colla* is that it is a poetic plural (see *TLL* III.1658.82 ‘frequentant poetae pluralem prae singulari, imprimis nom. acc. pl. *colla*’, and particularly Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.750). It is absent from prose of the period.

What caused the change remains unclear, and does not matter here. The case brings out the complexity of gender changes at an early period, and the fact that they do not necessarily have anything directly to do with the loss of the neuter in Romance.

(18) *dorsus* for *dorsum*

A nominative masculine form *dorsus* is at Plaut. *Mil.* 397 (*ita dorsus totus prurit*). There may be a personification here, and if the neuter was the norm at this period (other examples of the word in Plautus do not show their gender), that might explain an ad hoc switch. On the personification of body parts in Plautus see the bibliography on 7 above.

There are a few other masculine examples in manuscripts and later Latin (*CGL* III.311.48, 405.11, *dorsus* both times; see *TLL* V.1.2037.23ff.). If the earlier gender was masculine not neuter, the switch to neuter would be

explicable from the analogy of *tergum/tergus*. Stotz (1998: 151), referring to the loss of the neuter in the transition from Vulgar Latin to Romance, finds an anticipation of this development in 'ancient Vulgar Latin' in terms such as *dorsus*; others are cited as well, but they are not all of the same type. There are no grounds for assuming that *dorsus* in Plautus represents a general vulgar change of gender, or that this one masculine example is directly connected with the Romance outcomes of the word (*REW* 2755: it is incidentally the form *doss-* for *dors-* that survives, for which see already Varro *Rust.* 2.10.5).

(19) *sinus* for *sinum*

A masculine form for *sinum* 'bowl' (for serving wine) occurs twice in Plautus (*Curc.* 82, *Rud.* 1319). These examples are accepted by editors and the *OLD*. It is possible that *sinus* was the earlier form of the word and that it shifted to neuter on the analogy of *poculum*.

(20) *guttur* m. for n.

Another anatomical term that is regularly masculine in early Latin is *guttur*. The accusative *gutturē* is three times in Plautus (*Aul.* 304, *Mil.* 835, *Trin.* 1014), who does not have a neuter form. The only instance in Lucilius is masculine (1167 *gutturē*). The same form is at Naevius *com.* 135 *ingurgitavit usque ad inum gutturē* (though there is some doubt about the attribution, whether to Naevius or Novius). There is also a masculine nominative at Varro *Men.* 237 *exercebam ambulando, ut siti capacios ad cenam ueniret guttur*, where there is personification of the body part. The neuter singular appears in e.g. Celsus and is the regular gender except in early Latin. There is also a poetic plural *gutturā* (*TLL* vi.2–3.2374.78f., first at Prop. 4.5.66 and fourteen times in Ovid). The evidence appears to show that the word was originally masculine and that there was then a switch to neuter, as in the case of *collus*. In the history of anatomical terms there are changes from masculine to neuter (17, 20) and from neuter to masculine (below, 22, 23), and there does not seem to have been a systematic standardisation taking place.

(21) *papauer* m. for n.

On the gender of this word see *TLL* x.1.250.30ff. Both examples in Plautus are masculine (*papauerem*: *Poen.* 326, *Trin.* 410). A fragment of Varro's *Admiranda* quoted by Charisius p. 105.20 Barwick consists of the words *infriasse papauerem* (cf. Nonius p. 325 Lindsay *infriassene papauerem*), and at the same place Charisius quotes the phrase *papauer Gallicanus* from

the *Origines* of Cato (frg. 35). Otherwise, except for a few confusions in much later Latin, *papauer* is neuter, and indeed Cato himself uses it in the neuter (Agr. 79, 84 *papauer infriato*) as well as the masculine. The distribution if taken at face value suggests that the word was masculine in early Latin but was changing gender in the second century BC, and that the change was complete by the late Republic. Varro as often (see above, 7) held on to the old form, and he has it in the same verb phrase as that in which Cato (above) has the neuter.

4.2.2 Neuter for masculine

(22) *uterum* for *uterus*

Found at Plaut. *Aul.* 691 *opsecro te, uterum dolet*, Turp. 179 *ut uterum cruciatur mihi!*, Afranius 345 *consedit uterum*.

None of the other examples in Plautus shows its gender. The same seems to be true of most other early instances, but note Afranius 338 *iam crescit uterus*. Stockert (1983: 181) convincingly dismisses the view that *uterum dolet* is an impersonal construction, with *uterum* accusative.

(23) *nasum* for *nasus*

The neuter nominative *nasum* is well attested in republican Latin and even beyond (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.801, Zimmermann 1924: 235); see Plaut. *Amph.* 444, *Men.* 168, *Mil.* 1256, Lucil. 267, 582, 942, Vitruv. 3.1.2. Plautus and Lucilius do not have the masculine nominative *nasus*, which is first at Cic. *Nat.* 2.143. As the organ of smell the nose is readily personified (note Plaut. *Mil.* 1256 *nam odore nasum sentiat, si intus sit*, ‘my nose would detect it from the smell, if he were inside’), and that may be a reason for the change of gender.

(24) *sexus* n. for m.

Sexus is used, it seems, as a neuter at Plaut. *Rud.* 107 *uirile sexus numquam ullum habuit*, though Leo would have it (*app. crit.*), ‘*uirile* scriptum uidetur pro genetiuo *uirilis*’. Otherwise it is masculine, though Plautus has no other example in either gender. The overlapping term *secus* (not in Plautus) is neuter. See the discussion of Marx (1928: 77).

(25) *calor* n. for m.

Quoted by Nonius p. 294 Lindsay as a neuter from Plaut. *Merc.* 860 *neque frigus neque calor metuo* (Lindsay, Leo *nec calor nec frigus metuo*). This seems to be the only attested case of the neuter.

(26) *capillum* for *capillus*

Nonius p. 291 Lindsay quotes Plaut. *Most.* 254 with a neuter *capillum*: *uide, capillum satin compositumst conmode* (the manuscripts of Nonius have *compositum sit*, which is unmetrical). The neuter is accepted by Lindsay (in his text of Plautus) (*uiden capillum sati' compositumst commode*) but Leo follows the manuscripts of Plautus (*capillus... compositust*). This case is dubious. Sturtevant (1925) punctuates to make *capillum* accusative (*uide capillum. satin compositust commode?*). The plural *capilla*, possibly a collective neuter (below, 11, p. 446), is at *CIL* x.8249, but otherwise the *TLL* cites no neuter examples.

(27) *artua* for *artūs*

At *Men.* 855 there is a neuter plural *artua*. Plautus does not otherwise use the word. This form may be unique (<neuter *artu*) (*TLL* 11.711.75ff., Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 1.531).

4.2.2.1 *Some conclusions*

In the last two sections (on masculine for neuter and neuter for masculine) fourteen terms have been considered (14–27). Eight of these (14–21) show a masculine where by classical norms a neuter might have been expected. This small body of evidence, however, offers little reason for proposing that there was already a Romance-type shift in progress at a colloquial level. On the contrary, in three quarters of these eight cases (14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21) the masculine seems to have been the normal gender in early Latin (and the real shift was from masculine to neuter in the post-Plautine period). *Aeuos* (14) was probably the original form, and both *collus* (17) and *guttur* (20) were regularly masculine in early Latin. *Tributus* (16), *sinus* (19) and *papauer* (21) might well have changed from masculine to neuter during the Republic, but the evidence is not strong. The only item that might possibly be linked with later developments is *dorsus* (18). Its attestations are not sufficient to establish the predominating gender in the early period, but if it were masculine the switch to neuter could be explained from an analogy. If on the other hand it were neuter, the one masculine case (perhaps a personification) might be aligned with some similar usages in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius (see below, 5 (iii)). 15 offers very little to go on.

The six examples of neuter for masculine (22–7) are not all of equal interest. *Capillum* (26) is doubtful and may be disregarded. *Sexus* (24), *calor* (25) and *artua* (27) are isolated oddities from which no conclusions can be drawn (and 24 was rejected by Leo). There remain *uterum* (22)

and *nasum* (23), both anatomical terms. The second seems to have been regularly neuter in the early period, and the later change of gender might also reflect a personification. The first too seems to have been mainly neuter in early Latin.

Six of the fourteen examples in these sections are anatomical terms, *collus*, *dorsus*, *guttur*, *uterum*, *nasum*, *artua*, and the change of gender that was to occur by the classical period is in both directions, neuter to masculine and masculine to neuter. The absence of a consistent pattern betrays a variability of gender in republican Latin, but no more than that. Several of the words of variable gender seen in the first section were also anatomical terms (*corius*, *labium*; also *frons*). This instability of gender in one semantic field is striking, but it is difficult to identify decisive reasons for variation. However, most of the body parts are external or might be perceived as 'active', and that might partly account for a movement away from the neuter to a gender appropriate to a personified entity. For this explanation of masculine anatomical terms see André (1991: 69), on old Latin *collus*: 'Le masc. ancien est justifié par le fait qu'il s'agit d'une partie du corps animée et non fixe'. If so the gender of this term must eventually have been influenced by another factor (analogy).

4.2.3 Feminine for neuter

(28) *fulmenta*

Of similar type to *ramenta* (13) is *fulmenta* 'prop', a feminine variant of *fulmentum* (see Perrot 1961: 302). *Fulmentae* differs from *ramenta* in that it is used in the plural not the singular. This is a common phenomenon. Other such feminine plurals in early Latin (though not Plautus) corresponding to neuter plurals are *armentae* (Perrot 1961: 301), *caementae* (Perrot 1961: 302), *lamentae* (Perrot 1961: 302), *aruae* (Perrot 1961: 304) and *neruiae* (Varro *Men.* 366; see Perrot 1961: 307), and to these should be added *labeae*, which is Plautine (12). Note too *retes* 'nets' (the feminine plural, but not the singular, is accepted by a grammarian: Adams 2003b: 542–3) at 6 below. The feminine plural *fulmentae* is at *Trin.* 720 *fulmentas iubeam suppingi socco*, and also Cato *Agr.* 14.1 and Lucil. 160. The example in Plautus refers to specific props and is particularising, and the same is true at Lucil. 160, where the objects are countable (with a numeral present): *fulmentas quattuor addit*. For the issue see Perrot (1961: 307) and above, 13 for the relationship between the feminine singular *ramenta* and neuter *amentum*; cf. too *neruia* and *neruiae*: the latter means 'strings of a musical instrument' (which are countable), and the former 'sinews or tendons' (which to the layman are not): see *OLD* for details. The feminine *fulmentae* is attested securely only in the accusative plural (*TLL* VI.1.1530.81ff.).

One must be cautious in arguing for a semantic distinction between neuter plural and feminine plural forms. A salutary case is that of *caementa* versus *caementae*. Perrot (1961: 307) thought that Zimmermann (1924: 225–6) had established that *caementa* designated a work of masonry ‘considéré en bloc’, while *caementae* indicated stones considered individually. A glance at the OLD s.vv. *caementa* f. and *caementum* shows that this is not true. *Caementae* may refer to individual stones (Enn. *scaen.* 383 Vahlen *caementae cadunt*: however, note that *caementae* is an emendation for *caementa*), but so does *caementa* (n. pl.) (see OLD s.v. *caementum* a). The singular *caementum* is collective (OLD b).

(29) *praes(a)epes*

This term is mainly of the third declension in early and Classical Latin, though a second declension form *praesepium* (a back-formation from an earlier plural *praesepia*: see below) occurs particularly in later Latin, which will not be dealt with here. There is a full treatment of the forms at TLL x.2.806.61ff. In early Latin only the feminine *praes(a)epes* occurs. Plautus, for example, has only this (four times). Cato has the accusative plural *praesaepis* (*Agr.* 4, 14.1, in both places with feminine adjectives). In the dative and ablative plural, in the ablative singular and the genitive singular and plural the word does not reveal its gender unless there is an adjective present, and various examples are listed in these cases (TLL x.2.807.4ff.). The neuter singular *praesaepe* turns up in Horace (*Epist.* 1.15.28), Ovid and others later, often (TLL x.2.807.10ff.). Varro is the first to attest the neuter plural *praesaepia* (*Rust.* 2.2.19), but typically he was not consistent, as he has the feminine accusative plural as well (*Rust.* 1.13.6). For *praesaepia* (Virgil, Ovid, others) see too TLL x.2.807.12ff.

Thus Plautus and Cato have only the feminine, Varro is transitional in having both the feminine and the neuter, and thereafter the neuter is normal. Plautus has not admitted an abnormal gender for his time; there was a change in the language itself between the early and classical periods.

(30, 31, 32) *glaucuma*, *schema*, *ostrea*

There are also in Plautus Greek loan-words from neuter singulars in -μῶν that have been changed into feminine singulars (see André 1968: 4). Such terms were popular borrowings from an early period, and they tended later to be converted to the neuter in the literary language.

At *Amph.* 117 *schema* is a feminine ablative singular (*cum seruili schema*). Plautus does not have an unambiguously neuter form. For the feminine see also Nonius p. 333 Lindsay on Pomponius 158 Frassinetti.

Glaucumam at Plaut. *Mil.* 148 (*glaucumam ob oculos obiciemus*) is interesting in two ways. First, though a medical term in origin, it is metaphorical ('confusion'), and this implies that the word had long been domiciled in popular Latin. Second, the long *u* in the second syllable suggests that the borrowing was made via another Italic language. Leumann (1977: 76) cites, as a parallel for the phonetic change, *cupa* < κώπη (part of a mill, at Cato *Agr.* 21), and on this Ernout and Meillet (1959) propose that the borrowing must have been via a southern Italic dialect such as Oscan (in which long *o* was converted into a *u*). It was seen above (12) that another feminine deriving from a neuter (*labeae*) – though not one deriving from a Greek neuter singular – has a regional feature (the open *e* in hiatus).

For other borrowings into the feminine in early Latin of Greek neuters in -μα see André (1968: 4), Leumann (1977: 454), Woytek (1982: 320). *Cyma* (< κύμα) appears in Lucilius as a neuter (945), but in a fragment of the poet Volumnius as a feminine (*Dub. nom. GL* v.574.1, with Courtney 1993: 234). *Syrma* (< σύρμα) is feminine in the fragmentary poet Cornelius Severus (*Dub. nom.* 590.1, Courtney 1993: 327–8) and a few other early writers (e.g. Afranius 64) but appears later as a neuter. *Dogma* is feminine in Laberius (17); see Panayotakis (2010: 158–9) on this and such feminines in popular literary genres of the early period.

In early Latin a few Greek neuter plurals were also borrowed as feminine singulars. *Ostrea* 'oyster', for example, is several times feminine in early Latin, including Plautus (Plaut. *Rud.* 297 plural, Lucil. 132 singular; Lucilius also has the neuter plural three times). It was taken from the plural of Gk ὄστρε(ι)ον. Oysters are usually referred to in the plural, and ὄστρεα must have been the form normally heard by Latin speakers. According to Matasović (2004: 49), discussing Italic but referring to Latin, '[t]here are no neuter words denoting animals, except for the archaic looking generic word, *animal* . . . , and the word for "oyster", *ostreum*, which is a Greek borrowing'.²

(33) *sinapis*

Sinapi 'mustard' is often neuter, but there is a feminine form *sinapis* as well. *Pseud.* 817 *teritur sinapis scelera* has been interpreted in different

² Matasović (2004: 49 n. 88) also states 'In later Latin, presumably under the influence of the teaching of grammarians, *ostreum* only refers to the shell-bone, while the feminine *ostrea* is reserved for the shell' (distinction unclear). Wackernagel (1926–8: 11.17) = Langslow (2009: 420) says that strictly *ostreum* referred only to the shell, whereas the animal was *ostrea*. In reality both genders are used of the delicacy (*OLD* s.v. b), and it is not clear on what evidence this assertion is based. The *TLL* article makes no such distinctions.

ways. On one view *sinapis* is genitive dependent on the plural of *scelus*, which would have to be taken as the object of an impersonal use of *teritur*. Such a verbal construction would be problematic (see XII.6.3). Alternatively *sinapis* may be feminine and *scelera* an adjective (for which, with a question mark, see OLD s.v. *scelerus*). There is nothing surprising about variability of gender in a foreign word of unusual form, and in any case the interpretation is not certain.

4.2.4 Alternations between masculine and feminine

4.2.4.1 Feminine for masculine

(34) *amnis*

On *amnis* (masculine from Cicero onwards) see above, 3.7. The word is feminine at *Merc.* 859; the other instances in Plautus are of indeterminate gender. For nouns of this structure as usually masculine see 3.7 and below, 35 (passage of Quintilian) and 36, and for another possible factor behind the switch from feminine to masculine, 3.7.

(35) *rudens*

Rudens ‘rope’, though usually masculine, is feminine in Plautus (*Rud.* 938), and also Vitruvius 10.15.7 (if *quarum* refers back to *rudentibus*; there is a lacuna before *rudentibus*). Vitruvius (like Varro) sometimes preserves a gender that had been largely lost after the early period (see above, 8, 23). On the possibility that the feminine *restis* ‘rope’ sometimes influenced the gender of other words of the same semantic field see Renehan (1998: 216–17). Quintilian (1.6.5–6) pronounces on the gender of *funis* ‘rope’, stating that the analogy of *panis* and the diminutive form *funiculus* establishes that the word is masculine, but his remark implies a doubt (see Renehan 1998: 216). There is an example of *funis* in the feminine in Lucretius (2.1154), but it is a special case with literary associations (see 3.5).

(36) *crinis*

Crinis is usually masculine but seems to be feminine at *Most.* 226 *solis gerundum censeo morem et capiundas crinis*. The other examples of *crinis* in Plautus are of indeterminate gender. Verrius Flaccus is quoted by Charisius p. 128.15–18 Barwick as using an analogical argument to demonstrate that *clunes* was masculine, since inanimate nouns ending in *-nis* in the nominative singular, including *crinis*, were masculine: *sed Verrius Flaccus masculino genere dici probat, quoniam nis syllaba terminata anima carentia nominatiuo singulari masculina sunt, ut panis cinis crinis similia*. Nonius

p. 298 Lindsay cites the masculine from Virgil (*Aen.* 4.559) and the feminine from the passage of Plautus above, and also from an epigrammatist Atta (?) (on whom see Courtney 1993: 69). The attribution to the feminine in Plautus depends on a single letter in one word (see below on 49), and there remains a doubt. For words with this ending sometimes used in the feminine see above 34 and 35, and also Renehan (1998: 216) on *finis*.

(37) *anguis*

Anguis is usually masculine. Nonius p. 281 Lindsay cites the feminine from Varro of Atax and Plaut. *Amph.* 1108 (*angues iubatae* . . . *duo* | *maxumae*), where it is printed against the manuscripts by Lindsay (but not by Leo or de Melo 2011, who have *angues iubati*). If the feminine is accepted here, it is also needed at 1111, 1116, 1123 (different genders are unlikely to have been used in reference to the same two snakes in a single passage) and must be introduced without manuscript support. Christenson (2000: 312) favours the indirect (Nonian) tradition. However, the Nonian citation has *duo* (accepted by Lindsay and Christenson), which is poorly attested as a feminine nominative, and is not definitely in Plautus (see Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 11.277, *TLL* v.1.2243.61ff.). It receives no note from Christenson. Animal names, it is true, are susceptible to variations of gender (see above, 3.8, and below, 38, 39, 47), but in this case the evidence is problematic. The feminine lingers on into the classical period (Cic. *Nat.* 1.101) and beyond (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.3) (details at *TLL* 11.51.54ff.).

(38) *pedis*

Pedis ‘louse’ is feminine at *Vid.* frg. xix Lindsay *ubi quamque pedem uiderat, subfurabatur omnis*, cited by Nonius p. 326 Lindsay. For the masculine Nonius cites Novius 107 Frassinetti and there are also masculine examples at Varro *Rust.* 3.9.14 and 3.9.20. The *TLL* gives no other feminine instance.

Some animals, it was noted earlier (3.8), are of indeterminate sex to the layman, or sexual distinctions may be a matter of indifference to human observers. On this subject see Wackernagel (1926–8: 11.26–7) = Langslow (2009: 432–3). Wackernagel cites Varro *Ling.* 9.55–6 on how male and female animals are referred to sometimes with masculines and sometimes with feminines. Varro ‘then makes the acute comment that languages distinguish sex only when it is of practical significance: it is important to distinguish stallion and mare, hence *equus* vs *equa*, but in the case of the raven it does not matter whether a given animal is male or female, and here a single form can suffice’ (Langslow 2009: 432). If the morphological

structure of a designation was such as to accommodate either a masculine or feminine interpretation, then it was open to a speaker to vary the usual gender in accordance with his perception of the creature at a particular moment (cf. the remarks of Renehan 1998: 221 on abnormal genders of some other animal designations). Cf. also above, 3, on *canis*.

(39) *culex*

Culex 'gnat' is masculine, except at *Cas.* 239 (*cana culex*) (see *TLL* IV.1286.56f.).

In this section we have now seen Plautus referring to the gnat, louse and possibly snake in the feminine, and in the next we will see the wood-pigeon referred to in the masculine (47).

(40) *Acheruns*

Feminine at *Capt.* 999 *uerum enim uero nulla adaeque est Acheruns | atque ubi ego fui* (see Nonius p. 282 Lindsay). Ἀχέρων was masculine in Greek and also in Latin when borrowed in Greek form (*Acheron*), of a river of the underworld or the god of the river. Lindsay (1900: 347) refers to the 'Latin popular form' as feminine. The feminine at least shows that the form *Acheruns* (of the underworld itself), presumably a very old borrowing (mediated via Etruscan?), had lost all connection with the river/god and was a designation of place. The form is masculine at *Lucr.* 3.978 (no doubt in recognition of the origin of the word).

(41, 42, 43, 44) A group of Greek terms

Greek masculines in -α/-ης were borrowed into Latin with the -a ending of the first declension. If the referent was a person (*nauta*) the masculine gender was retained. If it was a thing, the gender switched to feminine under the influence of the ending. The latter type was old and no doubt popular, with several examples in Plautus: *artopta* (41), *catapulta* (42), *cochlea* (43), *metreta* (44) (see André 1968: 2). There was an alternative way of accommodating such terms in Latin: *Lucilius* (709) has *chartus* for *charta*, a form which preserves the original gender but with a change of ending. *Cochlea* seems to have the same provincial vowel in hiatus as *labeae* (4.1 (12)).

4.2.4.2 *Masculine for feminine*

(45) *aluus*

This is masculine at *Pseud.* 823, and in fragments of Cato, Accius, Cinna, Calvus and others (see *TLL* I.1800.16ff., *OLD* s.v., and the discussion of

Panayotakis 2010: 446). The feminine is first attested in Cato (*Agr.* 114.1), who has both genders, and is the norm in Classical Latin (e.g. Varro *Rust.* 3.16.16, Cic. *Nat.* 2.136, Hor. *Sat.* 2.4.27). In late and medieval Latin the word appears again as a masculine (Stotz 1998: 147), but that is probably a new development determined by the masculine character of the *-us* ending (so Stotz). Charisius p. 101.26 Barwick, after listing examples of the masculine, states *quod magis usus celebrauit*, which literally seems to be translatable ‘which [gender, i.e. the masculine] usage has caused to spread more widely’. Does this mean that the masculine was now more widespread than it once was, or that it was now more widespread than the feminine? In both cases Charisius would be referring to an increased currency of the masculine.

It is hard to believe that the original gender was masculine and that there was a switch to the feminine. The speculative suggestion (Sommer 1914: 334) that the word changed from masculine to feminine under the influence of *hira* does not ring true, given the infrequency of the latter. It is more likely that the feminine was old, and that there was a tendency for the word to shift into the masculine because of its ending. That tendency, which shows up early, was long resisted but returned in later Latin.

(46) *syngraphus*

Several times used by Plautus as a masculine (e.g. *Asin.* 746, *Capt.* 450; there is some manuscript support for a form *syngrapham* at *Asin.* 238). This is a borrowing from ἡ σύγγραφος, and is a case of gender determined by form (see André 1964: 3). Classical Latin preferred *syngrapha* (< συγγραφή).

(47) *palumbes*

Palumbes ‘wood-pigeon’ (the second declension form *palumbus* is not relevant here) is cited by Nonius p. 323 Lindsay as a feminine from Virgil and as a masculine from Plautus (*Bacch.* 51 *unum . . . palumbem*), Lucilius and Pomponius. The *OLD* gives the word as m. and f. For further details see *TLL* 172.30ff. Pliny the Elder seems to have used this third declension form in both genders.

(48) *cupido*

This word is masculine at *Amph.* 840 (*sedatum cupidinem*). It does not occur in Plautus as a feminine. The *OLD* gives it as f. or m., *TLL* IV.1421.32 as f., but there follows (38ff.) a long list of masculine examples, from Plautus through Horace and Ovid to Seneca and Silius. The name of the god *Cupido* (personified desire) is masculine, and that might have

influenced the common noun. Nisbet and Hubbard (1978: 261–2) on Hor. *Odes* 2.16.15 state: ‘Porphyrio regards the masculine gender as strange, but this is the older usage (cf. the sex of the god), and invariable in Horace.’

4.2.4.2.1 *Some conclusions*

Various tendencies have been seen in the material in the last two sections. First, nouns in *-is* are often variable in gender. Second, names of small animals of indeterminate sex may vary in gender. Third, a word that belongs to a declension class with a predominating gender will tend to move into that gender if its original gender is abnormal, though the shift might be resisted by the educated. A feminine term in *-us* (e.g. *aluus*) was bound to be under pressure to align itself with the vast number of masculines in *-us*. An obvious parallel is to be seen in the tendency for feminine tree names in *-us* to shift to masculine (see above, 3.2).

There are relics of old popular usage in Plautus, such as borrowings from Greek that are in a debased form, in some cases because they reached Latin via an intermediary such as Oscan or Etruscan. Some of these have genders that would by the classical period have seemed anomalous to any educated speaker who was familiar with the Greek original. The feminine use of *Acheruns* belongs in this class. The cause of its change of gender is lost in prehistory.

4.2.4.3 *Problematic or special cases*

Several such cases have been discussed already (see above, I, 26). There are others.

(49) *calx*

This word (= ‘lime, limestone’), given a separate lemma from *calx* ‘heel’ by the *TLL* and *OLD*, is usually feminine. It is quoted from *Poen.* 908 as masculine by Nonius p. 293 Lindsay: *calx masculini. Plautus Poenulo: ‘quin prius disperibit faxo quam unum calcem ciuerit.’* The manuscripts of Plautus have *unam calcem*, and editors adopt different readings. Leo follows the manuscripts but Lindsay follows Nonius. Plautus does not use the word elsewhere in a context that allows the gender to be determined. The example above has a specialised meaning (of a stone piece used in a game: *OLD* s.v. 2), and there may be a semantic significance to the masculine gender. This meaning is the same as that of *calculus* (*OLD* s.v. 4), and the gender of *calx* was possibly influenced by that of *calculus*. The latter was regarded by ancient grammarians as a diminutive of *calx*, but Ernout and Meillet (1959: 89) question this, and they might have added that the usual difference of

gender raises a problem (if not an insuperable one) for such a derivation, unless one derives *calculus* from an early masculine use of *calx* (Leumann 1977: 307). De Vaan (2008) does not mention *calculus*.

The other masculine example cited by Nonius (Varro *Men.* 288) (*can-didum ad calcem*) could not be explained in the same way as the Plautine example, as the reference is to the (chalk) finishing line in a race.

There are, however, doubts about the masculine at *Poen.* 908. The previous line has the phrase *profecto ad incitas lenonem rediget*, where *incitae* is a technical term of gaming (of putting an opponent's pieces in a position such that they are incapable of being moved, 'checkmate': see *OLD* s.v. *incitae*). The gender of *incitae* is determined by the ellipse of *calces*, and it is hard to see why an editor should depart from the reading of the manuscripts in the next line (*unam*) and thereby introduce a change of gender from one line to the next (see Maurach 1988: 139). Confusion of *a* and *u* is easy in minuscule manuscripts, and Nonius' source might well have had a corruption.

There are a few other possible masculine examples of *calx*. The expression *calce harenato* at Cato *Agr.* 18.7 is generally taken as an asyndeton (*TLL* III.197.33f.). *Calcis uiui* is at *Mul. Chir.* 920; the usual phrase is *calx uiua*.

(50) *lux*

The masculine/neuter form of the adjective with the otherwise feminine *lux* in certain phrases in Plautus (*Aul.* 748 *luci claro*, *Cist.* 525 *cum primo luci*) is a special case. *Luci* is a locative (Leumann 1977: 427), but strictly the ending belonged to *o*-stem nouns and was transferred from there to consonant stems (*ruri*, *temperi*, *creperi*, *luci* etc.: Leumann 1977: 431), retaining with the last the masculine/neuter form of agreement expected for *o*-stems (Sommer 1914: 378). This anomaly was eliminated from the classical language (e.g. *B. Hisp.* 42.4 *luce clara*: see *OLD* s.v. *lux* 3b), though Varro still has the old phrase (*Men.* 67, cited by Nonius p. 309 Lindsay); cf. too Cic. *Off.* 3.112 *cum primo luci* with the *app. crit.* of M. Winterbottom. At *Capt.* 1008 (*lucis das tuendi copiam*) *lux* should not (with Hodgman 1902: 300) be taken as masculine; on the construction see Brix and Niemeyer (1897: 78–9) on *Capt.* 852; cf. Enn. *trag.* 210 Jocelyn *neue inde nauis inchoandi exordium* | *cepiisset*.

(51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56) *sumbolus*, *conclaue*, *lucrum*, *myrtetum*, *tergum*, *calamistrum*

A neuter form *sumbolum* is not worthy of consideration at *Pseud.* 648 (despite Hodgman 1902: 300), nor is a masculine *conclaue* at *Mil.* 140

(Hodgman 1902: 300). A masculine example of *lucrum* cited by Nonius p. 310 Lindsay from *Persa* 494 (*pergrandem lucrum*) is not accepted by editors (*TLL* VII.2.1719.23 ‘vix recte’) but is noted without disapproval by Hodgman (1902: 301). An alleged feminine form of *myrtetum* at *Vid.* 93 (*e myrteta*) is rejected by the *OLD* s.v., as a probable misquotation by Priscian, but it is printed by editors with hesitation: see Calderan (2004: 14 with n. 21). At *Asin.* 319 Nonius’ *familiarem tergum* (p. 337 Lindsay), which implies a masculine *tergus -i*, is not accepted by editors (Leo *familia re tergum*, Lindsay *habeo opinor familiarem – tergum*; so de Melo 2011). *Calamistrum* ‘curling-tongs’ is neuter at *Curc.* 577 and twice in Varro, but masculine (*-ter*) once in Varro and at Cic. *Orat.* 78 (*OLD* s.vv. *calamistrum*, *calamister*). The word is of obscure origin, and is not so common that it is possible to assign it a normal gender. Plautus has no other example of the word.

4.3 Final conclusions

It was noted earlier (2) that the Romance languages have lost the neuter as a morphological category, with most neuter nouns passing into the masculine, and some via the plural into the feminine. The question was posed (4) whether the variations in Plautus may be interpreted as already showing the beginnings of these developments. It is appropriate here to review the features of the evidence collected above.

Fifty-six cases have been discussed here. A number were considered dubious or special in some way, and ten of these (1, 26, 49–56) may be left out.

4.3.1 Neuter, feminine and the Romance languages

There is already apparent in Plautus a tendency for neuters (mainly plural) to pass into the feminine. A special category are Greek neuter singulars in $-\mu\alpha$, which from an early period had been taken into Latin as feminine singulars (popular or acoustic borrowings) (30 *glaucuma*, 31 *schema*). The first has a provincial feature, and its metaphorical meaning also suggests a popular currency. This category is of some interest, but will not concern us further. There was a trend from the classical period to reborrow such terms in the ‘correct’ neuter gender.

Of more interest are the feminines that come from the neuter plural. Four of these were seen, *labeae* (12), *ramenta* (13), *fulmentae* (28) and *ostreae* (32). Three of these are used by Plautus only in the plural (*ramenta* is singular), and that is a recurrent, but not universal, feature of feminines

derived from the neuter plural (see e.g. the terms in *-menta(e)* discussed by Perrot 1961: 301–3, and above, 28). It would be wrong to maintain that there is necessarily a semantic distinction between the neuter and feminine plural forms of such pairs, but there may be. *Labia* and *labeae* ‘lips’ are identical in meaning, but *neruia* and *neruiae* (not in Plautus) differ (see above on 28), with the feminine expressing objects that are countable, the neuter objects that form a collectivity in the body but are not individually discernible. There is a hint of such a distinction between *fulmenta* and *fulmentae*, ‘props’. The feminine in Plautus and Lucilius is particularising, with the referents countable in Lucilius, where the word is accompanied by a numeral. In general, however, props are weakly differentiated (without individual characteristics), and they come in groups or sets, and it may be that the feminine form tended to set up a contrast with the less particularising role of the neuter plural form. The difference between the singular forms *ramenta* and *ramentum* is along the same lines, with the neuter generalising and the feminine specific. Perhaps the word originally had a particularising feminine plural, with the feminine retaining that nuance when the term acquired a feminine singular. The role of the neuter as generalising (denoting, for example, a substance with which count terms might be inappropriate) is a familiar one in the literature (see e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 8–10), which has come up elsewhere in this chapter, but it is not necessarily with a feminine form that the neuter may contrast. It was seen earlier (6) that *caseum* indicates the substance cheese, whereas the masculine (not least in the plural) may refer to shaped cheeses.

A few remarks may be added about feminine singulars derived from original neuter plurals, because there have been some oversubtle interpretations of their semantics.

When a feminine singular develops out of a neuter plural, whether in Latin itself or in the transition from Latin to Romance, the new feminine may be a particularising singular without any ‘collective’ sense that one might wish to see in the original neuter plural (on the neuter plural and collective see below, 11). However, attempts have not been lacking to explain the semantics of such new feminines from supposed properties of the neuter plural. For example, the Old French feminine *feuille* < *folia* is presented by B. Löfstedt (1959: 18) as having a collective sense ‘foliage, leaves’ (‘Laub’) derivable from its original neuter plural form (see further below).

A slightly complicated but revealing example of a feminine singular that emerged from a (Greek) neuter plural within Latin is *ostrea*, which produced e.g. Fr. *huître* (f.) (REW 6119). This is already found as a particularising singular (of a single oyster) at Lucil. 132: *ostrea nulla fuit, non purpura*,

nulla peloris ('there was not a single oyster . . .'). Lucilius also has the neuter plural: e.g. 440 *dabis ostrea milibus nummum* | *empta*. Plautus by contrast has the feminine plural but not the neuter: *Rud.* 297 *echinos, lopadas, ostreas, balanos captamus*. There is no distinction between the neuter and feminine plural uses in the last two passages.

But what is one to make of Varro *Men.* 501 *tunc nuptiae uidebant ostream Lucrinam*? Whereas at Lucil. 132 above *ostrea* refers to a single oyster, here *ostream* appears to be a collective ('the wedding saw the Lucrine oyster', i.e. a quantity of that type). Could it be that in this place the feminine singular has indeed retained a collective force of the neuter plural of the same form?

There is, however, no need to relate the collective use of *ostream* in this passage to the original neuter gender of the form *ostrea*. The collective singular is deeply entrenched in Latin (see E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.12–26), and is not specifically related to gender: collective singulars may be masculine, feminine or neuter. Amid a wealth of material Löfstedt cites designations of plants (14 *faba, rosa, uiola, legumen*), animals large and small (18–20 *leo, locusta, mus, rana, piscis*) and ethnic/geographical specifiers (16–17 *Praenestinus* 'the Praenestine', i.e. Praenestines in general, *Parthus*). In a list of sea creatures at Plaut. *Rud.* 297–8, in a run of plurals including *ostreas* above, there is also (298) the collective singular *marinam urticam*. In the passage of Varro *ostream*, accompanied moreover by the geographical designation *Lucrinam*, is a conventional collective singular no different from *marinam urticam*, which does not derive from a 'collective neuter'.

To return briefly to OFr. *feuille* < *folia* (see above). Löfstedt's presentation of the Old French evidence is incomplete. Tobler and Lommatzsch do indeed assign *feuille* a collective meaning (1954: 2324 'Blätter, Laub'), but they also cite it of a single leaf (2325 'Blatt'). It is simpler to say that *folia* in its Old French outcome, like *ostream* above, had developed a run-of-the-mill collective sense (like other terms for plants: see above) alongside its particularising use, a collective sense which is unconnected with the gender of its (neuter plural) etymon. Indeed already in the medical glosses of the *Liber glossarum* discussed by Niedermann ([1944] 1954b: 95–136) there are instances of *folia* as subject of a singular verb that should probably be translated 'leaf', but could also be taken more generally of 'leaves' (see Niedermann [1944] 1954b: 67, 108 for examples). The singular is thus open to a reinterpretation in ambiguous contexts.

4.3.2 Masculine and feminine

Possible connections between the early material so far presented in this chapter and the Romance languages should not be exaggerated. Of the

forty-six terms discussed here (leaving aside the special cases) eighteen, or more than a third (about 39 per cent) (3, 4, 8, 34–48) show switches (in both directions) between masculine and feminine, and this substantial body of material is irrelevant to the later loss of the neuter. The variations can be put into various classes (see above, 3), and their determinants went on operating in Classical and later Latin. Some terms never achieved a fixed gender. Some switches or oddities are impossible to explain, their motivations lost in the past (e.g. 40 *Acheruns*).

4.3.3 Masculine and neuter

In the section on masculine for neuter (i.e. the neuter as expected by the norms of Classical Latin) (4.2.1) only eight cases were seen (14–21), a proportion of the whole (forty-six) of only 17.4 per cent. These eight cases are not such as to suggest that here we see the beginnings of the loss of the neuter (see above, 4.2.2.1). In six of the eight cases (14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21) there is reason to think that the masculine was the original gender. In these terms the direction of change after the early period was from masculine to neuter, the opposite of the change from neuter to masculine seen in the passage of Latin to Romance. In another case (18) an anatomical term (that for ‘back’) is used in the masculine in a context in which the body part is possibly personified, and that may have influenced the gender.

In the section on ‘mixed gender’ (4.1, 1–13) there are seven possible cases of interchange between masculine and neuter (2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11). In two (if both are taken at face value) the change is not anticipatory of Romance developments but is from masculine to neuter (5, 11). In two other cases (6, 7) the alternation is arguably motivated, though 7 (*corius* for *corium*) on the face of it throws up a use of ‘masculine for neuter’. The masculine *penus* alongside the neuter (10) is in a term that was very variable in gender. The masculine *pilleus* (9) is considered doubtful. *Locil/loca* (2) is a special case, and will be discussed separately (11).

In section 4.2.2 there are a further six cases (22–7) of change from masculine to neuter. These are a mixed bag and of no general significance (see 4.2.2.1).

There is no evidence here for a proto-Romance tendency for the neuter to be lost. The alternations are of some complexity rather than of a single type, reflecting a variety of influences, including semantic factors. Nor, in early Latin and the late Republic in general, can ‘confusions’ of neuter with masculine (for examples see e.g. H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 141) merely be pushed aside into more colloquial varieties of the language,

because they occur in high literary genres. For example, *uadus* is in Salust, *sagus* in Ennius, *lutus* in Quadrigarius, *libus* in Nigidius and *callus* in Celsus.

5 Petronius

Details of gender variation in Petronius are given by M. S. Smith (1975: 221), following Swanson (1963: 252–3); see also Heraeus (1937: 131–8), H. E. Wilkinson (1985: 144). According to Swanson there are thirty-one instances of change of gender in the *Satyricon*, though Smith lists only thirty. This body of material has some striking characteristics, which set it apart from the Plautine evidence.

First, every single example is in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, and almost all of those are in speeches by freedmen. The one exception, *stragula* at 78.1 in the narrative, may be excluded, because it does not represent a genuine gender shift (from neuter (*stragulum*) to feminine). *Stragulum* is a substantivised neuter of the adjective *stragulus*. *Stragula* (feminine) on the other hand derives from ellipse of *uestis* in the common phrase *uestis stragula* (see OLD s.vv. *stragula*, *stragulus* -a -um). By admitting no gender changes in the novel outside the *Cena*, and confining them in the *Cena* to freedmen's speeches, Petronius must have been conveying a sociolinguistic judgment. He can only have been suggesting that confusions of the types he incorporates were a feature of sociolects spoken by characters who were well down the educational scale. For ridicule of their lack of literary and historical culture see e.g. 52.1–2, 59.4–5 with M. S. Smith (1975) ad locc.

Second, there is none of the variety seen above in the gender changes in Plautus. Every change but one in some way involves the neuter, whereas in Plautus 39 per cent of the switches are between masculine and feminine (see 4.3.2). The types are worth listing.

(i) *Porticus* is masculine at 77.4 in a speech by Trimalchio (*porticus marmoratos duos*), and of the fourth declension (see Heraeus 1937: 135, TLL x.2.24.35ff., 45ff.). The gender change is determined by analogy (that of -us nouns of both the second and fourth declensions: see above, 3.2). The Romance reflexes are masculine (see Stotz 1998: 147). The masculine form appears for the first time in the above passage, and is thereafter scattered about in inscriptions and a few texts (TLL x.2.24.67ff., Heraeus 1937: 135), but it is not common and seems to have been excluded from the literary language. There are also several cases of the neuter plural *portica* (see TLL x.2.24.60), e.g. at *Anon. Val.* 11.71 *portica circum palatium perfecit*. The reference here is not to a plurality of porticoes in different places, but to

an extensive portico around a single building, and it may be possible to interpret this case as displaying a collective use of the neuter plural (see below, 11).

(ii) There are five instances of feminine for neuter. Three of these are original Greek terms in -μᾶ: 44.8 *schemas*, 45.9, 69.1 *stigmam*. The same type is well represented in Plautus. There is one feminine plural for neuter plural: 76.11 *intestinas meas nouerat* (see Heraeus 1937: 131–3). This type too is found in early Latin (see 28 at 4.2.3 above). *Rapam* at 66.7 is not particularly striking, because the feminine for *rapum* is common enough to be given a separate lemma in *OLD*, and it occurs in respectable prose writers, such as Celsus, Scribonius and Columella. The feminine form does, however, survive extensively in Romance languages (e.g. It. *rapa*, Log., Prov., Cat. *raba*: see *REW* 7065, Väänänen 1981a: 102). Zimmermann (1924: 227) describes *rapa* as a ‘collective feminine’, but it is given the meaning ‘a turnip’ by the *OLD*, and occurs in the plural. Any collective use may merely be a reflection of the frequency with which plant names of whatever gender are given a collective meaning (see above, 4.3.1), and need not be related to a collective use of the neuter plural. *Triclinia* (71.10) may be mentioned finally. The syntax of the phrase in which it occurs is debated, but it may be a feminine singular (see XII.6.3).

(iii) There are fifteen cases of masculine for neuter, many of them in the nominative singular form: 39.4 *sicut ille fer[i]culus . . . habuit praxim*, 39.4 *caelus hic, in quo duodecim dii habitant, in totidem se figuras conuertit, et modo fit aries*, 39.6 *deinde totus caelus taurulus fit*, 41.11 *uix me balneus calfecit*, 41.12 *uinus mihi in cerebrum abiit*, 42.5 *medici illum perdiderunt, immo magis malus fatus*, 45.3 *ubique medius caelus est*, 45.6 *ferrum optimum daturus est, sine fuga, carnarium in medio, ut amphitheater uideat* (see Stefenelli 1962: 60–1), 47.5 *lasani* plural, 57.8 *tu . . . uasus fictilis, immo lor^{us} in aqua, lentior, non melior*, 71.1 *etiam si illos malus fatus oppresserit*, 75.10 *tam magnus ex Asia ueni quam hic candelabrus est*, 77.2 *hoc mihi dicit fatus meus. Lactem* (masc.) is at 71.1 (for which see below, 8, p. 430). Twelve of these are in the nominative singular form *-us* and another in the nom. sing. *-er*. There are also a nominative plural and an accusative singular.

The frequency of the *-us* nominatives, making up about 40 per cent of all the gender anomalies in Petronius, is striking, and out of proportion to the few examples of this type in Plautus (see below). The question must be asked whether these may be special cases in some sense. Stefenelli (1962: 61) refers to a view that such forms provide no evidence for the decline of the neuter, but are due to analogy or personification. Stefenelli questions this idea but allows that there is personification in three cases (*fatus*, *uasus*

and *lorus*). He sees the tendency to personification as one of the factors behind the loss of the neuter.

It is reasonable to see personification in at least three of the other cases (*balneus*, *uinus*, *amphitheater*). Indeed personification is palpable in the third example, where *amphitheater* as subject of *uideat* is virtually a collective for the spectators. It is particularly marked in the three examples of *fatus* (see below, and Stefenelli 1962: 72–3). There are few *-us* forms for *-um* in Plautus that might be put down to personification. *Dorsus* (18) seems to be personified in one place. The masculine *caseus* (6) is twice used as an endearment addressed to persons, whereas in a different context the word is neuter. *Corius* (7) is used in a fragment where personification is not obvious, but in a passage from Varro (*Men.* 135) cited in the same section the masculine nominative *corius* is manifestly personified, and if such usages were common in colloquial dialogue the masculine form might have spread to other contexts.

Three times the freedmen use the form *caelus* (above), and the early history of this term brings out the potential semantic significance of a variation between masculine singular and neuter. The masculine *Caelus* referred to the god: note Nonius p. 289 Lindsay, citing Varro *Ant. rer. div.* 64 Cardauns *mater <mag>na, hi sunt Caelus <Tellus>*. See also Enn. *Ann.* 24 Skutsch *Saturno | quem Caelus genuit*. The neuter by contrast is used of the firmament, from Ennius and Plautus onwards (the index to Skutsch 1985 lists sixteen examples under the form *caelum*). At *Ann.* 559, however, the masculine is used in the conventional sense of *caelum*: *fortis Romani sunt quamquam caelus profundus*. Skutsch (1985: 183) suggests that passages such as those referring to the god may have encouraged Ennius to use the masculine in the ordinary sense at 559. He notes that the plural is always masculine (note Lucr. 2.1097, Varro *Ling.* 5.16), which bears witness to an original masculine gender, but that in the singular the educated language had opted for the neuter. In the passages of Petronius above the referent is not the god, and the masculine cannot be explained as a personification. But the existence of the masculine form (personified) might have caused occasional slippages of gender when the heavens were referred to (cf. *Vitr.* 4.5.1 *orientem caelum*). It may be suggested therefore that some masculine nominatives for neuter may be due to personification, and others, though not themselves personified, may reflect the spread of the personified form to other contexts (see above on *corius*, and also 3.4 on the loss of a semantic distinction as causing variation between forms of different genders that had once been semantically differentiated). On this view the tendency to personify inanimates and transfer them particularly to the masculine if

they were neuter might have been one factor in undermining the neuter gender.

There is some similarity between Petronius' masculines for neuter and those in inscriptions. *Fatus* in the nominative, sometimes accompanied by *meus* or *suus*, is common in funerary inscriptions (particularly those of Rome), notably in the formula *hoc dedit fatus mihi* (Konjetzny 1908: 301), where the personification is obvious. It is even more obvious at *CIL* VI.28523c *fatus hoc uoluit me(us)* (Konjetzny loc. cit.), an expression comparable with the Petronian *hoc mihi dicit fatus meus*. *Fatus* is attested as subject of *uolo* also in eastern inscriptions (Galdi 2004: 300–1 for two examples) and in Africa (Kübler 1893: 173). Note too the personification at *AE* 1936 no. 67 *fatus et fortuna iniquiter iudicauit* (cited by Galdi 2004: 300, from Pannonia Superior). A noteworthy inscriptional example is quoted by Heraeus (1937: 134) from *ILS* 5262 (= *CIL* VI.10217) (*hunc fatus suus pressit*), which is almost identical to Petron. 71.1 *etiam si illos malus fatus oppresserit*.

Collegius is another masculine form in Roman inscriptions (Konjetzny 1908: 301–2, *TLL* III.1591.60ff.), as for example at *CIL* VI.34026.4 *Restutus frater et collegius bene merenti fecerunt*. Like *amphitheater* above, this is a collective indicating a body of men. For the same use in eastern inscriptions see Galdi (2004: 299), and for African examples see Kübler (1893: 173). *Letus* for *letum* 'death' at *CIL* VI.19007 = *CLE* 562.19 is comparable to *fatus* (see Konjetzny 1908: 302). Note too the personification at *CIL* VI.33919 = *CLE* 848.1–2 *hic te saxsolus | rogat* (Konjetzny 1908: 302).

It is likely that Petronius was imitating a feature of popular speech. The nominative masculine forms are put into the mouths of a variety of freedmen, including Trimalchio (Stefenelli 1962: 60–1 gives details). On the other hand since such forms and other confusions of gender are not found in the rest of the novel, it is certain that Petronius was treating the usages as stigmatised. It could not, however, be argued from such data that the neuter had been 'lost' by this time in lower-class speech. Quite a few of the switches from the neuter to masculine are motivated (by personification) (about six of the fifteen), and speakers are also given many correct neuter forms. Only a corpus of masculines for neuters in contexts in which personification was lacking might suggest that the neuter was under threat. There are some such masculines in Petronius, but they are only part of the story. The three examples of *caelus* are also special cases, in that in the plural the masculine was still the norm, and *caelus* was an old form. It perhaps maintained a lingering existence independent of any general tendency for neuters to be converted to the masculine. It follows that a majority of the fifteen examples (nine) are special in one way or another.

(iv) Four instances of the neuter for masculine are cited: 46.7 *libra* for *libri*, 46.8 *thesaurum*, 50.6 *catilla* for *catilli*, and (with *i*) 45.11 *neruia* for *nerui*. The first two of these examples are in a speech by a single character, Echion. M. S. Smith (1975: 124) comments: 'Echion's use of neuter forms of words normally masculine . . . conveys the impression of uneducated speech even more vividly than does the converse phenomenon.' *Libra* is in the phrase *aliquot libra rubricata*. *Libra rubricata* means 'law books' (M. S. Smith 1975: 124). The presence of *aliquot* shows that they are countable, and not numerous. The phrase hardly seems 'collective', but, given the quality *rubricata* ('painted red with ochre') possessed by the several items, one wonders whether they might have been perceived as weakly differentiated (see further below, 9.1, on this concept as a variant on collectivity). However, the neuter singular *librum* is cited a few times from glosses (TLL VII.2.1271.19ff., Heraeus 1937: 136) in the other, botanical, sense of the word ('bark'), and if there was a neuter variant of this usage it might have influenced the term in its other meaning.

Various entries in glossaries suggest analogies for the neuter use of *thesaurum* (Heraeus 1937: 135): CGL IV.291.11 *thesaurum pecuniae depositum*, 397.7 *thensaurum ae[ra]rium*. In the period covered by the OLD the neuter is attested only in Petronius. For further bibliography see Stotz (1998: 145 n. 72).

The neuter form of *catillus* is found in glosses (e.g. CGL III.22.47; cf. Heraeus 1937: 135). There are now numerous examples in the tablets of La Graufesenque, some of which are of Neronian date (for a list see Marichal 1988: 273; also Adams 2003c: 17). The gender may reflect the analogy of that of other terms for vessels, containers and the like, such as (at La Graufesenque) *acetabulum*, *mortarium*, *pultarium*. All of the neuter instances at La Graufesenque are plural, and the possibility must be considered that, since the vessels at the pottery were fired in assemblages, a collective function of the neuter plural was a factor (see below, 11, p. 446), though the masculine plural is also found. Much earlier Cato (*Agr.* 84) had used the base form *catinus* as a neuter, and in the singular, and there might have been a long-standing variability of gender unrelated to number but influenced by other vessel names.

(v) There are four neuters for the feminine: 50.6 *statuncula* (from *statua*), 63.3 *margaritum*, 75.8 *quisquilia*, 76.6 *sepladium*. *Margaritum* is so well established in literary language of the classical period (e.g. Tacitus and Pliny) that it is given a separate lemma in the OLD. The use here is specialised, of a *delicatus* 'pet'. The same usage (addressed to Maeccenas) occurs in a fragment of a letter of the emperor Augustus (ap. Macr.

Sat. 2.4.12 *uale . . . Tiberinum margaritum*) (see Heraeus 1937: 113). *Statuncula* occurs in the same sentence as *catilla* above (50.6 *ita ex hac missa fabri sustulerunt et fecerunt catilla et paropsides <et> statuncula*). *Seplasion*, which Heraeus (1937: 131–8) rightly omits from his discussion of gender in Petronius, differs in meaning from *Seplasia* (the latter was a street in Capua where ointments were sold, and the neuter indicates a specific ointment: *OLD*). *Statunculum* is hard to interpret. The base of the word is feminine, and a change of gender in a diminutive is not uncommon, as Heraeus (1937: 137) notes, but the term is used in the plural of an undifferentiated collection of objects, and it might be suggested that the neuter implies collectivity or weak differentiation (see above, and below, 9.1). For the genders of the term in glosses and a few other places see Heraeus (1937: 138). *Quisquiliae* is feminine plural from Caecilius onwards, and in Cicero, and the neuter is attested for the period of the *OLD* only in Petronius (see further Heraeus 1937: 137).

The terms considered in sections (iv) and (v) are not all of the same type, and do not suggest a persistent tendency to hypercorrection consistent with an advanced stage in the loss of the neuter. Few of the terms are mundane and commonplace. They comprise unusual, particularly technical, terms. In one case the gender change is semantically determined (*seplasion*). In another the aberrant gender characterises a specialised address usage (*margaritum*). In one case the deviant form is well attested (*margaritum* itself). In three cases the neuter plural may imply lack of differentiation. The most striking examples are indeed those in the speech by Echion.

5.1 Conclusions

Two features of the usage of Petronius were mentioned at the start of this section. First, gender changes in the novel outside the *Cena* are non-existent, and in the *Cena* they are confined to freedmen's speeches. Second, there is none of the variety seen earlier in the gender changes in Plautus. Petronius was implying something, namely that in uneducated speech the neuter, as distinct from the other genders, was subject to change, with neuters tending to be converted particularly to masculines. It was, however, observed that many of the abnormalities were special cases, determined by personification or analogy or other factors. The Petronian evidence suggests determinants that were playing a role in substandard speech in undermining the neuter, but the neuter was obviously still current, with speakers merely switching ad hoc to another gender on occasions. We are presented with an early stage in the process that was to lead to the loss of the neuter.

6 The Vindolanda tablets

The Vindolanda writing tablets date from not much later than Petronius (early second century). There are instances of aberrant genders (see Adams 1995a: 107, 123–4, 2003b: 541–3), every one of which involves the neuter in some way. These comprise (i) masculines for neuter (most notably *iaculos* at *Tab. Vindol.* 164, a form not otherwise attested; also *uelum uirdem* at 596.ii.20, an expression of a type that will be discussed below, 8; *frenos* in the same tablet (ii.18); not a striking case, because the masculine is attested even in the literary language: see Adams 2003b: 542; finally *uentralem* for *uentrale* at 607, which could be converted back to neuter merely by the deletion of what might be a hypercorrect final *m*; on this type of deviation see below, 8); (ii) neuters for masculine (comprising the semantically determined *renuntium*, for which see above, 3.7, and a group of terms that are mainly plural, *carra*, *carrula*, *radia*, *modiola*; these are discussed below, 11); and (iii) feminine plurals for neuter (*bruscas* at 309.i.10, a term of uncertain meaning but otherwise, it seems, used in the neuter singular, and *retes quas* at 593, for which see Adams 2003b: 542–3; the same document has *retem* + *turdarem* and *anatarem*, where the gender is indeterminate).

Some of these terms are special cases (e.g. *freni*, *renuntium*). The feminine plural corresponding to the neuter singular *rete* was in common currency, according to Charisius p. 36.12–13 Barwick, who condemns (p. 76.7–13) the feminine singular use (see Adams 2003b: 542–3). *Retes* (along with, possibly, *bruscae*) was one of those feminine plurals that had developed alongside the neuter plural (see 28), and it too is a special case (unlike the singular *retem*, which must have been substandard). Once special cases (in which the above neuter plurals may perhaps be included) are eliminated, there remains some sign of a decline in the neuter, particularly in the use of *iaculos*, which is difficult to explain away by means of any of the determinants listed at 3 above.

The Vindolanda tablets seem to present much the same state of the language in the use of gender as that to be found in the speeches of the freedmen in Petronius, though the evidence is not extensive.

7 Masculine and neuter in later Latin

7.1 *The translations of Oribasius*

In the Oribasius translations of late antiquity (c. 450–600) as analysed by Mørland (1932: 64–6) nominative singular forms in *-us* of original

neuters abound, in phrases and terms in which personification would seem out of the question (e.g. *adiutorius* 'remedy' as subject of *est* (and accompanied by *maximus*), *impedimentus* subject of *est*, *malus* for *malum* + *terrae* in a gloss with 'be' understood, *plumbus* in a gloss, *ossus* accompanied by *lesionem* . . . *habens*, *periculus* as subject of *sequitur* or *est*; many other examples). There is a difference in kind between the Petronian examples, where personification is marked, and those from this late text, which suggests that, if an early determinant of the shift from *-um* to *-us* was personification, later such forms became banal. The material in Oribasius is further along the line towards the Romance state of affairs.

There is more to be said about Oribasius (see below, 8, 9.4).

7.2 *The Formulae Marculfi and other Merovingian documents*

The Merovingian documents analysed by Uddholm (1953) present a further stage in the loss of the neuter. The material collected by Uddholm (1953: 64–5) shows that almost all neuter nouns in *-um* have shifted to the masculine.

The same seems to be the case in the royal diplomas and private documents of the Merovingian period discussed by Vieliard (1927: 133).

7.3 *Anthimus*

Anthimus (sixth century) was a Greek who had moved from the East and settled in northern Italy. He had connections also with Gaul, and his Latin, which is very substandard, has some anticipations particularly of Gallo-Romance (see Adams 2007: 329–35). The evidence for gender in Anthimus is set out by Liechtenhan (1963: 56), and it shows up a surprising feature. Throughout the work the neuter is used correctly with regularity, and deviations into the masculine occur in just a small handful of cases (*lactis*, masculine seven times, against one case of *lacte*, is the best-attested case of masculine for neuter, but *lactis* had long been an established form: see below, 8, p. 429), with a few cases of neuter for masculine. Liechtenhan cites one instance of a nominative in *-us* for *-um* (p. 8.11 *laredus*), one instance of an accusative *coriandrum* (p. 25.10) that is described as masculine but might be neuter, and on the other hand an interesting neuter plural *cibora* (p. 12.10) for *cibos*, which anticipates an Italian (and Romanian) type (see below, 10). *Ficatum* is assigned a masculine form *ficatus*, but in fact the term is in the ablative *ficato* (p. 11.5).

The correctness of the neuter can hardly be put down to the influence of the spoken language, given the decline of the neuter visible in the

contemporary Oribasius translations, also from northern Italy. It is possible that Anthimus, as a learner of Latin as a second language, and as a Greek, was sensitive to the neuter as a grammatical category and made a special effort to get it right (see, in another connection, the remarks of B. Löfstedt 1961: 230 about the preservation of neuter forms in late antiquity as a learnt orthographic phenomenon).

There follows with brief comments a list of some of Anthimus' other gender deviations. Variability between masculine and feminine, some of it with possible regional significance, is quite well represented:

- (i) *lepus*: p. 8.5 *leporis uero si nouellae fuerint, et ipsi sumendi in dulci piper habentem* (feminine, with an apparent change of gender in the sentence, but it is possible that the locution *et ipsi* was formulaic in this writer and might override normal agreement; see below, ii). See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 369) s.v. *lièvre*: feminine in southern dialects of Gallo-Romance (Franco-Provençal and Provençal), in Swiss French and also Ibero-Romance (see also *FEW* v.261). Quintilian (1.6.12) reports a view that the word is epicene. See *TLL* VII.2.1180.79ff. for the limited evidence for the feminine.
- (ii) *anas*: usually feminine in Latin, but note p. 15.10 *anetis et ipsi tenerioris sunt*. This example should, however, probably be disregarded (see on i).
- (iii) *piscis*: both masculine and feminine (pp. 16.10, 18.6). At *TLL* x.1.2206.52 the only feminine example cited is from the Oribasius translations, though according to some grammarians the word was epicene.
- (iv) *lapis*: feminine at pp. 29.15 and 30.4. The feminine goes back to Ennius (*Ann.* 567 Skutsch, with Skutsch 1985: 709; see above, 3.5) and Varro (*Rust.* 3.5.14), but in late Latin it was possibly influenced by *petra*, which was the popular term. See Stotz (1998: 141), Josephson (1940: 157–8). Cf. It. *lapide*, f. See also *FEW* v.171, Coromines (1980–2001: IV.944).
- (v) *cortex*: feminine at p. 32.6. The feminine goes back to Classical Latin (Virgil has both genders: see Quint. 1.5.35). See *TLL* IV.1069.31ff. for the feminine, noting that it is common in later medical works. For examples in the Oribasius translations see Mørland (1932: 77).

Liechtenhan (1963: 56) records *turtur* and *radix* as both masculine and feminine. *Turtur* is feminine in the Romance languages (*FEW* XIII.438).

The usage of Anthimus brings out the continuing variability of gender. Animal names continue to show variation. Analogy still plays a part. The items numbered i, iii, iv and v have associations with areas where Anthimus

is known to have been resident. This text demonstrates that written forms of a language will from time to time display reactions against a trend of spoken varieties.

8 Transitional expressions in the shift from neuter to masculine

There is evidence from quite early for 'mixed gender' phrases, that is expressions or contexts in which a form that is acceptable as a 'neuter' is accompanied by masculine agreement. An early example is at Varro *Men.* 440 *quid medico mist opus? perpetuo absinthium ut bibam grauem* (see Woytek 1970: 31). It might be said that Varro has used the noun *absinthium* as a masculine, but there is a difference between such a phrase and an overtly masculine nominative of the type *absinthius*. In the accusative singular (and indeed all cases other than the nominative) the masculine and neuter are identical in form, and that identity is one of the factors that must have undermined the neuter as a separate category (see Maiden 2011a: 167). A phrase such as that in Varro may be interpreted as showing a slippage; the *-um* accusative form, as ambiguous between neuter and masculine, may generate an incautious masculine agreement, but that is not to say that Varro would necessarily have admitted a masculine nominative form *absinthius*.

The masculine adjective *grauem* differs from the neuter *grae* by just one letter (cf. e.g. *uelum uirdem* in a Vindolanda tablet, above, 6). Final *-m* was lost in speech, and in writing particularly of the later period it was both omitted and added falsely by hypercorrection. A phrase such as *absinthium grauem* in a late text with spelling errors would have no information to impart about the status of the neuter. An expression *praesentem auxilium* is another matter (the masculine accusative form of the adjective (*praesentem*) differs from the neuter (*praesens*) more radically).

The clearest discussion of the issues raised by examples of these two types is by Bonnet (1890: 513–15). He lists from Gregory of Tours (we should say from the manuscripts of Gregory, as we cannot be sure what Gregory wrote) a large number of expressions of the type *caelestem regnum* (accusative), where the neuter noun is accompanied by a masculine accusative adjective. In the majority of these the adjective could be converted into a neuter merely by the deletion of the *-m*. There are few instances where the adjective would need further modification to give it a neuter form (as in *praesentem auxilium*). According to Bonnet (515) there are thirty-eight cases of the first type, but only seven of the second. Such evidence does not support unequivocally the idea that the neuter gender was all but lost. One might

conclude rather with Bonnet that the writer (or scribes) had a habit of adding the marker of the accusative, *-m*, to neuter accusative adjectives of the third declension, a habit that is easier to understand given that the *m* in this position had a purely graphic existence. He concludes that the neuter was compromised, but that neuter nouns cannot for that reason be regarded as having lost their proper gender. His remarks are salutary, but Gregory of Tours, who is very late (sixth century), is not the only writer we have to go on.

Väänänen (1965: 34) takes a similar view of an expression in the Albertini tablets (themselves late: 493–6). *Omnem pretium* has that form twenty times in the corpus, with no variant. Väänänen puts the ending of the adjective down to attraction to the ending of the noun, or to the influence of the formula *tantum pretium*.

In the Oribasius translations there are mixed phrases of a different order. Mørland (1932: 66) cites such combinations as *epar . . . calidus*, *gummen . . . desiccatiuus*, *iubamen . . . paruus*, *lumen . . . adhibendus*, *medicamen melior*, *leniorem medicamen*, *mel dispumatus*, *os . . . aperiendus*, *siccatus . . . reuma*, *omnis . . . sulfur*, *grandis ulcus*. Here most nouns are unequivocally neuter in form, and the adjectives are masculines in *-us*. Nevertheless Mørland (67) makes the point that it would be false to regard such third declension nouns as having shifted fully to the masculine. In the Oribasius translations there are no accusative forms such as *sulphurem*, *luminem*, *pectorem* (see however H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 147 for such forms elsewhere); when such nouns are in the accusative they retain the old neuter form. That the feeling for the neuter as a distinctive category was breaking down is shown by the lapses in agreement, but the neuter form of nouns was long retained in the accusative as well as the nominative. It would seem that the neuter nominal forms of the third declension had a special status, such that they were resistant to change even as their gender was being reinterpreted. Indeed some Romance forms of third declension neuter origin derive from the old neuter nominative/accusative and not from a remodelled masculine. It. *cuore*, Fr. *cœur*, Cat. *cor* etc. reflect not **corde(m)* but *cor* (REW 2217), and It. *nome*, Fr. *nom*, Rom. *nume* reflect *nome(n)* not *nomine(m)* (REW 5949; see also Vincent 1988a: 44).

Of the same type as the above cases is the use of the neuter form *lac* with a masculine adjective at Placitus *Med.* 9.14, p. 263.59: *lac caninus euulsos pilos non patitur recrescere*. There are masculine and feminine uses of the form *lac* (for the feminine see TLL VII.2.816.23), but when not neuter the lexeme usually has the form *lactis* (nom.) or *lactem* (TLL VII.2.815.68ff.). The masculine accusative *lactem* occurs for the first time in a speech by

Trimalchio (71.1 *amici... et serui homines sunt et aequae unum lactem biberunt*, whereas at 38.1 there is a neuter nominative *lacte* (*gallinaceum*). At Vitr. 7.14.2 the gender of *lactem* is indeterminate. For discussion see Stefenelli (1962: 51), and for the forms *lacte* and *lactem* see *TLL* VII.2.815.46ff., 68ff. *Lactem* next turns up according to Stefenelli in the second century (Apul. *Met.* 8.28, Gell. 12.1.17). A nominative *lactis* appears in late Latin (examples may be found at *TLL* VII.2.816.18ff.). *Lactis* and *lactem* may be masculine (e.g. Oribas. *Syn.* 4.14.1 Aa p. 13 *bonus lactis*) or feminine (Oribas. *Eup.* 1.1.7, p. 405 *lactis*, cited at *TLL* VII.2.816.20, 23; Stefenelli 1962: 51 quotes a feminine accusative example from the same work). For further bibliography see also Stotz (1998: 70). For the Romance forms, some of which are feminine, see Stefenelli (1962: 51). The continuing variability of gender of the *-is* form is in line with that of some other *-is* words (4.1 (8)).

An interesting mixed construction is in a letter of Terentianus: 468.14–15 *et abes in imboluclum amictorium singlare, hunc tibi mater mea misit*. If Terentianus could pick up a well-formed neuter expression (*amictorium singlare*), showing correct neuter agreement, with *hunc*, we cannot put that down to the ambiguous form of *amictorium*, given that it is accompanied by *singlare*, without going to the extreme of asserting that final *m* has been omitted in *singlare*. There seems to be a weakening of the status of the neuter as a separate category. It was still alive and its system of agreement understood, but the masculine is treated as a default gender, such that someone who had used a correct neuter form with correct agreement might then lapse into a masculine form. In another connection (in reference to the expression *hunc instrumentum*, twenty-three times in the Albertini tablets, against *hoc instrumentum* twice), Väänänen (1965: 34) refers to the confusion of *hunc* and *hoc*, ‘assez répandue en bas latin’ (citing B. Löfstedt 1961: 254 on some late corpora where that confusion is found), but in the early second century AD, in a text in which there are not found the types of fossilised demonstrative forms that turn up much later, it would be unconvincing to explain *hunc* along these lines. The writer’s sense of the neuter is not so assured as to prevent him from switching into a masculine agreement at a remove (after a pause) from the neuter adjective + noun.

There is another complicated case at Bu Njem. The poem of Q. Avidius Quintianus, dated 202–3 (see Rebuffat 1987, Courtney 1995 no. 40, Adams 1999a), has the following: 1–3 *quaesii multum quot memoriae tradere | ... uotum communem*. Here *quot* (for *quod*) is a neuter form in agreement with the neuter accusative *uotum*, but with the same noun *communem* has a masculine form. This might be interpreted much as Väänänen interprets

omnem pretium in the Albertini tablets. The writer, who elsewhere shows a concern not to omit final *m*, was probably influenced by the ending of *uotum*. He knew the noun as neuter, but was affected by an awareness of what phonetic developments were doing to the spelling system.

The transitional state of the language, with the neuter gender still held on to but with lapses of agreement pointing to change in progress, is best shown by those cases where the masculine term in agreement with a neuter form cannot be dismissed either as hypercorrect (with false attachment to a neuter ending of final *m*) or as a fossilised form. That is so of the material from the Oribasius translations discussed earlier in this section, and also here and there in other places. There is evidence too in inscriptions, but the weakening of the neuter is often there only to be deduced from pronominal forms, which might have been fossilised in the masculine. Konjetzny (1908: 301) cites *CIL* III.9508 *hunc corpus* and *aliu[m] corpus*. In Roman inscriptions *hunc (eum, eundem) monumentum* is common (Konjetzny 1908: 301). Kübler (1893: 173) cites e.g. from Africa *CIL* VIII.9796 *eum templum*.

False agreements suggest that there was a tendency from a fairly early period to interpret ambiguous forms as masculines. In later texts there is also some retention of distinctively neuter nominative/accusative nominal forms alongside masculine adjectives, which points to a resistance by neuter nouns to modification even as the neuter as a category was being lost (on this point see further below, 9.4, p. 436).

9 'Ambigenics' in some Romance languages and the neuter plural in some late Latin texts

A curious relationship between the Latin neuter plural and the feminine comes up in some nouns in Italian and Romanian that are masculine in the singular but feminine in the plural, with the feminine deriving from the Latin neuter plural. Such nouns are sometimes called 'ambigenics'. These ambigenics are anticipated in some late Latin texts, particularly from Italy (see below, 9.4). Connections between the neuter plural and the feminine have already been seen in this chapter. It is appropriate to begin with a summary of the ways noted so far in which the neuter plural may end up as a feminine in Latin.

First, a neuter plural may be converted into a feminine singular (4.3.1). This development is attested in some loan-words, such as *ostrea* 'oyster' (4.2.3 (32)) and *carota* 'carrot' (from the neuter plural of *καρωτόν*). It also occurs in Latin words, such as feminine *castra* (*TLL* III.548.45ff.; found in a poem at Bu Njem, for example (see Adams 1999a: 125), but also cited by

Nonius p. 295 Lindsay from Acc. *praet.* 16), *rapa* (above, 5 (ii)), *ramenta* (4.1 (13)). There are abstracts as well as concrete terms, such as *gaudia* > Fr. *joie* (Väänänen 1981a: 103), *fortia* > It. *forza*, Fr. *force* (for late Latin see Adams 2007: 327).

Second, a neuter plural may acquire a feminine plural correspondent, which need not have a feminine singular form, or one that is ever used (see above, 4.2.3 (28) on *caementae*, *fulmentae*, *labeae*, *neruiae* etc.; also e.g. *horreae*, quoted by Nonius p. 307 Lindsay from a speech of Calidius in *Quintum Gallium*, *schidia* ‘splinters’ (Vitr. 7.10.3), a borrowing from Greek scarcely found in Latin). There are several such feminine plurals in curse tablets (see Jeanneret 1918: 83, H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 144): in the tablets edited by Audollent (1904) we find *labras* alongside *labra* (plural), *bracias* alongside *bracia*, *labias*, *neruias* and *itestinas* (see Jeanneret loc. cit.), but the feminine singular does not occur. All of these are anatomical terms denoting pairs or collectives, but that semantic feature cannot be held uniquely responsible for the emergence of the feminine plural, because in other words the feminine is particularising (see on 4.2.3 (28) *fulmentae*).

The ambigenics and their Latin forerunners do not fit exactly into either of these groups. There follows a survey of the Romance types, and then a discussion of some partial anticipations in late Latin.

9.1 Italian

Italian noun and adjective plurals are normally formed by *-i*, or by *-e* in the feminine where the inflectional vowel is *-a* in the singular (Maiden 1995: 102). There is, however, also a small (and now unproductive) class of nouns that are masculine in the singular but have a feminine plural marked by an inflection *-a* that is identical to that of the first declension feminine singular (Maiden 1995: 103; see now also the account of Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 401–4). Examples include *uovo/uova* ‘egg’, *cornol/corna* ‘horn’, *osso/ossa* ‘bone’, *dito/dita* ‘finger’. The main source of this pattern is the Latin second declension neuter type *ouu(m)/loua*, with the *-a* of Italian being the original Latin neuter plural ending (Maiden 1995: 103; also 2011a: 172–3), reinterpreted as a feminine plural. A secondary source are Latin second declension masculines (such as *digitus*) that had developed a neuter form in the plural (*digita*) alongside the normal masculine (*digiti*) (see below, 11). An attempt is usually made to find a semantic unity to these irregular plurals, and there is an assumption, if only implicit, that they reflect a collective use of the neuter plural in Latin (see e.g. B. Löfstedt 1959: 18–19).

The analysis of the Italian data is highly controversial (see Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 402 on this point). For one interpretation see e.g. Maiden (1995: 105): 'In many cases, the plural expresses more than mere "plurality": it represents a group, set or pair, a collectivity, which amounts to "more than the sum of its parts".' For example, It. *labbra* 'lips', *braccia* 'arms', *corni* 'horns', *calcagna* 'heels' all indicate pairs, and *ciglia* 'eyelashes', *dita* 'fingers', *membra* 'limbs' are all found in sets or groups.

There is a more detailed discussion of the group by Acquaviva (2008). He argues (123) that the plurals in *-a* in Italian 'do not belong to the inflectional system at all'. They are instead 'lexical plurals: distinct, inherently plural nouns, related to the base noun by a word-formation process'.

The irregular plurals are put into several classes by Acquaviva (2008: 125–7).

First, there are those that also have a concurrent regular (masculine) plural in *-i* (2008: 126). The two plural forms tend to have different meanings (e.g. *braccia* 'arms', *bracci* 'arms of objects', *mura* 'perimeter walls', *muri* 'walls'), but 'just how distinct they are varies with the choice of the noun, as well as with the idiolect' (2008: 125–6). See below, 11 on *mura* in Latin.

Second, there are those for which the concurrent plural in *-i* is 'not uniformly available for all speakers and in all dialects and registers' (2008: 126).

A third group lacks a regular plural in *-i* altogether. Into this class falls e.g. *uova* 'eggs'. Within this group Acquaviva (2008: 126) sets up a sub-category comprising *dito* 'finger' and *grido* 'shout', which usually form their plurals with *-a* (*dita*, *grida*), but have the regular plurals *diti* and *gridi* 'in some varieties (usually as stigmatized forms)'.

There is a final group of four nouns that form their plurals in the regular way, but also have an old *a*-form that survives only in idioms. These include *calcagna* (*alle calcagna di* 'on the heels of').

Acquaviva (2008: 129) warns against positing too clear-cut a semantic opposition between a collective sense (in *a*-forms) and non-collective (or 'singulative') sense in the *i*-forms, stating that this 'may well lead to factually incorrect descriptions'. He concludes (2008: 146): 'The semantic variety brought to light by a careful inspection undermines the traditional view that *-a* plurals are in some sense collective; at most, something similar may hold for a subset of them, but cannot be the characteristic reading of *-a* plurals. In fact, no shade of meaning can be isolated as *the* semantic contribution of the *-a* ending to plurality. However, we can discern a

common denominator: the property of denoting weakly differentiated entities.'

Despite this, his final classification (2008: 150) does bring out a certain unity in the group. There are 'cohesive aggregates', mass terms, a single collective *mura* 'walled perimeter', and finally 'non-collectives' (such as measures and eggs). This last group may seem to stand out, but Acquaviva himself (2008: 153) is able to link its members with aggregates and masses: 'What measurements and eggs have in common with cohesive aggregates and masses is that the parts making up the denotation are conceptualized as undifferentiated, in different ways according to the lexical semantics of the noun.' Eggs might be given individual properties and differentiated, but the *-a* plural conceptualises them as interchangeable tokens. We may conclude that, while it may be sloppy to overuse the term 'collective' of the Italian irregular plurals, they are semantically a distinctive group, indicating items that come in sets or cohesive groups or are viewed as undifferentiated.

9.2 Gallo-Romance

The same neuter plural has relics also in Old French and Old Provençal (see Väänänen 1981a: 104). On Old French see particularly Buridant (2000: 61) on the survival of the *-a* neuter in certain terms said to denote collectives or ensembles: e.g. *arme*, *brace* 'the two arms', *deiel/doie* 'the fingers', i.e. 'the hand'. *Carre* is also cited, and given the meaning 'charretée', 'cartload' (see too Tobler and Lommatzsch 1936: 282 s.v. *charre*, = 'Wagenladung', FEW II.426 and 437 n. 2, deriving the term from the neuter plural *carra*; see also below, II, p. 442 on this usage in early Italian). This is a count term (a measure), which tends to be specified by numerals (e.g. several times in the *Chanson de Roland*: 33, 131, 186 *cinquante carre*; see also the examples cited by Tobler and Lommatzsch). On measures see the last section, last paragraph.

9.3 Romanian

In Romanian there are also words that are masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural (but on the complexities of classifying Romanian gender see Corbett 1991: 150–2, with literature cited on the controversies, and Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 398–400). If a noun is (a) masculine in the singular and (b) its referent is inanimate and (c) it is 'marked' in the plural (i.e. its plural is not more commonly used than its singular), then the noun will have a feminine plural either in *-e* or *-uri* (deriving from Lat.

-ora). The distribution of these two plural endings is largely unpredictable.³ The Romanian plurals of this type are far less restricted than the Italian irregular plurals of the standard language. In Italian there is only a handful of such terms, whereas in Romanian hundreds of nouns form their plural in the above ways, and the type is productive (see Acquaviva 2008: 135).

The semantically and numerically restricted Italian irregular plurals are easier to relate to Latin than these Romanian types, which will not be referred to further. On the neuter plural ending -ora in Latin see below, 10.

9.4 Late Latin

In some late texts particularly of Italian provenance (the Oribasius translations, the *Compositiones Lucenses*, the Latin Alexander of Tralles and the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*: on the origin of these texts see Adams 2007: 465–507) there are mixed-gender phrases which appear to anticipate directly the Italian irregular plurals. Strictly we should attribute such phrases to scribes and manuscripts, since we cannot be certain what the authors themselves wrote (there is no good critical edition of any of the above works), but for the sake of brevity we will not go on making this distinction.

First, Mørland (1932: 70) cites from the earlier Oribasius translation (by page numbers) examples of Latin neuter plural noun forms with feminine adjectives:

- 38.25 (*Syn.* 4.35 Ab) grana ipsas opressas (*sic*).
 133.25 (*Syn.* 7.2 Aa) ora riposas.
 855.25 (*Syn.* 3.24) folia salicis infusas.

Mørland also notes separately (72) that in the ‘later’ translation of Oribasius (indicated as La) the same types of discordant phrases occur, such as *uarias . . . adiutoria, amigdala totas hustas, uba passa exossatas, folia uirides teneras*.

Second, there are many other phrases where the neuter plural form of a noun is accompanied by an adjective that is not specifically feminine but of common (masculine/feminine) form, and these must be of the same neuter + feminine type. For example, *folia molles* is the rule in the Oribasius translations (Mørland 1932: 72 lists ten examples); *folia mollia* does not occur. Other phrases include *patientes loca, uiscera omnes, oua*

³ Information from Martin Maiden.

sorbiles, omnes genera, folia uirides, stercora omnes, similia folia picked up by *quales* (for the last two see Svennung 1941: 122).

Note too *Comp. Luc.* A 14 *tinctum unguis subtiles uitria*. Hedfors (1932: 4) emends to *uitria*<s>, but the type of phrase is so well attested that it might be kept (cf. Svennung 1941: 122). Cf. *Comp. Luc.* B 23 *frigida enim terram semper metalla debiles facit*, Z 20 *facis petala subtiles, tenues; et post mittis argentum uibum et ipsa petala solbes* (Hedfors again emends the first *petala* to *petalas*; note the alternation *subtiles, tenues*, then *ipsa*).

The Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles has not been edited at all (apart from an early uncritical editio princeps), but the same type of mixed phrase does occur in the manuscripts.⁴ At Alex. Trall. 1.106 ad fin. *folia uiridia* is in the Angers manuscript and editio princeps (Gk φύλλα χλωρά), but *folia uiridis* is in Montecassino p. 324a and Paris 9332 fol. 166vb.

Note also *Phys. Plin. Bamb.* 17.22 *omnes uitia oculorum* (Adams 2007: 493).

Mixed phrases are mainly in Italian texts but are not exclusive to them. Uddholm (1953: 65) illustrates the category from the Merovingian *Formulae Marculfi* (expressions such as *ipsas strumenta, instrumenta crematas*). It was seen above (9.2) that the 'neuter' plural form in *-a* also survived into Old French. H. E. Wilkinson (1986: 159) cites numerous examples from Agnellus, Merovingian texts and Lombard Latin.

Phrases such as *ossa consparsas* suggest that original neuter plurals such as *ossa* were now felt to be feminine, but that despite that they were holding on to their old neuter form. That is a precise anticipation of Italian. The genitive plural of some such terms in the Oribasius translations illuminates the development. The genitive plural of *oua* is regularly *ouarum* (Mørland 1932: 70–1, Väänänen 1981a: 104–5), and that is another hint that *oua* was feminine plural, despite its neuter plural form. The retention of some neuter nominal forms (in the singular) even after the gender had changed was seen at 8 above. In later Latin fossilised neuter nominative/accusative forms in both the singular and plural have sometimes been noted (see e.g. Norberg 1944: 55–6 on *omnia*, B. Löfstedt 1961: 233–5 on third declension singulars). As the category neuter died out some neuter forms were preserved but reinterpreted.

Two of the recurrent 'neuters' with non-neuter agreement in the Oribasius material, *ossa* and *oua*, survive among the irregular plurals in Italian (see Maiden 1995: 103, Acquaviva 2008: 126). It was also seen above

⁴ Information from David Langslow.

(4.3.1) that *folia*, which is common in such phrases, survived in Old French in the feminine singular, partly with collective meaning.

10 The neuter plural ending *-ora*

A neuter plural ending *-ora* emerged in Latin by a reanalysis of such plurals as *corpor-a* and *tempor-a* as *corp-ora* and *temp-ora* (H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 138, Maiden 1995: 104, 2011a: 172; for a large collection of medieval material see Aebischer 1933). Like the Latin neuter plural ending *-a* as it survived in Romance, *-ora* was reanalysed as feminine plural. It survived in central and southern Italian dialects, and particularly in Romanian (H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 138). Maiden (1995: 104) notes that while in Old Tuscan the *-ora* ending persisted in the plural of some original neuters (citing *il corpo, le còrpora*), it 'was sometimes extended into masculine nouns that were not, historically, neuters (e.g., *càmpora* "fields")'. Similarly in late Latin such endings are not found merely in original neuters. Note Anthimus p. 12.10 *ad uiros diliciose uiuentis et diuersa cibora sumentes*. Liechtenhan (1963: 64) cites eleven examples from the text of the usual masculine plural of *cibus*, though most of these are in cases other than the nominative and accusative. Note, however, p. 2.2 *quando stomachus cibus crudus conficere non potuerit* (= *cibos crudos*), 2.3 *si autem bene praeparati fuerint cibi*, and also p. 3.13 *diuersis cibis*. This last example is in the same expression as *cibora* above, and it would not be justifiable to argue that there was a semantic distinction between *cibora* and *cibi*.

Cibora and its type in very late Latin are discussed by E. Löfstedt (1936: 164–5). A parallel is *armora* as plural of *armus* 'shoulder' in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, in passages from which it is eliminated by Vegetius: *Mul. Chir.* 19 *quibus armora in causis erunt*, 241 *calida eum fomentabis ab armoribus et renibus* (changed to *armi/armis* by Vegetius), 580 *si quod iumentum armora ab itinere doluerit aut aridos et macros armos habuerit* (note the alternation). For further examples see Sittl (1885: 570–1), Wilkinson (1985: 148–9). A grammarian (Valerius Probus *De nomine excerpta* GL iv.208.22) attests to the existence of a neuter *cibus ciboris* (put on a par with *pecus pecoris*, *nemus nemoris* and others).

11 Neuters and collectives

Most ambigenics in Italian do not come from Latin nouns that had two genders themselves originally. Most derive from terms which in CL were neuter both in the singular and the plural (see also above, 9.1). *Ouum*,

for example, is neuter in both numbers for much of its history, and the masculine in the singular (and quasi-feminine in the plural) are secondary developments. There are, however, several notable exceptions, which do not derive from straightforward neuters. *Dito/dita* is from *digitus*, a masculine, which developed a neuter form in the plural. *Digita* occurs in the late Latin text (of Italian origin) the *Edictus Rothari* (89) and a few other places (B. Löfstedt 1959: 25). The etymon of *muro/mura* ‘wall, perimeter wall’ (alongside *muri* ‘walls’: see Acquaviva 2008: 126) is masculine in CL. Again there is late evidence in Latin for a neuter plural *mura* ‘walls’ (*TLL* VIII.1684.75–7; cf. also Heraeus 1902a: 88, Stotz 1998: 145; e.g. *CGL* V.441.13 *aries belli instrumentum per quo dissoluntur mura*, 446.20 *claustrum mura obsepta*). In the last passage we seem to see the Italian collective sense (for which see above, 9.1) for this form. *Riso/risa* comes from a term (*risus*) that is masculine in CL.

These latter cases raise the question whether there is evidence for neuter plural variant forms for terms that in CL are usually masculine (or indeed feminine), and if so whether we may talk of ‘neuter plural collectives’, given the tradition of seeing in the Italian irregular plurals a collective (or related) meaning. These questions do not have simple answers.

The study of abnormal neuter plurals in (later) Latin is dominated by the view that the Indo-European neuter plural was originally a separate morphological category, a collective or comprehensive (see most recently Clackson 2007: 102, and the whole discussion at 100–4; also Eichner 1985). This theory, Clackson (2007: 102) states, ‘is supported by the fact that, in some early IE languages, “plural” cases formed with the marker $*h_2$ [the marker for the nominative and accusative plural that can be reconstructed for neuter nouns: see Clackson 2007: 101] can be used with non-neuter nouns alongside their regular plurals, giving these nouns an apparent distinction between two different plurals’. There is some evidence from (e.g.) Homeric Greek for such ‘double plurals’, with a mass or collective meaning usually given to the neuter. For a collection of Homeric pairs see Chantraine (1961: 30–1), citing e.g. κύκλοι/κύκλα, κέλευθοι/κέλευθα, μηροί/μῆρα. According to Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.89) = Langslow (2009: 122) μηροί, for instance, is used of the thighs of separate individuals, whereas μῆρα ‘is used in the context of sacrifice to denote the mass of heaped-up thighs of the victims’ (Langslow 2009: 122) (see further Wackernagel 1969: 1.660). Even in such cases, however, it may take an effort of imagination to detect a collective or mass sense in the neuter, and a fundamental defect of much of the literature lies in a failure to address the question what constitutes a collective use. For example, κύκλοι is taken to mean ‘circles, wheels’ (distributive)

(*Il.* 11.33) versus κύκλα ‘circles, wheels’ as a set (collective) (*Il.* 5.722), but the difference may simply be ‘circles’ versus ‘wheels’.⁵

The standard example of a double plural cited from Latin comprises the two plural forms *loci* and *loca* alongside the masculine singular *locus* (see Clackson’s table, 2007: 101). The conventional doctrine would have it that *loca* was an original collective, alongside the normal plural *loci*. That might possibly be true historically (Clackson 2007: 103 is inclined to accept that the **h₂* plural was in fact a collective), but, as Clackson is careful to point out, in extant Latin it is impossible to set up a distinction between a collective use of *loca* and a non-collective use of *loci* (despite e.g. the assumption of Zimmermann 1924: 224). There is a semantic distinction between the pair in Classical Latin, but it is not along those lines (*loca* denotes places in the geographical sense, whereas *loci* is metaphorical and a rhetorical term, of passages in literature or common places). In early Latin there is no such necessary distinction at all: note Plaut. *Rud.* 227 *neque magis solae terrae solae sunt quam haec loca atque hae regiones* alongside *Pseud.* 594–5 *hi loci sunt atque hae regiones quae mi ab ero sunt demonstratae*, where the two forms occur in the same collocation (see Eichner 1985: 145). In Ennius and also Virgil the two forms are not distinguished semantically either (see Schön 1971: 65–6 with notes). It is also difficult to see any difference between another pair sometimes cited, *cliua/cliui*. Certainly *loca* and *cliua* (which is weakly attested) do not provide evidence that an original collective neuter plural was still productive or understood as such in Latin (despite Zimmermann 1924: 228). Any special status of the plural *loca* is also weakened by the fact (largely neglected in the literature) that a neuter singular *locum* is quite well attested from early Latin onwards (*TLL* VII.2.1575.72ff., Schön 1971: 65 with n. 65, Stotz 1998: 145 with n. 68). There is an example in a fragment of Ennius (*GL* VII.542.9–10) and another in an epigraphic poem (*CLE* 67.2), and some further examples in later Latin. If *locus/loci* had a variant neuter form *locum/loca* in both singular and plural from the earliest recorded Latin, it becomes less easy to maintain that the neuter plural use developed separately from the singular, with a special function.

Various other possible collective neuters have come up earlier in this chapter. About some of these we expressed scepticism (4.2.1 (17) *colla*, 4.3.1 *ostrea, folia*), but were less dismissive of others (above, this section, *mura*, 4.2.2 (26) *capilla*, 5 (i) *portica*, 5 (iv) *libra, catilla* (though various other possible explanations of the form were presented), 5 [v] *statuncula*). A

⁵ This possibility was suggested to me by Andreas Willi.

problem again has been the failure of scholars to address the question what 'collective' might mean. We move on to some other possible or alleged examples.

Skutsch (1985: 652–3) on Enn. *Ann.* 493 (*auorsabuntur semper uos uos-traque uolta*) notes that the neuter of *uultus* is attested nowhere else except at Lucr. 4.1213 (*iuxtim miscentis uulta parentum*, of children combining the features of both parents). Lucretius 'may have used the Ennian form in the fifth foot for the sake of metrical convenience'. Skutsch adds that *uolta* 'could be an old collective form' but offers no semantic explanation of why that might be so in this context.

Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.102) refers to the 'primary relatedness of the neuter plural with certain singular collectives of feminine gender' (see Langslow 2009: 138), and concludes: 'In a sense, the Romance languages regressed to an ancient state of affairs when feminine singulars evolved out of Latin neuter plurals, as in *la voile* ("sail") from Lat. *uela*, or *la joie* ("joy") from Lat. *gaudia*.' But the expression 'singular collectives of feminine gender' is often inapplicable as a description of the feminines that evolve from neuters in the history of Latin/Romance: they are singular, but may not be collective at all. *Voile* refers to a single sail (see above), and the term is used regularly in the plural *voiles* of more than one sail. *Ostrea* f. may refer to a single oyster (see above, 4.3.1). Hence the change of gender seems unrelated to any collective sense of the plural but may merely reflect the identity of form between neuter plural and feminine singular. Even if a Romance feminine does have a collective meaning, that meaning may be secondary rather than directly related to the use of its Latin neuter plural etymon (see 4.3.1 on *feuille*).

For an extensive discussion of neuter plurals and feminines in Latin and Romance that makes no systematic attempt to explain in what sense certain neuter plurals dubbed collective are collective, or to differentiate collective from non-collective uses of the feminine singular, see B. Löfstedt (1959: 14–29). Löfstedt (1959: 24) is happy to see the neuter plural variant of *palus* 'stake', *pala*, at Varro *Men.* 179 as collective, even though it is accompanied by the numeral *tria* (so Woytek 1970: 32). He describes *acina* (neuter plural) at Col. 12.44.4 (*haec ratio rugosa facit acina*, 'this method makes the grapes shrivelled') as collective (cf. Zimmermann 1924: 224), when the context contrasts *uuam* 'bunch of grapes' and *acina*, of the individual grapes making up the bunch (for the correct interpretation see Eichner 1985: 145). He also takes *loca* and *cliua* as collective.

Acina indeed has achieved a place in the Romance literature as a supposed archaic relic in Sardinian of the Indo-European category of neuter plural

collective. The collective feminine use of *ákina* ‘grapes’ in Sardinian (as discussed by Rohlf’s 1954: 40; cf. Wagner 1960–4: 1.50–1, and, for the whole case, Adams 2007: 401) is said to go back to an old Latin collective use of *acina* = ‘bunch of grapes’, and is described as a Sardinian archaism. However, *acinus* in whatever form (it tends to turn up in forms ambiguous between masculine and neuter) is never attested in Latin of the period covered by the *OLD* in the collective meaning ‘bunch of grapes’, and the Sardinian meaning is likely to be a late development.⁶ The feminine singular is not attested at all in early Latin, never mind in a collective sense (for details see *TLL* 1.414.51ff.). It occurs only in a few late authors of African origin, where it is not collective but refers to a single grape (see Adams 2007: 536–7). The few definite instances of the neuter plural in Classical Latin (see *TLL* 1.414.42f.: e.g. Cato *Agr.* 112.2, 3; see also Col. 12.44.4 quoted in the last paragraph) likewise are not collective but straightforward plurals. The source of the confusion in the Romance literature is a passage of Sommer (1914: 334), discussing the supposed old collective use of the neuter plural. There it is stated without any authority that the original meaning of *acina* was ‘bunch of grapes’, and from that speculative remark a Sardinian archaism with roots in early Latin was invented.

Here it may be useful to concentrate on some (mainly) later cases (some with consequences in Romance languages) of terms with a masculine or feminine singular that have a neuter plural rather than or alongside a conventional plural. Did the neuter plural forms have a collective or some related function?

A suitable starting point is *mura* above, this section, p. 438. It certainly looks like a neuter collective variant of *muri*, expressing the enclosure formed by city walls. An alternative explanation might be from analogy: could *mura* reflect the influence of the synonym *moenia*?

Not infrequently an analogy may be seen when a masculine (or feminine) develops a neuter (plural) variant. *Gladia* (plural) occurs in a writing tablet of military provenance from Carlisle (*Tab. Luguval.* 16.8; Tomlin 1998: 57), of lost swords in a context that is not particularising. According to Quintilian (1.5.16), those who said *gladia* were guilty of an error of gender: *et ‘gladia’ qui dixerunt genere exciderunt*. However, he used the plural form here not because he was commenting specifically on that, but because the singular would have been ambiguous in gender (Colson 1924: 57).

⁶ Indeed this use of *ákina* is just one of many examples of a productive pattern found in Sardinian dialects, which regularly use the singular of countable concrete nouns to mark the plural: e.g. Log. *b’aiat figu e lande* ‘there were fig(s) and acorn(s)’, *sa pira chi apo comporadu non fit barata* ‘the pear(s) that I bought was (were) not cheap’ (information from Adam Ledgerway).

The neuter singular is well attested, and is as early as the neuter plural: e.g. Varro *Ling.* 5.116 *quod fit ad hostium cladem gladium*, 8.45 *ut scutum, gladium*, Rust. 1.48.3 *ea uocatur uagina, ut in qua latet conditum gladium*; see too Lucilius (1187). The neuter singular form reflects the influence of such words as *ferrum*, *telum*, *pilum* and *scutum*. If a deviant neuter plural form existing alongside a regular masculine plural also has a neuter singular correspondent, any attempt to explain the gender change exclusively from the supposed collective function of the neuter plural must be considered doubtful (but see further below).

Carbasus 'a sail', feminine in the singular, becomes *carbasa* 'sails' in the plural (OLD s.v., see also H. E. Wilkinson 1985: 143). The gender variation from singular to plural was standard, and recognised in the grammatical tradition (Servius *Aen.* 3.357 *sane in numero singulari 'haec carbasus' dicimus, in plurali 'haec carbasa'*). There are only occasional late examples of a neuter singular (*TLL* III.428.78f.), whereas the neuter plural is very frequent from Ovid onwards (428.79f.). A masculine plural is cited once from Ammianus (*TLL* III.428.77). Sails form a set, and it is tempting in this case to see the neuter plural as a collective. However, the word is mainly poetic, and is not good evidence on which to base a theory about the function of the neuter plural, because metrical needs might have played a part (Bednara 1906: 345). There is also the possible analogy of *uela*.

In the Vindolanda tablets there are some neuter plurals of masculine terms. These include *carra* (*Tab. Vindol.* 583, 642, 649) and its diminutive *carrula* (315) (see Adams 1995a: 107, 2003b: 541), both denoting wagons. *Carra* survived into early Italian as an irregular (feminine) plural form (see B. Löfstedt 1959: 26, H. E. Wilkinson 1987: 39, Zingarelli 2005: 316, giving the meaning 'cartload'), and it is reflected also in Old French (*(c)arre*: see 9.2). There are no plural instances of *carri* (or *carruli*) in the Vindolanda tablets, to date at least, and that would suggest that the military were regularly using the neuter for the plural. There appear to be no other attestations of *carrula* (a form *carrulorum* is in the *Digest*). *Carra* on the other hand turns up a number of times (*TLL* III.499.42f.), in some interesting contexts. Nonius p. 287 Lindsay refers specifically to the plural as being neuter (*carra neutri generis esse consuetudine persuasum est*). An early example is in the *Bellum Hispaniense* (6.2 *carra complura . . . retraxit*), which is both a substandard text and military in content. Almost all the neuter examples cited by the *TLL* (the others exclusively late) are plural, but note Porph. *Hor. Sat.* 1.6.104 *petorritum genus uehiculi, quod uulgo carrum dicitur*.

It might be suggested that in the army wagons would often have been in groups, and weakly differentiated. At *Tab. Vindol.* 315 (*ut carrula uobis*

dentur) the reference seems to be to the supply of a group of wagons for some purpose, and the vehicles may not be envisaged separately. Another example designates a collective of wagons belonging to a specified individual and moving together (642 *ube carra tua subinde ueniunt*). On the other hand at 649, though the wagons mentioned belong to a specified body of people (*reçipies de carris Brittonum*) and are travelling as a group, the neuter plural is used of individual members of the group (*onerarunt autem in singla carra*). *Carra* is explicitly particularising here. There is also a neuter singular *karrum* at 343.17 (*scribe dentur mi et karrum de quo scribis*), though the lack of concord between the plural verb and singular noun at least allows the possibility that there may be a *constructio ad sensum*, with *karrum* a masculine accusative singular, the case determined by the idea that someone should give the wagon to Octavius (see the editors ad loc.; also *TLL* III.499.44f. for further examples of the singular). But even if we leave aside the singular example, the plural cases do not all denote pluralities of which the members are weakly differentiated. It is possible that a collective use originally lies behind the neuter plural, but it would appear that that function had been forgotten.

An alternative explanation of the transition to neuter of *carrus* might be that it was affected by the analogy of words of the same semantic field, such as *uehiculum*, *petorritum*, *plaustrum*, *carpentum*, an explanation that becomes more compelling if we take *karrum* to be neuter singular.

A Vindolanda tablet (*Tab. Vindol.* 309) has two irregular neuter plurals in a list of parts for carts, both of them indicating components of wheels, which come in sets. Were these collective neuter plurals in one of the more refined senses of that term seen above, 9.1? There is *radia* 'spokes', which is neuter plural in the context, a gender that is not given for this word by the *OLD*, but the editors cite *CGL* III.195.53 *certides radia*. Note too Greg. *Hist. Franc.* 5.18, p. 223.16, where most manuscripts have *radia* rather than *radii* (see Bonnet 1890: 347; also B. Löfstedt 1959: 26 with n. 5). In the Vindolanda example the referents are countable, as the term is accompanied by the numeral *ccc*. Can a collective have counted items? We saw above (9.1) that some of the Italian irregular plurals (e.g. that for 'eggs') denoted objects that are countable but conceptualised as undifferentiated, and the same might be said of spokes.

The other term in the Vindolanda list is *modiola*, indicating the nave or hub of a wheel. The neuter plural is not attested in Latin of the period covered by the *TLL* (see *TLL* VIII.1239.39f.), though it is found in British medieval Latin (*DML* s.v. *modiolus* 1 (last example)). *Modia* occurs sometimes in late texts (*TLL* VIII.1240.23ff., B. Löfstedt 1959: 26); the neuter

singular is at Cato *Agr.* 58. Again the objects in the tablet are countable (the word is accompanied by the numeral *xxxiiii*), but surely not differentiated.

There are six such neuter plurals of otherwise masculine terms in the Vindolanda tablets, a remarkable collection, given the paucity of evidence elsewhere for the forms. This body of evidence must offer a glimpse of usage in the army at a date much earlier than most of the few parallels that can be quoted, though the example in the *Bellum Hispaniense* comes from the same social/professional milieu and is of even earlier date. In addition to the Vindolanda examples we also noted *gladia* in a military environment from nearby Carlisle. There is evidence here that at a submerged level in the early Empire and even late Republic there was current a neuter plural in some otherwise masculine nouns. It is indeed tempting to suggest a unity to the referents, that they are weakly differentiated, comprising identical units forming a set or group. However, vehicles and weapons in Latin are often expressed by neuters, and simple analogies might have determined some of the above neuter forms. Moreover *gladius*, *carrus* and *modius* all have neuter singulars, and that might seem to weaken any explanation from a semantic component comparable to Acquaviva's 'weak differentiation'. Nevertheless the Vindolanda material is coherent in register as well as time and place, and it cannot be ruled out that there was lingering in that register an old use of the neuter plural to denote undifferentiated collections, with occasional slippage. The last two examples, *radia* and *modiola*, are very similar in this connection to eggs.

In the graffiti of La Graufesenque there are attested many terms denoting vessels and the like, which in Classical Latin would have been of either neuter or masculine gender (usually the former). Some of these show a mixture of genders. If used in the singular (? : see further below) they are masculine, with an ending *-us* (e.g. 20 *uinarijus*, 23 *catiljus*, 20, 22, 25 *catilus*) (but on the ending see below). If used in the plural they are either masculine or neuter. References for all the terms discussed here may be found in Marichal (1988: 273–4).

Catillus is mainly masculine in Latin. In the plural at La Graufesenque the term is masculine more than eighty times. The neuter plural *catil(l)a* occurs about nineteen times. The masculine singular in *-us* (?) occurs about seven or eight times, and there is no neuter singular in *-um*.

Two problems of interpretation are raised by this term and those that follow. First, the form *catillus* is regularly accompanied by high numerals and thus expresses a plurality. It has been suggested that it is a Gaulish accusative plural (for which see Lambert 1995: 49). Marichal (1988: 100), however, stresses that *catilli* in the lists at La Graufesenque is always in the

nominative (and implies that the *-us* form must be nominative too); in text 20, for example, he notes that the forms *catilus* and *catili* both occur. If the nominative singular masculine has been used of a plurality, some writers must sometimes have used the nominative singular as a base-form or default case, without bothering about agreement of number. On the face of it that seems very unlikely. Second, the texts at La Graufesenque are in both Gaulish and Latin, or a mixture of both. Is there any difference between the two languages in the use of gender in such terms? Marichal (1988: 75) addresses this question directly. The Latin texts prefer the neuter plural, even in a term (*catillus*) that in Classical Latin was usually masculine, whereas the Gaulish texts have only the masculine (*-i*). The neuter had probably been lost in Gaulish (see Marichal 1988: 75–6), whereas the Latin evidence suggests that the neuter plural form was preferred both in original neuters and in this masculine. Moreover if the few *-us* forms are indeed to be taken as masculine singulars (see further below), then a gender variation is to be seen in certain terms originally neuter, i.e. masculine in the singular, neuter sometimes in the plural.

Vinarium is masculine plural seventeen times, neuter plural five times, and has the *-us* ending once definitely, and possibly twice more (Marichal 1988: 274 s.v. *uxedi*).

Mortarium is masculine plural thirty-six times, neuter plural four times (possibly seven), and there is one instance of *mortarus*.

Acetabulum does not occur in the nominative or accusative singular, but again both masculine and neuter plural forms are found, with the masculine predominating.

The vessel names at La Graufesenque occur in records of firings at the pottery, and the vessels fired no doubt formed collections of items that would have been identical and undifferentiated (but countable). However, the quality of such evidence for gender variation is not particularly compelling, first because there is a doubt hanging over the *-us* forms (Marichal's point that they cannot be accusative plurals is undermined by his own observation (1988: 76) that the accusative plural forms *catinos* and *fi]scos* both occur, in Latin and Gaulish texts; for the *-us* spelling of the accusative plural see above, xv.5, p. 343), and second because most of the vessel names were neuter even in Classical Latin. The attestation of a neuter plural in *-a* in a term that was neuter in Classical Latin anyway, if there is not also attested an unambiguous masculine singular form, is poor evidence for a special function of the neuter plural. The one suggestive item is *catillus*, a term that is masculine in Classical Latin but attested once in literature in the neuter plural in a context very similar to those at La Graufesenque, in

which it might be taken to denote an undifferentiated collection of objects (see above, 5 (iv)): Petron. 50.6 *ita ex hac missa fabri sustulerunt et fecerunt catilla et paropsides <et> statuncula*. This passage has the additional interest that it also contains the neuter plural diminutive *statuncula* based on a term (*statua*) that was feminine (see above, 5 (v)).

There are other neuter plurals that may be cited from a variety of other sources, but they are not decisive in establishing a collective neuter use.

Ioca alongside *ioci* is said to be a 'Reimbildung nach *loca*' by Sommer (1914: 335). *Ioca* is described by H. E. Wilkinson (1985: 143) as 'clearly collective in meaning'. That is not apparent from e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.7 (*quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis quae . . . inepta uideantur*) alongside Plaut. *Stich.* 658 (*quot risiones, quot iocos, quot sauiā*).

An intriguing example is the neuter plural *lacerta*, probably = '(upper) arms' (< *lacertus*), at Acc. *trag.* 222: *concoquit | partem uapore flammae, ueribus in foco | lacerta tribuit* (see Warmington 1936: 389, translating lines 187–9 in his numeration as 'With the flame's heat he boils a part, the arms he puts about the hearths on spits'). The analogy of *bracchia* might be invoked, or might this be a relic of a collective use denoting a body part coming in pairs? The *TLL* (VII.2.829.7ff.), however, takes the word to be a neuter variant of *lacerta/lacertus* (a term for lizard, or (in this case) type of fish) rather than of *lacertus* 'upper arm'. The *OLD* classifies Accius' *lacerta* under *lacertus* ('arm'), but this is a problematic case on which to base a theory.

Similar perhaps are the forms *lumba* and *lumbia* (< *lumbi*) found in glosses (*TLL* VII.2.1807.73ff., Heraeus 1937: 137), but the contexts do not establish whether they are neuter plural or feminine singular (see *TLL*), and the evidence for the forms is in any case weak.

Vter, 'leather bag, inflated bladder', apparently has a neuter plural variant *utria* at Lucil. 1104, but the meaning is problematic.

Margarita 'pearl', which is usually feminine, is used as a neuter plural in good imperial authors, but a neuter singular is also attested (see 5 (v)).

Culleus 'leather sack' is used in the neuter plural by Cato *Orig.* 43.

Capillus 'hair' is in the neuter plural at *CIL* x.8249. This might be a collective usage, but a singular *capillum* is reported from Plautus (but see 4.2.2 (26)).

Gradus has a neuter plural form at *CIL* XII.1753. A late grammarian castigates the usage, and also two other such neuter plurals: ps.-Asper *GL* VIII.47.12 *cauendum est ne quis dicat grada curra aquaeducta* (see *TLL* VI.2–3.2142.58ff.). It would be possible to see a collective meaning here, in that steps may form a unitary staircase.

On *portica* in the *Anonymus Valesianus* see above, 5 (i) (a collective meaning is possible).

Some further examples from later Latin are cited without discussion by Stotz (1998: 146), who regards them as often collective, and sees the phenomenon as ‘volkstümlich’.

Schön (1971: 39–82) discusses a set of thirteen terms (see 43 for the list). Five of these are neuter only in both singular and plural. Only four (*acinus*, *collus*, *digitus* and *locus*) are given a masculine singular and a neuter plural (alongside a masculine), but *acinus* (above, p. 441) and *locus* (p. 439) are special cases, the neuter plural of *digitus* is medieval (p. 438), and Schön does not mention in her list that *collum* is the normal singular in Classical Latin (4.2.1 (17)). There are finally four neuter terms that have a feminine plural (*armentum*, *balineum*, *caementum* and *epulum*). Nothing is established firmly by this material about a collective neuter plural in Latin.

B. Löfstedt (1959: 25–6) lists from late and early medieval Latin various ‘collective’ neuter plurals of nouns that are masculine in the singular. These *-a* forms then turn up in Romance (1959: 26–7). They include *digita* (see above, p. 438) and *fructa* (< *fructus*) in the Gallic text *Capitulare de uillis* (1959: 20). Löfstedt’s terms would require a full semantic analysis, without which hints of collectivity are unsatisfactory.

II.1 Conclusions

This section has not set out to say anything about the question whether the neuter plural of Indo-European was collective. The aim has been to show that, while in Latin there are terms that may be neuter in the plural but are not usually neuter in the singular, it is often difficult to maintain that the gender variation was motivated by a special semantic function of the neuter plural. Many of the possible examples are problematic in some way or open to alternative explanations. However, the material from Vindolanda (and Carlisle) is suggestive, as is an item shared by Petronius and La Graufesenque, and two other items in Petronius. There is scope for a more extensive collection of evidence and for a detailed assessment of that collected by Wilkinson in a series of papers, and also for a semantic analysis that addresses the problems raised by the use of the term ‘collective’. Acquaviva’s (2008) chapter on the irregular plurals of Italian has the merit that it highlights the ill-considered use of the term that is so common in the literature. Note too the remarks of Corbett (2000: 117): “collective” is used in the literature in a variety of ways . . . these uses are so different that the term has become almost useless’.

It is probably true to say that most of the irregular neuter plurals seen above in Latin, whatever their semantics, are in low-register texts, and a passage of ps.-Asper was quoted above that finds fault with the forms *curra* and *grada*.

It remains to be shown that these neuters represent the vestiges of an earlier collective use, and that they are definitely collective in later Latin. It is likely that Latin inherited gender variations neuter plural versus masculine in the singular, but that any functional basis to that distinction had been severely weakened by the period of recorded Latin. There are no more than hints in the above material that the neuter plural might have been seen as more general or cohesive, and it was hardly a productive variant for the masculine plural in classical Latin, though again the subliterate evidence from Vindolanda is suggestive. It is possible that it was more productive in lower sociolects and continued to be so in the proto-Romance period, but that would be impossible to prove without a thorough discussion of the notion of collectivity and an examination of examples in context.

12 Some final conclusions

12.1 *Relative chronology*

Three stages have been seen in uses of the masculine for neuter.

In the first, Plautine, stage this type of deviation makes up only a small proportion of the instances of gender variation, and indeed in about half of these the deviation is only to be seen as such if Plautine Latin is compared unhistorically with that of the classical period: there is reason to believe that some masculines, such as *aeuos* for CL *aeuum*, are not deviant at all but represent the original gender of the word.

In the second, Petronian, stage almost all deviations involve the neuter, which is sometimes changed into the feminine under particular conditions, but is often converted to the masculine. It would be misleading to talk in blanket terms of the loss of the neuter gender. A marked proportion of the deviations seem to be determined by personification, but that is not the whole story, as there are some masculine nominatives which cannot be explained in this way. If Petronius has accurately portrayed the social class that he was satirising, speakers must have been prone to personify inanimates but also to admit the masculine sometimes without such motivation. On this evidence lower social dialects were leading the way in the dropping of the neuter. Some of the Petronian items (*libra*, *catilla*, *statuncula*) also seem to fall into line with the group of neuter plurals at Vindolanda (and a

single term at La Graufesenque) possibly designating weakly differentiated entities, and if the correspondence is accepted we have a hint of a function of the neuter plural belonging particularly to lower sociolects. The texts referred to in this paragraph are all of much the same date.

In the third, late, stage (represented in Oribasius) masculine (nominatives) for the neuter are used freely with no trace of personification, and at this period we may speak of the neuter as under threat. The transitional expressions discussed in 8, in which neuter forms are accompanied by non-neuter agreement, are mainly in low-register texts.

12.2 *Gender and social variation*

There are signs that some changes of gender took place in low social varieties (see 12.1 on Petronius) and were considered substandard by the educated.

Switches from neuter (singular, in the case of Greek loan-words, and plural in other terms) to feminine seem to have been resisted in higher genres and even stigmatised. Two of the terms discussed, *glaucuma* (4.2.3 (30)) and *labeae* (4.1 (9)), have structural features apart from their gender that establish them as provincial, and their distribution in literature marks them out as non-standard. The gender shift in these terms must go back to well before the period of written literature, and to regions outside Rome (cf. *Acheruns*, 4.2.4.1 (40)). *Schema* (4.2.3 (31)) has its correct neuter gender in tragedy (Naevius *trag.* 35) but is feminine in comedy (Plautus and also Caecilius 76), a variation that is at least suggestive of a contrast between careful and casual style. The feminine is assigned to a freedman by Petronius (5 (ii)), which suggests that the form was still current and stigmatised. In literary Latin the word was used as a neuter. The late republican literary language rejected in general earlier Latin feminines derived from Greek neuters in -μῆρ.

Feminine plurals that emerged alongside original neuter plurals fall into two classes. First there are terms that cannot be distinguished semantically from the neuter, such as *intestinae*, (5 (ii)), *labeae* and *braciae* (see 9). Second, there are instances, particularly in earlier Latin, in which the feminine seems to be particularising, alongside the more general neuter (see 4.2.3 (28) on *fulmentae* and *neruiae*, as well as the singular *ramenta*). The feminine plurals in both of these categories occur in low-register texts, such as curse tablets and Petronius, and must have been resisted in higher sociolects. Since it might be said that (e.g.) *labeae* is collective, whereas *fulmentae* is particularising, it would be hard to prove that a single semantic determinant lies behind the feminine plural for neuter.

It is a striking fact that seven neuter plural forms of concrete nouns that were usually masculine (or in one case feminine) in standard Latin (*gladia, carra, carrula, radia, modiola, catilla, statuncula*) can be associated specifically with two identifiable social groups beneath the elite, soldiers and craftsmen. We would be unaware of this fact were it not for the publication in recent times of the non-literary documents from Vindolanda and La Graufesenque (the latter read alongside a passage of Petronius). One of these forms, *carra*, is also attested in a republican military text. However we might explain these neuters, it is now certain that they were current in military groups over several centuries, though avoided in the high literary language.

Even in late Latin the school tradition must have fought to preserve the neuter, and even a substandard writer like Anthimus is able to use it with a high degree of correctness (see above, 7.3). There were still purists who regarded slippages of gender as substandard. The rhetorician Fortunatianus (*Ars rhet.* 3.4 *RLM* p. 123), as late as the fifth century (Adams 2007: 220 n. 77), castigated uses of the masculine he had heard among the Roman plebs:

Romani uernaculi plurima ex neutris masculino genere potius enuntiant, ut 'hunc theatrum' et 'hunc prodigium'.

Hunc here is the grammarians' article-equivalent, used to show the gender of the word. This is a sociolinguistic remark which suggests that there was still a distinction between educated and uneducated speech in the use of the neuter in the city of Rome.

There are also some revealing remarks in Jerome about the use of the term of measurement, *cubitum*, in the masculine. Originally the term was masculine in reference to part of the arm but neuter of the measurement (3.3), but this distinction was undermined in ordinary speech in the later period by a shift to the masculine in the second meaning. Note the following two passages of Jerome:

Jerome *Hiez.* 12.40.5–13, *CC* 75, 561–2 nosse me 'cubitum' et 'cubita' neutrali appellari genere sed, pro simplicitate [et facilitate] intellegentiae uulgiue consuetudine, ponere et genere masculino – non enim curae nobis est uitare sermonum uitia, sed scripturae sanctae obscuritatem quibuscumque uerbis edisserere.

I know that *cubitum* and *cubita* [terms of measurement] are neuter, but for simplicity of understanding and because of the usage of the common people I use them also in the masculine. It is not my main aim to avoid errors of

speech. Rather it is to clarify the obscurity of Holy Scripture in whatever words it may be necessary.

Hiez. 14.47.1–5, *CC* 75, 712 ‘cubitos’ genere masculino et non neutrali ‘cubita’ dicimus iuxta regulam grammaticorum, et in superioribus docui non nos ignorantia hoc facere, sed consuetudine, propter simplices quoque et indoc-tos quorum in congregatione ecclesiae maior est numerus.

I use *cubiti* in the masculine and not in the neuter required by the rule of grammarians, and earlier I pointed out that I do this not because of ignorance but because of usage, and also for the sake of simple and uneducated people, who are in the majority in the congregation of the Church.

Jerome had used the masculine in the Vulgate (see the passage quoted at *Hiez.* 14.47.1–5, *CC* 75, 706) and in these passages he gives his reasons and reveals something about the currency of the masculine usage and attitudes to it. It is conceded that it is a *uitium*, but justified by the needs of clarity, since the ordinary people use the term in the masculine. Jerome wishes to make it clear that he is aware of the rule of grammarians and has not lapsed into the masculine out of ignorance. He has used the masculine deliberately, adopting the usage of the *uulgus* for their sake so that they can understand Holy Scripture. The passages reveal that grammarians were upholding the neuter, that ordinary speech had largely shifted to the masculine,⁷ that an educated person who had received instruction from grammarians would be uneasy about using the masculine and likely to regard it as substandard (a *uitium*), and that such a person might perceive a clear-cut social distinction between the usage recommended for the upper classes by a *regula grammaticorum* and the *consuetudo uulgi* (see also Herman 1991: 33).

Phonetic developments (the loss of final *m* and *s*) undermined the distinction between masculine and neuter in the singular, and it is in the singular that there is the clearest sign of the encroachment of masculine on neuter, in the second declension, from Plautus through to the Oribasius translations. The neuter plural seems to have maintained an existence longer.

The extended use of the neuter plural ending *-ora* first becomes apparent in low-register texts (10), and it was eliminated by Vegetius when he encountered it in his source. The productivity of this ending in some

⁷ It is however worth noting that in eastern Romance (dialects of Italy and Romania) this noun retains residual neuter features, in that the masculine singular (e.g. It. *gomito*, Rom. *cot*) has a feminine plural derived from the Latin neuter plural in *-a* (e.g. Olt. *gomita*, which is still widespread in dialects of the Centre-South, Rom. *coate*) (information from Adam Ledgeway).

Romance languages shows that neuter forms as such did not necessarily disappear (see 8, p. 429 on *cor* and *nomen*, and particularly 9.4), but they were eventually assigned to a different gender (9.4).

The emergence of secondary neuter plurals as alternatives to masculine plurals, as in *carra* for *carri*, is on the one hand one of the most familiar topics in late Latin/early Romance linguistics, but on the other one of the least satisfactorily studied. For our purposes it is enough to say that the secondary plurals of the imperial period do seem to be located in submerged or non-standard varieties of the language (as for example military Latin). It is their semantics that are problematic.

Demonstrative pronouns: some morphological variations

1 Introduction: some non-standard demonstrative forms

This chapter is not primarily about the syntax or functions of demonstratives, a subject that will come up in the next chapter (but see also below, 5.4.1, where it will be necessary to say something about the syntax of demonstratives preceded by *ecce*), but about aspects of their morphology. There are some pronominal forms that are never found in literary texts, and these must have existed in lower sociolects without ever acquiring respectability in educated Latin in the pre-Romance period. Another topic dealt with here is the prefixing of pronouns such as *ille* and *iste* with *ecce*. This is a phenomenon with consequences in the Romance languages, which has a complicated history within Latin itself. It first shows up as early as Plautus, but the Plautine examples are very restricted in type and it is hard to see how there could have been any continuity between Plautine usage and that of proto-Romance.

The correspondence of Claudius Terentianus is a suitable starting point for a discussion of the forms of demonstrative pronouns in non-standard Latin. In the letters *ille* occurs thirty-one times but *is* only four (Adams 1977a: 44), and *ille* is often not deictic but a pure anaphoric, equivalent to *is* (as in the first few lines of 467 (11–12), where it is used twice of the same referent and without any contrastive force). On this feature of the archive, and the parallelism with the speeches of the freedmen in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, see Adams (2003c: 13–15).

But there are also two oddities in the morphology of the demonstrative in Terentianus. First, there are five forms that are reinforced with the deictic particle *-c(e)*, forms that are not strictly classical. Second, whereas the masculine dative in the corpus always has the traditional form *illi* (eight times), there is a separate feminine dative form *illei*, which occurs five times (see Adams 1977a: 45–6, and below, 3.2.1). Classical Latin did not have a distinct feminine dative form. *Illi* is never used with a feminine referent in the archive, and we thus have a clear-cut distinction between

masculine and feminine, which sets apart the low social variety represented in Terentianus from higher social varieties.

On the first point above there is a little more to be said. First, the only feminine nominative form attested in the corpus is the reinforced *illec* (= *illaec*), at 469.18. The classical *illa* does not occur. Second, the only neuter singular nominative/accusative form attested is the reinforced *illuc* (468.12, 469.6). The classical *illud* is absent from the corpus. It is beyond question that morphologically the documents present forms of the demonstrative that are alien to the standard language. If we had only literary texts of this, early imperial, period we would have little, or in the case of *illei*, no idea that these alternative forms existed at the time. The letters bring to the surface a variety of the language that was submerged. In the next two sections we will discuss, first, the reinforced forms, and, second, the feminine *illei* and some related forms.

2 Forms of *ille* and *iste* with the deictic particle *-c(e)*

2.1 *Ille with -c(e)*

The reinforced forms of *ille* in Terentianus mentioned in the previous section are:

468.12 *emeram aute illuc con culcitam et pulbin[o]*.

469.6 *et qumqupibit illuc. ba[.] uide si potes imbenire minore pr[etium]*.

469.18 *rogo, ut satisfacias ille[i], et illec enim [...] immeo a domu . . . [.]*.

470.8 *a]ssequor illunc et benio ad illunc*.

The accusative form *illunc* occurs twice in one letter. It did not have the field to itself, as *illum* is found four times in the corpus.

Reinforced forms of *ille* are known mainly from early Latin. In Plautus *illic* (*illaec* etc.) occurs about 200 times and in Terence about fifteen, and there are a few attestations in other texts before the late republican period (see *TLL* VII.1.370.29ff.: writers listed with an example or two include Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Turpilius, Catullus, Lucretius and the archaiser Gellius). Here are some other examples.

In an epigram of Lutatius Catulus (fig. 1) there is the masculine accusative *illunc*:

aufugit mi animus; credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum
deuenit. sic est; perfugium illud habet.
quid si non interdixem ne illunc fugitium
mitteret ad se intro, sed magis eiceret?

Lutatius was born in the 150s BC, was consul in 102 and committed suicide in 87 (see Courtney 1993: 75), and was therefore slightly earlier than the high classical period from about the middle of the first century BC.

Lucretius has the feminine singular *illaec* (4.1059) and the neuter plural *illaec* (4.1083) (both forms adjectival). Lucretius died in 55 BC.

Illic does not turn up in any form in Cicero. There are five occurrences in Varro, which are restricted to formulae of sale (*TLL* VII.1.370.31), in all of which the original final *-e* is preserved (e.g. *Rust.* 2.2.5 *illasce oues, qua de re agitur, sanas recte esse*). This expression is described by Varro as a *prisca formula*. Similarly in a religious formula cited by Cato (*Agr.* 139) the genitive *illiusce* occurs (see further *TLL* VII.1.370.30 on the four instances of the word in prayer formulae in Cato). A distinction should be made between a form such as *illasce* and e.g. *illunc*. The full forms with *-ce* were probably archaic, but the reduced forms with *-c* have a more complicated story.

For Gellius see 16.10.4 *cum illic se iuris, non rei grammaticae peritum esse respondisset*. Gellius no doubt got the term from early Latin.

The literary attestations have a clear chronological pattern to them. This would suggest that the *-c* forms were widely current in the early Republic but then faded from use, barely surviving into the late Republic and found there mainly in writers of the first half of the first century BC. Later examples, such as that in Gellius, could be put down to the archaising movement.

But non-literary low-register texts necessitate a refinement of this pattern. Such forms are not only in Terentianus but in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* (probably late republican: see Adams 2007: 444 with n. 58 for bibliography; see also above, XII.5.2, n. 28), Pompeian graffiti (first century AD) and in an informal letter from Vindolanda (early second century AD). These attestations establish that, while the reinforced forms had been rejected in higher sociolects by the end of the Republic, they maintained some currency further down the social scale well beyond that time. Moreover an adjectival example at Catullus 50.5 (*ludēbat numero modo hoc modo illoc*) not only affords a jingle with *hoc* but was probably admissible for its casual or non-standard character in an informal poem.

The non-literary examples just referred to are as follows.

First, there are two in the Johns Hopkins *defixio* 'Plotius' (Sherwood Fox 1912, *CIL* I².2520, Warmington 1940: 280–4): 5–6 *tradas illunc febri quantan[a]e, tertian[ae], cottidia[n]ae*, 42–3 *mandes me]nse Februari[o e]cillunc* (on this form with prefix see below, 5.4). In this text the normal dative *illi* and ablative *illo* are attested. So in Terentianus, as was noted above, *illi* is found eight times (along with two instances of the ablative *illo*) but the accusative *illunc* occurs several times.

There is also in the same Johns Hopkins corpus a probable remnant of a feminine accusative (Ves. B.43 [*illa*]*nc* (see Jeanneret 1918: 79)).

Second, note the masculine accusative form in the Pompeian graffito CIL IV.1691: *qui illunc pedicat* (the obscene context is noteworthy; see Väänänen 1966: 86 for further examples in Pompeian graffiti).

Third, there is a neuter plural at Tab. Vindol. 343.19: *iam illec petissem* (see Adams 1995a: 101; this letter is in the name of a certain Octavius, apparently an entrepreneur rather than a member of the military, and his Latin has a number of non-standard features).

The forms *illuc*, *illunc* and *illaec* seen above are all attested in Plautus, and the non-literary instances must reflect a continuing currency in spoken varieties over several centuries.

2.2 *iste with -c*

There are similarities between the history of *illic* and that of *istic* but also some subtle differences. The reinforced form of *iste* is likewise common in comedy (for details see TLL VII.2.495–6). The neuter singular form *istuc* in particular is far better attested than *istud*, which seems never or hardly ever to occur in Plautus or Terence. Lindsay (1900: 340) on *Capt.* 964, after a long discussion of the manuscript evidence, concludes: ‘That evidence however, if carefully examined, seems to me to pronounce so strongly against these forms [*istud* and *ista*], that we are driven to the conclusion that by some caprice of language, *istud* and *ista* were not admitted to the diction of Plautus and Terence.’ Lindsay was also commenting here on the frequency of the neuter plural *istaec* as against *ista* (for further details about *istuc/istud* see TLL VII.2.495.43ff., and about *istaec/ista* 496.71ff.). Similarly, a little later, in Lucilius, the neuter *istuc* occurs four times (87, 520, 805, 1019) but *istud* never (see Marx 1904–5: 1.126). The feminine singular *istaec* is also well represented in comedy (495.31ff.).

The neuter singular *istuc* continued into the late Republic. The only examples of the reinforced pronoun in the speeches of Cicero, it seems, are in this neuter singular form. Neue and Wagener (1892–1905: II.400) cite thirteen examples from the speeches, though manuscripts cannot be trusted and one cannot be sure about the actual figures. Nevertheless, the evidence is good that the neuter singular retained some currency into the classical period. Seyffert and Müller (1876: 93) on *Amic.* 16 suggested that *istuc* was at least as common in Cicero as *istud* (*‘istuc ist bei Cicero fast gewöhnlicher als istud’*), particularly in the phrase *istuc quidem* found in that passage, a collocation in which it is phonetically motivated. In the *Brutus istuc* seems to have been the only form (see TLL VII.2.495.60f.).

Oldfather, Canter and Abbott (1938) list seventeen examples of *istuc* and three of *istud* from the letters of Cicero. In the *Res rusticae* of Varro there are five examples of *istuc* but none of *istud* (see Briggs 1983). There is also one instance of the neuter plural *istaec* (1.37.2 (see further below); cf. *ista* at 3.3.4). In other forms *iste* is preferred in the *Res rusticae* (fourteen examples in all). Prose writers (apart from Cicero and Varro) who, according to the *TLL* VII.2.495.59ff., have both *istuc* and *istud* include Cato, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the *Bellum Africum* and Livy. In Livy there are five examples of *istuc* and six of *istud*, but none of any other form of the augmented pronoun. A change of taste is in evidence from about this time. At *TLL* VII.2.495.66ff. various writers are listed who have only *istud*: Nepos, Seneca the Elder, Valerius Maximus, Celsus, Columella and Petronius.

We may turn now to reinforced forms other than the neuter singular as they appear in the classical period.

Istic (nominative singular) in a specimen of the debased simple style at *Rhet. Her.* 4.16 is a special case. Outside comedy this is the only instance of the nominative in republican Latin (later there are single examples in Seneca's tragedies and Tertullian, which are no doubt archaising; for details see *TLL* VII.2.495.25ff.). It is likely that the anonymous author was deliberately imitating comic dialogue in the passage, something that he does elsewhere (see Adams 2007: 379–80).

If we leave this instance aside, we find in the late Republic just occasional examples of the neuter plural *istaec* (for a full collection of the neuter plural forms see Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: II.401–2), all of them in contexts suggestive of a lingering currency in informal registers. It is not only the distribution of these instances that looks significant, but also in some cases the collocations in which they occur.

There are, first, three examples in letters (and not only by Cicero):

Cic. *Att.* 12.18a.2 *primum tibi persuade me istaec non curare.*

Curo with a reinforced form of *iste* seems to have been idiomatic. Note Plaut. *Mil.* 1123 *istuc cura quid agis*, 1238 *istuc curauī, ut opinione illius pulchrior sis*, *Persa* 165 *abi et istuc cura*, *Vid.* 23 *qu<id t> u istuc curas?* (further Plautine examples at Lodge 1924–33: 1.345), Lucil. 1019 *quid tu istuc curas?* Lucilius' expression is the same as that at *Vid.* 23 above. Notable in two of the passages cited is the nominative personal pronoun immediately before *istuc* (see further below, and note Varro *Rust.* 1.37.2, referred to above, *ego istaec . . . seruo*; for this combination earlier see Plaut. *Amph.* 925 *ego istaec feci uerba*).

Att. 14.1.1 *ad summam, non posse istaec sic abire.*

For *sic abire*, which has the appearance of a colloquial idiom, see *TLL* 1.69.75ff. (e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 175 *mirabar hoc si sic abiret*, Catull. 14.16 *non non hoc tibi, salse, sic abibit*). See further below, 2.3 on Ennius *trag.* frg. 225 Jocelyn. *Ad summam* above may also have had something of a colloquial character (see Leiwo 2010b: 283–4).

Pompey ap. Cic. *Att.* 8.12C.1 in quibus litteris scribis . . . confestim in Samnium ad me uenturum, sin autem ille circum istaec loca commoraretur, te ei, si propius accessisset, resistere uelle.

Pompey is paraphrasing a letter received from his addressee L. Domitius, and it is not clear to whom the usage should be attributed.

Catull. 67.37 qui tu istaec, ianua, nosti . . . ?

This is a colloquial formula, with a preceding nominative pronoun (see above) and the colloquial instrumental *qui* ('how?'), and a vocative following. Cf. e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 786 *qui ego istuc, mi pater, cauere possum?* (see Adams 1999b: 115, with further Plautine examples).

Suet. *Iul.* 49.3 quotes some words of Cicero delivered in the senate making a charge of homosexuality against Caesar:

remoue, inquit, istaec, oro te, quando notum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.

This too may have been a colloquial formula ('away with this'). Notable is the equivalent expression *istaec aufer* at Plaut. *Capt.* 964 and elsewhere (see Lindsay 1900: 338 ad loc.).

Finally, at *Rhet. Her.* 4.22 in a specimen of the figure *interrogatio* loosely based on Demosthenes *De corona* 71 there is the following:

et utrum aliquem exornari oportuit qui istaec prohiberet ac fieri non sineret, an non?

Terence has the same form as object of the same verb in an exclamatory expression: *Heaut.* 1038 *di istaec prohibeant!*

2.3 Conclusions

The reinforced forms are not only found in comedy in the early period, though they are most numerous there because of the vast amount of comedy compared with other genres that has survived. *Illic* and *illaec* are in the tragedies of Ennius (375, 386 Jocelyn). *Istuc* is at 225 in an interesting phrase: *nequaquam istuc istac ibit*. Jocelyn (1967: 366) remarks: '*Sic abire* seems to have been the normal phrase.' Thus Ennius had used the singular

istuc in much the same idiom as that in which Cicero at *Att.* 14.1.1 above has *istaec*. There is a formulaic character often to uses of these forms. From the tragedies of Pacuvius Schierl (2006: 660) lists in her index instances of *illic*, *istunc*, *istoc* and *istuc*. The adjectival use of *istoc* at 291 (= 354 Ribbeck) (*cepisti me istoc uerbo*) may be compared with that at Ter. *Hec.* 347 (*hem! istoc uerbo animus mihi redit*). The expression with the neuter *istuc* at 56 (= 58/59 Ribbeck) (*quid istuc est*) also occurs in another tragic fragment (*Acc. trag.* 299 *quid istuc, gnata unica, est*).

There are two main differences to be seen between the histories of *illic* and *istic*. First, one form of *istic* (the neuter singular *istuc*) was maintained in the standard language well into the Republic and only started to be rivalled by *istud* from about the Augustan period onwards, after which it was all but ousted by the other. There is no form of *illic* that outnumbered, or coexisted on equal terms with, the corresponding form without *-c*. Second, it is only forms of *illic* that have turned up in non-literary texts of the late Republic and early Empire.

The distributions are consistent with the following changes of status. Both reinforced demonstratives were current in the early Republic in high as well as lower genres, in some instances alongside the equivalent forms without *-c* but in other instances (as in the case of the neuter singular and plural forms *istuc* and *istaec*) to their exclusion. Between about 200 BC and the last decades of the Republic the reinforced forms (other than *istuc*) faded dramatically from the literary language. There is some evidence (to be extracted from literary texts) that the neuter plural *istaec* also lingered on to a limited extent into the late Republic in casual style and some phrases. Forms of *illic*, however, we would assume to have disappeared from use after about the time of Lucretius, were it not for the fact that they have now turned up in non-literary documents. They must still have had some currency, but in lower sociolects.

3 The feminine dative *illei* and related forms in later Latin

3.1 General remarks

In later Latin some new pronominal case forms emerged, which were to play a part in the formation of the Romance languages. Despite their importance in the long term, they are limited in their attestations in Latin itself, and confined to low-register texts and a few inscriptions. They belong in the category of phenomena with a life largely in unseen varieties of the language.

In the masculine singular there is a new dative *illui* (examples of this and the other forms mentioned here are collected below, 3.2; *ipse* and *qui* were affected too, and remodelled forms of these will also be given) and a genitive *illuius*. *Illui* must be based on *cui* (cf. also *hui*, an alternative form to *huic*: *CIL* IX.5813), and *illuius* on *cuius* or *huius*. In the feminine singular there is a dative *illei* (< *illaei*), already remarked on above, I, and a genitive *illae(i)us/ille(i)us*. The *TLL* in its conspectus (VII.I.340–I) of the attested forms of *ille* cites just one doubtful case of *illui* (341.9), no cases at all of the feminine dative *illei*, and two cases of the feminine genitive singular *illeius/illaeus* (340.84, 341.1) (but see below, 3.2.5–6 on forms of *ipse*). After the article was written some further instances of the feminine forms turned up, mainly in Egypt, some as early as the beginning of the second century (see below, 3.2.1). For a table showing the posited Vulgar Latin case forms of *ille* and *ipse* see Staib (1996: 359). Here are the genitive and dative forms, masculine and feminine:

genitive		dative	
masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
illuius	ill(a)e(i)us	illui	ill(a)ei

The new datives *illui* and *ill(a)ei* are regionally restricted in Romance (see e.g. Elcock 1960: 80, Barnett 1965: 103 with bibliography). They are confined to Gaul (Old French has the masculine *lui* as well as *li* from *illi*, and a feminine *lei* is attested; Provençal has *lui* and *liei*), Italy (*lui*, *lei*) and the east (Rom. *lui*, *ei*). There is no trace of these forms in the Iberian peninsula, Sardinia or the dialects of Sicily and Calabria. Elcock (1960: 80) remarks that their presence both in the east and the west shows that ‘they originated well within the Vulgar Latin period’. The few examples in inscriptions must represent an occasional surfacing of features that were stigmatised by the educated.

A feature of Romanian is that its article, derived from *ille*, was agglutinated to the end of the word. A consequence was a declension system. Elcock (1960: 89) puts it thus:

A further peculiarity of Romanian is that it has retained ILLE as definite article with those same case-endings of Vulgar Latin which in the west have survived only when ILLE was used as personal pronoun. The effect of the agglutinated article was thus to produce declensions.

In the masculine the nominative/accusative singular and plural definite forms were *domnul* and *domnii*, and the genitive/dative singular and plural definite forms were *domnului* and *domnilor* (< *illorum*). In the feminine

the nominative/accusative singular and plural definite forms were *casa* and *casele*, and the genitive/dative singular and plural definite forms were *casei* and *caselor* (see Mallinson 1988: 398; also 400). The genitive/dative singular definite forms derive from the agglutinated articles that in their Latin form would have been *illui/illaei* (or possibly *illuius/illaeius*). In an adjective–noun combination the article may be incorporated with either a nominal or adjectival head (see Ledgeway 2011: 415): thus *fiul bun* ‘son-the good’ or *bunul fiu* ‘good-the son’.

It is often assumed that the new masculine forms had primacy in Latin, and that the feminine forms were based on the analogy of the masculine (see e.g. Elcock 1960: 80, stating that *illaei* reproduced ‘the rhythm of *ILLUI*, and [was] created from a combination of *ILLI* with the usual feminine flexion -AE’, Grandgent 1907: 163–4, *FEW* IV.554). Note e.g. Maiden (1995: 169): ‘On the analogy of *ILLUI*, the feminine singular genitive and dative form **ILLAE* (itself replacing *CL ILLIUS* and *ILLI*), becomes **ILLAEI*, whence *lei*’. This is much the same view as that of Barnett (1965: 101), who suggested that the asymmetrical pattern of the genitives and datives (*illuius/illui*, *illaeius/illae*) was regularised by the creation of a new dative *illaei*. But the new evidence casts doubt on this traditional chronology, which has the new feminine dative as the final piece of the chain (see the discussion of Adams 1977a: 46; also Galdi 2004: 330 n. 67). The new feminine dative is both better attested than the masculine and earlier (see below, 3.2.1, 3.2.2), and it seems preferable to see in the feminine the starting point of the change. Feminine genitives in *-(a)ei*us are also well attested (see 3.2.3, 3.2.6, 3.2.7). Sommer (1914: 430), dealing with the genitive form *illaeius*, suggests an analogy: the *-ī* masculine nominal genitive ending corresponds to the *-ī(j)us* masculine pronominal genitive, and by analogy the *-ae* feminine nominal genitive ending might have generated an *-ae(j)us* feminine pronominal genitive. Alternatively one might say that *pueri illi(j)us* generated *puellae illae(j)us* (see Leumann 1977: 481). Such an analogy seems to be supported by the forms *illaeus* and *illeus*, both without an *i* (see below, 3.2.3), the absence of which implies a straight replacement of the long *i* of *illius* with the *ae* of *illaeus*. The glide would have been added partly to facilitate pronunciation and partly to give the feminine form a genitive appearance.

3.2 Specific forms

3.2.1 *ill(a)ei*

The dative form, which Bulhart (*TLL* VII.1.341) was unable to illustrate, has now turned up in two separate corpora of non-literary texts, both of

the second century AD and both from Egypt. *Illei* occurs five times in Terentianus (see above, 1) in a single letter (469.4, 8, 13, 14, 18), always unambiguously as a feminine (see Adams 1977a: 45–6). When the referent is masculine Terentianus habitually uses *illi* (e.g. 471.10, 22, 27–8, 31). Here is evidence that *illei* antedates *illui*. There is also an example of *illei* (again feminine) on an ostrakon from Wādī Fawākhir, which may be dated approximately to the second century AD: *O. Faw. 3 (CEL 75) et dic Serapiadi si uut (denarios) xv accipere offeram illei*. The preceding name is female: see Cugusi (1981: 742 n. 83).

Cugusi (1992: II.69; cf. 1981: 742 n. 83), however, referring to the introduction of his own work (1992: 1.28), thinks that *illei* is better explained orthographically, i.e. as a ‘learned’ spelling *ei* for long *i*. This explanation fails to take account of the fact that *illei* is always feminine whereas in Terentianus *illi* is masculine. Cugusi was following the editors of *P. Mich. VIII* in his explanation of *illei*, but Pigghi (1964: 59) related the form to *It. lei* (1964: 13). Note his remark (59) ‘ma senza dubbio questo è il dat. femm. sg. *illēi* (*illui* è attestato molto tardi, CIL x 2564)’. He did not offer an explanation of the form.

For an inscriptional example of *illei* see *ILCV 4554 Marcius Maximianus tria de[. . .] Faustine, coniugi benemere[nti. fecit] sibi et ilei. uixit anis xxxIII, m. VIII, d. VI. deposita VII kal. Feb.* (Rome). Diehl ad loc. suggested that *ilei* might be an error for *illi*, but the referent is female and the form must be right.

3.2.2 *illui*

Cited at *TLL VII.1.341.9f.* (with a question mark) only from *CIL x.2564*. It is in the phrase *ultimum illui spiritum*, and must be considered doubtful, both because the word that follows begins with *s*, and final *-s* is constantly omitted in writing in this position (see *VIII.2.4*), as it was no doubt in speech, and because a dative does not ring true in the context. *Illui(s)* is possibly a mistake for *illiu(s)*.

The form *lui* (dative) is found in the *Formulae Marculfi* (e.g. II.1, p. 74.1 *lui episcopo . . . tradedi*: see Uddholm 1953: 71) and in other formulae of the same, early medieval, period (see Vielliard 1927: 142 n. 3).

3.2.3 *ill(a)e(i)us*

See *RIB 7 Tretia Maria defico et illeus uita*, *O. Faw. 5a (CEL 77) illeius* (of indeterminate gender because of the fragmentary context), *CIL VI.14484.14 illeius* (feminine, dependent on *amator*), *CIL XIII.5312 illaeus* (referring to a woman). See *TLL VII.1.340.84–341.1*, Sommer (1914: 430).

3.2.4 *illuius*

Does not seem to be attested (but see above on *illui*).

3.2.5 *ipsuius*

See *CIL* x.5939, III.2377 *inpsuius* (see Skok 1924: 230–1). See also *TLL* VII.2.296.20ff., Sommer (1914: 432), Galdi (2004: 330).

3.2.6 *ips(a)eius*

See *TLL* VII.2.296.14ff., citing *ipseius* as feminine at *CIL* III.287.9–10, 2240 (three times), VI.2734, x.1528, XIII.7028, *al.* The *TLL* also cites (296.18) an inscription (*ILCV* 1524) in which the form is erroneously used as a masculine. See further Sommer (1914: 432), Battisti (1949: 225), Leumann (1977: 481), Mihăescu (1978: 231), Galdi (2004: 329–30).

Genitive forms in *-eius* (see also above, 3.2.3) superficially might be taken as showing contamination from *eius*, the genitive of *is*, but that explanation seems ruled out by the fact that they are overwhelmingly feminine, and a straightforward contamination would have been expected to produce a form of indeterminate gender. Forms without *i* require a different explanation (see above, 3.1).

TLL VII.2.352.67f. cites as an instance of ‘gen. ponitur pro dat.’ *CIL* III.14014 *fecit. . . Aurelia Quarta Aurelio [P]rocino carissimo marito et sibi ipsaius*, with Skok (1924: 228–9); see also Galdi (2004: 330–1). The referent is feminine. This usage falls into a well-established category: on ‘dative’ uses of the genitive, particularly in Merovingian Latin, see E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.219–20), and also Barnett (1965: 102). These are common in pronoun forms such as *ipsius* and *istius* (e.g. *Vita Hugberti* 6 (*MGH, Script. rer. merov.* VI, p. 486.19) *dedit alapam ipsius*). Löfstedt (1956: 1.220 n. 2) also cites Greg. Tur. *Mart.* I.11 (*MGH, Script. rer. merov.* I, p. 595.1) *pater autem eius faetidae se illius Arrianæ sectae . . . subdiderat*, where the pronominal ‘genitive’ is in agreement with datives, as is the case in *sibi ipsaius* above.

3.2.7 *qu(a)eius*

See Sommer (1914: 436), citing *CIL* III.1846 *Aemiliae Barbare coniugi pietissime, que uixit mecum annos LVI, queius maculam non abui, queius beneficio me extortaui*, IX.1524 *D. M. Octauiae Felicissime . . . de queius castitate nunquam questus sum*, x.5409 *per quaeius maximos labores* (referring to a woman named).

3.2.8 Conclusions

In this section more than twenty remodelled feminine dative and genitive forms have been referred to, but only about four remodelled masculines, one of them doubtful and another of Merovingian date. It was noted that some of the feminine forms are particularly early. Modifications are far more prominent in the feminine than the masculine, and none of the masculine forms seems to be early. It is virtually certain that the changes that were eventually to be reflected in some Romance languages occurred first in the feminine. The new forms are exclusively subliterate in their attestations, and one can be sure that they belonged at first to lower sociolects.

4 Forms of *iste*

Iste is well attested in inscriptions with the first vowel lost, e.g.:

ILCV 365 curator r. p. stius ciuitatis (Vulsinii).

1096 non timet ostiles iam lapis ste minas (Hispalis, Spain).

3330 subscr. haec fuit in luceștă annos xvii (= luce sta) (Rome).

3463 cineres sti mundo pereunte resurgent (Rome).

Velázquez Soriano (2004: 363) no. 10311.7 pro die sto (Spain).

Sta dies is in the Magerius Mosaic (3rd century AD, found at Smirat, Tunisia); first published by Beschaouch (1966). The sense may be 'yours is the day, this is your day', unless *sta* is to be taken as the imperative of *sto*, with the day personified and instructed to stay still so that night does not come to stop the spectacle.

For *ste* etc. see further *TLL* VII.2.494.6off. On the old idea that such forms are found in Plautus see F. Skutsch (1892: 124 with n. 2), noting e.g. that at *Trin.* 333, where B has *storum*, metre supports *istorum*. So Leo quoted by Norden in his commentary on *Aeneid* 6 (1957: 240) stated that such forms are inverse spellings (probably, it might be added, representing a pronunciation with some currency) in reaction against the medieval Latin prothetic vowel. On this view they are late substandard forms that have entered the manuscripts of Plautus. See Svennung (1932: 78) for such forms in the translations of Oribasius, which are referred to as the 'Wegfall eines *e-*, *i-* vor *s* impurum'. This is aphaeresis, the inverse of prothesis (e.g. *iscola* for *sc(h)ola*, *estercus* for *stercus*), as seen for example in *spauiscere* < *expauescere* (Svennung 1932: 77), *stiuus* < *aestiuus* (Anthimus p. 12.4 and Liechtenhan 1963: 48–9), *scaldetur* < *excaldetur* (Anthimus p. 28.7) (see further Väänänen 1981a: 47–8, B. Löfstedt 1961: 112–14).

5 *ecce, eccum* and their use in compounded demonstrative forms

The demonstrative *ille* eventually lost its demonstrative force, becoming in Romance the definite article and furnishing forms of the personal pronoun of the third person (see Buridant 2000: 122 for these developments in relation specifically to Old French). *Ille* and *iste* were reinvigorated as demonstratives by the prefixing of *ecce* and related forms (see Manoliu 2011: 478; also on further developments, such as the affixing in French to the noun specified by *cet/celui* of *ci* (< *ecce hic*) and *là* (< *illac*)).

In Plautus there are already places where *ecce* has coalesced with the demonstratives *iste* or *ille*: e.g. *Curc.* 615 *nullam abduxi. :: certe eccistam uideo*, *Merc.* 434–5 *eccillum uideo* (for a full collection see below, 5.2). These examples are of interest because of the compounded demonstratives in Romance languages (see below) that appear to be comparable. The question arises whether the Plautine examples are direct forerunners of the Romance demonstratives, as they have sometimes been taken. The inclusion of a few cases from Plautus by Rohlf (1969b: 1–2) in his *Sermo uulgaris Latinus* implies that he saw them as belonging to an early non-standard variety of the language that was to resurface a millennium later in Romance. It will be suggested below that such a view is questionable. First the Romance evidence for *ecce* etc. combining with *ille/iste* is set out.

5.1 Romance

Ecce and *eccum* in combination with pronouns survived in different parts of the Romance-speaking world (see the remarks of Cuzzolin 1997: 262).

In Gallo-Romance it is mainly *ecce* that provides the first element (*ecce* + *istum, istam, istos, istas*: Fr. *ce, cet, cette, ces* (Old French *cest, ceste*); Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 114–15). Fr. *celui, celle, ceux, celles* derive from *ecce* + *illui, illam, illos, illas* (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 115). In Old French there was a distinction between a nominative form *cil* (< *ecce illi*)¹ and an oblique-case *cel* (< *ecce illum*) (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 115 s.v. *celui* etc.). Various adverbial or invariable forms also reflect *ecce* + another element: *ça* < *ecce hac* (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 95), *ce* < *ecce hoc* (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 114), *ici* < *ci* < *ecce hic* (Bloch and

¹ *Illi* was a new nominative form for *ille*, influenced by *qui* (see e.g. Barnett 1965: 100).

von Wartburg 1968: 329).² On the syntax of demonstratives in Old French see Buridant (2000: 122–46).

In Italian on the other hand it seems to be *eccu* (< *eccum*) that has coalesced with pronouns: *quello* < *eccu* + *illum*, *questo* < *eccu* + *istum*. See Maiden (1995: 116), who refers to the forerunner of It. *ecco* as a ‘Proto-Romance presentative particle’, without mention of Latin *eccum*.

There are also compounds of which the first element is *accu* not *eccu*, usually explained as deriving from or showing contamination with *atque* (see e.g. FEW IV.555, Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 116, Lloyd 1987: 158, Staib 1996: 363, Cuzzolin 1997: 262, Penny 2002: 144), a derivation that is not without problems, given that even in Classical Latin *atque* was a learned word, leaving no trace in Romance. In the dialects of the Midi there is a form (*a*)*kel* (OProv. *aicel*, *aquel*, from *accu* + *illum* etc.: Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 115–16) corresponding to French *celui* etc. (see above). The invariable pronoun *ce* (see above) has southern variants from *accu* + *hoc* (OProv. *aizo*, *aisso*, also *zo*, *so*, *aquo*) (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 114). So French *ce*, *cet* etc. (see above) have southern correspondents deriving from *accu* + *istum* etc. (*akest(e)*, OProv. *aicest*, *aquest*) (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 115).

The forms with *accu* are also found in Romanian (Staib 1996: 363, Cuzzolin 1997: 262). In Spanish *aquel* ‘that’ derives from *accu* + *ille* (see Penny 2002: 144), and there are also the adverbs *acá* ‘here’ and *aquí* ‘here’ from *accu* + *hac* and *accu* + *hic* (see Lloyd 1987: 232; also 158). On the *accu* forms see in general Staib (1996: 362–3).

5.2 Plautus’ use of *eccille*/*ecciste*

In this section there is an account of Plautus’ use of *ecce* and various compounded forms (see also Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2000 for a classification of the Plautine evidence), and also of some uses of *ecce* in Classical and later Latin. The aim is to determine whether there is a direct connection between what we see in the literary language of the early Republic and what emerged in Romance. Is there any evidence for more rapid developments taking place at a subliterate level? Such questions cannot be addressed if we do not define precisely Plautine and classical usage.

² It is *ci* that may reflect *ecce hic*. *Ici* would be a compounded form of *ci*. However, the derivation of these forms from *ecce hic* is not always accepted: see e.g. REW 4129.2, and, on It. *ci*, Maiden (1995: 167).

There are about eleven instances of *eccille/ecciste* in Plautus (see Lodge 1924–33: 1.447). The number is approximate because there is some textual variation. The text of Lindsay has been used here. The examples are:

Aul. 781 *filiam ex te tu habes. :: immo eccillam domi* (cf. *Mil.* 323 *illa quidem . . . domi*).

Curc. 615 *nullam abduxi. :: certe eccistam uideo.*

Merc. 434–5 *eccillum uideo.*

524 *ouem tibi eccillam dabo* (but with textual variants).

Mil. 789 *habeo eccillam meam clientam, meretricem adulescentulam.*

Persa 247 *Toxillo has fero tabellas tuo ero. :: abi, eccillum domi.*

392 *librorum eccillum habeo plenum soracum.*

Rud. 576 *tegillum eccillud, mihi unum id aret; id si uis dabo.*

1066 *lenonem extrusisti, hic eius uidulum eccillum <tenet>.*

Stich. 536 *apud nos eccillam festinat cum sorore uxor tua.*

Trin. 622 *sed generum nostrum ire eccillum uideo cum adfini suo.*

These examples fall into various classes.

First, there is no instance of *eccille/iste* standing as subject of a verb. All eleven are in the accusative.

Second, sometimes there is no expressed verb of which the pronoun might be object (*Aul.* 781, *Persa* 247, *Rud.* 576, *Stich.* 536). This might seem to be a case of *ecce* ‘construed with an accusative’, but the accusative is exclamatory rather than dependent on *ecce*: ‘no, there (she is), at home’. The referent does not have to be present on stage, and the term would no doubt have been accompanied by a gesture. This usage (with the referent out of sight) can be paralleled in the use of *eccam/eccum*: e.g. *Persa* 227 *ubi illa altera est furtifica laeua? :: domi eccam* (cf. *Amph.* 120 below). An interesting passage is *Stich.* 536 *apud nos eccillam festinat cum sorore uxor tua*. There is an expressed subject, *uxor tua*, with which a nominative demonstrative such as *illa* might have been in agreement. But *eccilla* (nominative) is not used in that way (see above). *Eccillam* is exclamatory and parenthetical: ‘your wife – look there – is hurrying along’. *Eccilla(m)* is not straightforwardly a reinforced demonstrative (like, for instance, those forms with the suffixal particle *-c(e)*), or like Romance forms deriving from *ecce* + *ille/iste*) functioning as an equivalent to *illa*, but is a parenthetical exclamatory accusative. It behaves in the passage just quoted exactly as *eccum* at e.g. *Amph.* 120 *nam meus pater intus nunc est eccum Iuppiter*, ‘my father, Jupiter, is now inside – there’ (on this example see further below, 5.3). These uses are not precise anticipations of the Romance compounded pronouns at all, and there cannot have been continuity in this respect

between Plautine Latin and proto-Romance. It is only if one were to find *ecce* with demonstratives in other cases than the accusative, or in contexts in which the parenthetical interpretation would be forced, that one might begin to talk of an anticipation of Romance, but then the question would arise whether *ecce* was connected specifically with the demonstrative or was a detached sentence modifier (see below, 5.4.1).

Finally, there are cases where there is a verb (most notably *uideo*) of which the accusative pronoun might be construed as object. But is it? Is it possible that the form remains exclamatory and parenthetical?

Sometimes, as well as the pronominal accusative, there is a nominal accusative that may be construed as the primary object (or, in acc. + infin., subject accusative) of the verb: e.g. *Trin.* 622 *sed generum nostrum ire eccillum uideo cum adfini suo*. Here *eccillum* is separated from *generum nostrum*, and is still open to the interpretation that it is parenthetical ('I see our son-in-law going – there'). There is no fundamental difference between this example and, say, *Stich.* 536 *apud nos eccillam festinat cum sorore uxor tua*, where *eccillam* is unambiguously parenthetical. Cf. *Merc.* 524 *ouem tibi eccillam dabo* ('I will give you a sheep – here'), *Mil.* 789 *habeo eccillam meam clientam, meretricem adulescentulam*, *Persa* 392 *librorum eccillum habeo plenum soracum*, *Rud.* 1066 *lenonem extrusisti, hic eius uidulum eccillum <tenet>*. Our interpretation of these usages (as parenthetical/exclamatory) is confirmed for the second last passage by the syntactic hiatus that follows *eccillum* (see Woytek 1982 on lines 392 and also 226, and particularly Lindsay 1922: 244 for further examples). Note too Weiss (2009: 135), citing the same passage and remarking: 'Hiatus . . . often occurs after an interjection or a vocative, which presumably was set off from the rest of the sentence by intonation.'

On the other hand there are cases where there is no other expressed object: *Curc.* 615 *certe eccistam uideo*, *Merc.* 434–5 *eccillum uideo*. Even here, particularly in the second passage, an exclamatory interpretation is possible. There is a preceding question: 'Where on earth is he?' The answer may be 'There, I see (him)' (with a gesture). Alternatively *eccillum* may be taken as the primary object, with *ecc-* a deictic marker ('I see him there'). That this second interpretation seems possible in the context provides a hint that *eccillum* might in theory have been subject to a shift from a purely exclamatory/parenthetical role to the role of a normal accusative pronoun, albeit one with marked deixis. However, the hiatus identifiable in the passage above, where the next word begins not with a consonant but with the aspirate, strongly suggests that *eccillum* was felt to be detached from the syntax of its clause.

5.3 *eccum*

Eccum must be discussed because of its apparent survival within the demonstrative system of part of the Romance world (see 5.1).

The uses of *eccum* (< *ecce* + **hom*)³ are very similar to those of *eccillum*/*eccistum* (above), except that *eccum* was so old that it was no longer obligatorily used with third person reference in Plautus or Terence. Note Plaut. *Mil.* 25 *ubi tu es?* :: *eccum* (the meaning is 'here', or 'here I am'; the *OLD* gives the meaning of *eccum* as 'Here he is!', without noting examples such as this). The first person reference is even clearer at Ter. *Heaut.* 829 *ubi Clitipho hic est?* :: '*eccum me*,' *inque.* :: *eccum hic tibi*. Köhler (1888: 21) cites also *Poen.* 279 *Milphio, ubi es?* :: *assum apud te eccum* (*assum* = *adsum*, but with a pun on the adjective *assus*; *eccum* again refers to the first person). See too Brix and Niemeyer (1901) on Plaut. *Mil.* 25, Hofmann and Ricottilli (2003: 144), Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2006: 43. Note too *Pseud.* 911 *sed eccum uideo uerbeream statuam*, where *eccum* is used in conjunction with a feminine noun (see also Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2006: 44), and compare *CIL* II.4284 *si nitidus uiuas, eccum domus exornata est* (cited by *OLD*, which equates *eccum* here with *ecce*; see also Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 144). *Eccam* is expected in such contexts (Plaut. *Amph.* 778 *em tibi pateram, eccam*), but *eccum* was to such an extent a fossilised exclamation that it was tending to lose the connection with its original gender as well as person. It should be stressed, however, that, despite the example above, usually *eccum* is used with masculine referents, and *eccam* with feminine. Perhaps the most interesting passage in this paragraph is that from Terence, in which there is redundancy, with *eccum* and *hic* both separately capable of expressing the local idea (for such redundancy in comedy see XXIII.1.1).⁴

Eccum may accompany a masculine nominative, in which context it is clearly exclamatory: e.g. Plaut. *Aul.* 473 *sed Megadorus meus adfinis eccum incedit a foro* (see Lindsay 1922: 244 for hiatus after *eccum* in a similar context in a passage of Plautus). The person referred to need not be present on stage (see above, 5.2): *Amph.* 120 *nam meus pater intus nunc est eccum Iuppiter*. Sometimes the name itself is treated as part of the exclamation, and goes into the accusative even though the referent might have been subject of the verb: e.g. *Amph.* 1005 *sed eccum Amphitruonem aduenit* (see Lindsay 1900: 164, Bennett 1910–14: II.257; cf. *Curc.* 676).

³ For an alternative derivation see Perdicoyianni-Paléologou (2006: 41–2 with n. 3).

⁴ There is possibly a similar collocation at Turpilius 105 (*eccum isti ilico*), but *eccum* is an emendation (for *cum*).

In these last examples the verb with which *eccum* is associated is intransitive. Plautus also provides instances of a transitive verb accompanied by *eccum* (see Lodge 1924–33: 1.448 col. b). But is *eccum* object of the verb? Usually there is an element which is the primary object and *eccum* is exclamatory, e.g. *Men.* 275 *sed eccum Menaechmum uideo*. When there is no object expressed *eccum* may still be interpreted as exclamatory, with the object understood: *Curc.* 455 *atque eccum uideo. leno, salve* ('there, I see (him). Greetings, leno'), *Men.* 357 *sed ubi ille est quem coquos ante aedis esse ait? atque eccum uideo*, | *qui mihi est usui et plurimum prodest* (here understanding an object is facilitated by the following relative clause; cf. *Amph.* 897 *sed eccum uideo qui <modo> me miseram arguit* | *stupri* ('there I see the one who . . .')), *Men.* 705 *prouisam quam mox uir meus redeat domum.* | *sed eccum uideo* ('but there he is, I see (him)'), *Truc.* 859 *uideo eccum qui amans tutorem med optauit suis bonis*, *Truc.* 917 *ubi mea amica est gentium?* | . . . | *sed eccum uideo*. *Eccum uideo* was clearly an idiom.

There are also a few such cases in Terence, classified by McGlynn (1963–7: 1.146, §II (4)) as parenthetical. There is one place where there is manuscript support for *ecce ipsa* (nominative) (*Eun.* 79 *sed ecce<m> ipsa egreditur*), but editors change rightly to *eccam*.

There are no grounds for arguing from these examples that *eccum* was anything other than exclamatory/parenthetical.

Thus the uses of *eccum* and of the parallel *ecce* + *ille/iste* in early comedy are distinctive and restricted. These are forms that are used only in the accusative, and are exclamatory, with just occasional contexts in which the term might have been subject to reinterpretation as the primary object of a verb. But even the significance of these for the long-term development of the compounded demonstratives is debatable, because they are always open to interpretation as primarily exclamatory. The adverbial combination *eccum hic* in a passage of Terence comes closest to anticipating a Romance usage, if that is such forms as It. *ci* are to be derived from *ecce hic* (see n. 2).

It is a curiosity that *eccum*, which is regarded as forming the first part of certain demonstratives in Italian, is hardly attested in Latin after the republican period. An example was quoted above from an inscription (*CIL* II.4284), but apart from that there are not the usual traces of the submerged term showing itself occasionally. The grammarian Pompeius writes (*GL* V.206.10) *non autem possum dicere, si praesens est, 'hic est', sed dico 'eccum qui scripsit'*, but this is probably based on comedy. Note too 210.33, where he states that 'we only use the accusative form (*eccum*)' (not *eccus*, *ecci*, *ecco*): *tantum modo accusatiuum dicimus*. This also can be taken as a comment on comic, as distinct from current, usage.

5.4 *ecce*

So far *ecce* has been considered only in contexts where it is combined with various demonstratives in accusative forms. But are there other uses of *ecce* itself, uncompounded, in collocations that may possibly foreshadow later (Romance) developments? To what extent, for example, is it juxtaposed with nominative pronouns?

The use of the particle in comedy turns out to be remarkably restricted (see too Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2006: 42–3). *Ecce* (as distinct from *eccum* etc.) is not particularly frequent in Plautus (twenty-six examples), and is not juxtaposed with nominative pronouns. There are some instances with (exclamatory) accusative personal pronouns (usually *ecce me*: Lodge 1924–33: I.447, II.2) or accusative nouns, others which are clearly sentence modifiers, usually followed by a name in the nominative (II.3), and finally some cases of *ecce autem*, one of which is followed by the nominative demonstrative *haec*: *Merc.* 792 *ecce autem haec abiit*. But *ecce* and *haec* do not form a unit; a comma might even be placed after *autem*. *Ecce* is used in exactly the same ways by Terence (McGlynn 1963–7: I.145, with § 1 (2) for *ecce autem*; again there is one instance of *ecce autem* followed by *hic*: *Ad.* 767 *ecce autem hic adest | senex noster*). In the *Scholia Bembina* cited by McGlynn we find on *ecce autem* the note *quasi aliquid de improviso repperit est*, and that definition captures the fact that *ecce autem* is a sentence modifier and not unitary with the term following.

The uses of *ecce*, like those of *eccum*, in comedy are at a considerable remove from those of their pronominal (compounded) reflexes in Romance, and continuity between early Latin and Romance cannot be established.

The evidence seems to suggest that the coalescence of *ecce* with *iste/illic* was slow and late (see most recently Cuzzolin 1997). But this is an interpretation based exclusively on the literary language. In a curse tablet of the late Republic there appears to be an instance of *ec(c)illunc*, used as a straightforward accusative object of a verb and alternating with *illunc* in another part of the same text. This usage is in the corpus known as the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*. The relevant lines of one of these, the ‘Plotius’, were quoted above, 2.1. If the reading is correct there can be no possibility of an exclamatory accusative or of an accusative dependent on *ecce*: *ecillunc* functions as *illunc* earlier in the passage, and is object of a synonymous verb. The form has the additional interest that it has not only the fore-element *ec-* but also the suffix *-c(e)*. Here is another feature that sets it apart from comic usage. According to Lindsay (1900: 164), commenting

on Plautus, when a pronoun was prefixed by *ecce* (so e.g. *eccum* < *ecce* + **hom*) the *-ce* particle (as seen e.g. in *hunc*) 'was regarded as superfluous, just as *eccillum*, *eccistum* are the invariable forms, never *eccillunc*, *eccistunc*'.

If the text is accepted *ecillunc* must have belonged to a concealed layer of the language. The double marking of deixis by both prefix and suffix would have a parallel of sorts much later in French in the affixing of *ci* and *là* to nouns specified by *cet/celui*, themselves reflecting pronouns prefixed by *ecce* (see above, 5, p. 465).

The classical literary language presents a different state of affairs. There are a few juxtapositions of *ecce* with nominative demonstratives, but these do not represent grammaticalised compounded forms. *Ecce* retains in literary works over a long period its functions as a text or sentence modifier (for a recent discussion of these see Dionisotti 2007), and when juxtaposed with a demonstrative does not form a unit with it. Cuzzolin (1997: 264–5), for example, cites Cic. *Prov. cons.* 43 *ecce illa tempestas, caligo bonorum et subita atque improuisa formido, tenebrae rei publicae, ruina atque incendium ciuitatis*, and *Rhet. Her.* 4.65 *uix haec dixerat, cum ecce iste praesto, 'sedes,' inquit 'audax?'* *Ecce* has no bond with *illa* or *iste*, but is a 'marque textuelle' (Cuzzolin). It is, however, at least a new development that *ecce* is sometimes immediately adjacent to *ille/iste*, as the potential for juxtaposition was a necessary precursor of grammaticalisation. It has been noted (by Touratier 1994: 325) that Cicero only juxtaposes *ecce* with nominative pronouns, and that sets him apart from Plautus. Touratier cites *Prov. cons.* 43 above; cf. *Caec.* 20 *ecce ipse Aebutius in castellum uenit*, 30 *ecce idem qui solet, duos solos seruos armatos fuisse dixit*. In the next section such juxtapositions in later Latin are discussed.

5.4.1 *ecce* + demonstrative

There are numerous instances of *ecce* + demonstrative particularly in later Latin, in texts such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (late fourth century), the grammatical work of Pompeius (fifth/sixth century) and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (sixth century). These are usually difficult to interpret. Is *ecce* to be separated from the pronoun and treated as a sentence modifier with a conventional meaning ('look, this . . .'), or has it virtually coalesced with the demonstrative, reinforcing its deixis?

Note first *Per. Aeth.* 14.2:

cum ergo descendissemus, . . . ait nobis ipse sanctus presbyter: 'ecce ista fundamenta in giro colliculo isto, quae uidetis, hae sunt de palatio regis Melchisedech.'

This is one of several examples in the work that are in direct speech (on the significance of which see E. Löfstedt 1911: 123–4; see also above, 1.7 (iii)). *Ecce ista fundamenta* is followed by *quae uidetis*, and *ecce* may be associated with that phrase and detached from *ista*, much as we have taken (above, 5.4) *ecce iste* at *Rhet. Her.* 4.65 ('when, look, that fellow on the spot said . . .'; here, 'look, those foundations which you see . . .').

The same speech a few lines later has a second example of the combination *ecce ista* (14.3), and similarly *quam uidetis* follows:

nam ecce ista uia, quam uidetis transire inter fluuium Iordanem et uicum istum, haec est qua uia regressus est sanctus Abraam.

Note too 15.1:

requisiui de eo quam longe esset ipse locus. tunc ait ille sanctus presbyter: 'ecce hic est in ducentis passibus. nam si uis, ecce modo pedibus duco uos ibi' ('THIS (place) is in two hundred paces . . . RIGHT now I will . . .').

Again the phrase is in direct speech. Here, however, there is no following clause meaning 'which you see', and the referent is two hundred paces away and not necessarily in sight. *Ecce* may possibly be taken in this context as merely emphasising the deictic force of *hic*, though it has to be admitted that distinguishing this example from the previous two is a subjective matter.

For the use of *ecce modo* in the third passage see Pompeius *GL* v.204.12, 14, 15, 211.10.

Often in Pompeius *ecce* is followed immediately by a demonstrative, but again examples are hard to judge. Sometimes *ecce* is easily detachable from the pronoun and may be given one of its discourse-marking functions (equivalent, for example, to *ergo*: see further below, 5.4.2.3 on this usage). However, it is not always possible to assign it one of these roles unambiguously. Note e.g. 195.22 *ecce ista omnia quem ad modum habemus declinare?* Pompeius has been considering a rule which allows the formation of the genitive, dative and ablative plural from the ablative singular (195.16–17). He then raises the problem of nouns that are only plural, and cites three of them immediately before the passage quoted (*Kalendae, nundinae, feriae*). *Ecce (ista)* in this context cannot mean either *ergo* or e.g. (for the latter use see also below, 5.4.2.3), but seems to focus *ista* ('how should we decline all of THOSE?'). The combination cannot be anything but anaphoric, which itself is of some interest, because often in Classical Latin *ecce* introduces something new to the scene (but for anaphoric *eccillum* in Plautus see Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2006: 51). The outcomes of compound forms

with *ecce* in the Romance languages may be anaphoric (see the remarks of Cuzzolin 1997: 269; also Buridant 2000: 138–9).

Slightly more problematic is 301.11 *zeugma et hypozeuxis, ecce ista duo contraria sunt*. Here the two terms have not yet been defined, and the reader cannot ‘see’ anything so far. There immediately follows a definition of both of them. *Ecce ista* seems to be an emphatic combination (‘THESE two are opposites’), but it is possible to detach *ecce* from *ista* and to interpret *ecce* as anticipating the definitions that follow (‘see, these are opposites: . . .’).

230.37 is exactly the same: *gaudeo, ecce hoc uerbum duas istas declinationes confusas habet*. Pompeius has stated that there are verbs of mixed form, i.e. in this case semi-deponents, which have active forms in the infectum and passive in the perfectum. *Gaudeo* is cited, but at this point its mixed form has not been explained; the explanation immediately follows.

Structurally all three of these examples are the same. The pronoun is resumptive/anaphoric, in that it picks up a term or terms just cited. In the first example *ecce* stands in a direct question and it is not easy to see how it can be given an independent discourse-marking role. It seems to have coalesced with *ista* and to make it an emphatic anaphoric form. In the second and third cases *ecce* may be detached and anticipatory, but both examples are open to the same interpretation as the first. We perhaps see *ecce* shifting its function in a particular context.

The ease with which *ecce* may associate itself with a demonstrative with either anaphoric or anticipatory/presentative force can be seen from two contrasting examples in Pompeius’ discussion of a *schema* at 300. This *schema* may depend on meaning or words (300.2 *hoc autem schema fit aut in sensu aut in uerbis*). An example of the first type from Cicero is introduced thus: 300.15 *ecce hoc schema in sensu est*. The phrase anticipates the quotation. *Hoc* on its own might have been so used, as it is at 300.19 *hoc schema in sensu est*. *Ecce* seems to reinforce the deictic force of the pronoun. On the other hand at 300.25 (*ecce hoc loco non est sensus sed uerbi significatio*) *hoc* refers back to an earlier quotation and is anaphoric; *ecce hoc* might be a contrastive unit, in that the *schema* depends on a *uerbum* rather than *sensus*, as in the previous case. However, in both places there is the familiar ambiguity, with *ecce* possibly detached (‘look, see, note’).

At 190.13–17 Pompeius comments on a noun of mixed declension (third in the singular and second in the plural): *excepto uno tantum modo nomine, uase uasorum. namque hoc nomen in numero singulari tertiae declinationis est, in numero plurali secundae declinationis est; puta uas uasis uasi uas uas a uase: ecce haec omnis declinatio tertia est*. On the one hand one might interpret *ecce* as equivalent to Pompeius’ formula *uides ergo quoniam* (‘you

see therefore that'). Alternatively *ecce* may make *haec* strongly contrastive: THIS whole declension (as compared with the plural). Is *ecce* introducing the sentence/conclusion, or associated with *haec*? Probably the former, but the context is such that the second translation is a possibility.

The role of *ecce* in focusing a demonstrative may perhaps be seen in the following: 290.30 *si dicas aut intus pro intro aut intro pro intus, ecce ipsa quidem est pars orationis, sed non suo loco posita* ('if you were to say *intus* instead of *intro* or *intro* instead of *intus*, THAT IS a part of speech [i.e. *intus* and *intro* are indeed adverbs rather than the wrong part of speech], but not used in the proper place'). *Ipsa* is further focused by *quidem*.

Sometimes Pompeius makes a 'this/that' contrast not by means of contrasting pronouns (such as *hic/ille*) but by means of the same pronoun, repeated (e.g. 265.35 *uel illum uel illum*, 274.10 *quoniam nec illud nec illud uerum est. . . neque illa firmissima est neque illa firmissima est*). But there are also places where one of the two pronouns is preceded by *ecce*: 225.28 *ecce ille in am misit, ille in bo*. Virgil ended the future of a fourth conjugation verb in *-am*, Terence in *-bo*. Is *ecce* attached to the first demonstrative to make explicit the contrast between the two? It would probably be going too far to suggest that, because *ecce* might also be taken as introducing the whole sentence.

The same passage makes the same distinction between the usage of Virgil and Terence in a slightly different way: 225.27–8 *ecce in am misit. . . ille in bo misit*. Here *ecce* itself comes close to functioning as *hic* or *ille* (on this use see further below, 5.4.2.2, 5.4.2.3, p. 579).

Different again, but raising the same question of interpretation as 225.28 in the last paragraph but one, is 196.6 *ecce hoc nomen in es exit, et illud nomen in es exit*.

Next, two contrasting passages from Gregory the Great may be cited. Note first *Dial.* 2.31.2 *ecce iste est, de quo dixeram, Benedictus pater*. A rustic leads Zalla to Benedict and points him out. The meaning is 'there/here is the one about whom I had spoken, father Benedict'. *Ecce* has the role of a deictic adverb (= *ibi*, *hic*), and cannot be construed as forming a unit with *iste*.

Compare *Dial.* 3.1.3 *uidua subiunxit, dicens: 'ecce hunc hominem pro eo uicarium praebeo, et solummodo pietatem in me exhibe mihique unicum filium redde.'* A woman whose son has been taken into slavery by a barbarian asks for him back, offering in his place the holy man Paulinus, who has volunteered his services. It is attractive to take *ecce* as specifying *hunc* alone, emphasising its proximal deixis, = 'I offer you THIS man instead'. However, it cannot be ruled out that it is a sentence modifier ('look, I offer

this man . . .'). Alternatively it might be given a local adverbial force, 'here, I offer this man'.

We conclude this section with another contrasting pair of passages, this time from the *Vitae patrum*.

First, the detachment of *ecce* from a nearby instance of *iste* is well shown by *Vit. patr.* 3.26, p. 754 *et ecce ad istum impostorem pene quotidie fratres quamplurimi uadunt*. If *ecce* and *istum* were a unit *ad* would precede *ecce*.

A monk, having been brought up in a monastery, has never seen women, except in a nocturnal vision caused by devils. Then on a journey to Egypt he encounters real women for the first time: *Vit. patr.* 5.5.21 *aliquando ergo ascendit cum patre suo in Aegyptum, et uidens mulieres, dixit patri suo: 'abba, ecce istae sunt quae ueniebant ad me nocte in Scythi'* ('One day he went up with his father to Egypt, and seeing women, he said to his father: "Father, those are the ones who came to me at night in Scythes"). Here there is the typical ambiguity. Does *ecce* emphasise the deixis of *istae* ('THOSE are the ones who . . .'), or should we detach it ('look, those are the ones . . .')?

5.4.1.1 Conclusions

In these various late texts but particularly Pompeius *ecce* often precedes a demonstrative (only selected examples have been cited here), and sometimes seems merely to emphasise the deictic or anaphoric function that the pronoun has in its own right. But there are constant ambiguities of interpretation, which make it obvious that in the idiolect of Pompeius and the others *ecce* + *iste* and *ille* were not yet grammaticalised compound demonstratives.⁵ On the other hand these ambiguities do show that conditions were in place for the eventual reinterpretation of *ecce* (discourse marker) + *iste/ille* as compounds.

5.4.2 Some further uses of *ecce*

5.4.2.1 *ecce* + *tibi*

Ecce not infrequently is followed by *tibi* in Classical Latin, usually an ethic dative (see e.g. Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 292–3, 380, and above, XVI.3):

⁵ It is worth noting that it has been shown by Ledgeway (2004b) that in a variety of early southern Italian dialects (and later) the reinforced forms with *ecce* were far from being grammaticalised, with the non-reinforced forms being used in most cases. The reinforced forms where they are found simply serve to focus the referent. Grammaticalisation was thus not to become universal.

Cic. *Cluent.* 75 ecce tibi eius modi sortitio . . . !

Pis. 48 ecce tibi alter effusa iam maxima praeda.

Phil. 11.2 ecce tibi geminum in scelere par, inuisitatum, inauditum, ferum, barbarum!

Luc. 121 ecce tibi e trauerso Lampsacenus Strato, qui det isti deo immunitatem.

Off. 3.83 ecce tibi qui rex populi Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concupiuerit.

De orat. 2.94 ecce tibi est exortus Isocrates.

Att. 2.15.3 cum haec maxime scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus.

Varro *Men.* 411 cum dixisset Vitulus, ecce tibi caldis pedibus quidam nauicularius semustilatus irrumpit se in curiam.

Virg. *Aen.* 3.477 ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus.

This combination becomes significant when it is followed by *iste*, as in a specimen of the simple style given by the author *Ad Herennium* (4.14):

in adtenuato figurae genere, id quod ad infimum et cotidianum sermonem demissum est, hoc erit exemplum: 'nam ut forte hic in balneas uenit, coepit, postquam perfusus est, defricari; deinde, ubi uisum est ut in alueum descenderet, ecce tibi iste de trauerso.'

Ecce tibi iste (or rather a variant with *eccum* rather than *ecce*) is the forerunner of It. *codesto*, < *eccu* + *tibi* + *istu(m)*. On the derivation see Staib (1996: 362), and on the use of the compound, Maiden (1995: 116): 'Tuscan dialects, the Tuscan regional variety of Italian, and the literary language, possess a . . . term (*cotesto* or, particularly in Florence, *codesto*) corresponding to the second person [cf. CL *iste*]. For many speakers outside Tuscany, *cotesto* has an archaic, and even pejorative, ring.' See also Staib (1996: 363, §3.2). The three words are not a unit in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* above: *ecce tibi* is the text modifier ('just listen'), and *iste* begins a new colon. It is to be assumed, however, that such collocations mark the starting point of the long process that led to the compound.

5.4.2.2 Postponed ecce

Cuzzolin (1997: 265) draws attention to several passages in early imperial Latin where *ecce* is not at the head of a clause but postponed and placed immediately before a noun which it focuses, occupying the position of the demonstrative *hic* and arguably replaceable by it:

Petron. 80.4 'quod si utique', proclamabat, 'facinore opus est, nudo ecce iugulum, conuertite huc manus, imprimate mucrones.'

Sen. *Contr.* 1. praef. 8 torpent ecce ingenia desidiosae iuuentutis, nec in unius honestae rei labore uigilatur.

Cuzzolin (1997: 265) interprets *ecce* here as a nominal 'quasi-focalisateur', equivalent in sense to *hic* or *iste*, rather than as a 'connecteur phrasal'. See also (with Cuzzolin 1997: 267) Sen. *Contr.* 10.6.1 *teneo ecce epistulas*. According to Cuzzolin (1997: 268), between the first century BC and the first century AD 'les conditions syntaxiques nécessaires à la naissance des adjectifs et pronoms démonstratifs' were already in place. It may be conceded that these examples are open to several interpretations, but that of Cuzzolin is not decisive. *Ecce* can readily be taken as parenthetical or exclamatory.

5.4.2.3 Some other uses of *ecce* in Pompeius

There are, as we have noted, many cases of *ecce* in Pompeius, and some shifts of usage in progress are perhaps detectable, to be added to the material discussed at 5.4.1 above. Two banal uses derivable from conventional text-marking functions of the term may first be noted. Both are very common but only mentioned here so that they may be excluded.

First, *ecce* often introduces the conclusion to a point that has just been demonstrated, and is virtually interchangeable with *ergo* (see *TLL* v.2.30.22ff.). Thus at *GL* v.190.3, after illustrating different ways in which the genitive plural of third declension nouns is formed, Pompeius concludes: *ecce in isto nomine perit e, in illo non perit, sed e in i mutauit*. On the previous page another such conclusion is introduced by *uides ergo quoniam*, and that phrase seems to have much the same function as *ecce* in the first passage quoted: 189.14 *uides ergo quoniam non necesse est diuerso exitu syllabarum determinari genera*. Note too 201.19, where *ecce* is used in conjunction with *ergo*: *ergo ecce incipit contingere*.

Second, *ecce* may be equivalent to *exempli gratia* (see again *TLL* v.2.30.22ff.):

176.36 *ecce hoc ipsum 'nuptiae'*, numquid potest hoc genus matrimonii per unum fieri et non per duos?

177.23 *nam ecce 'pulis'* dicimus secundum artem, et tamen inuenimus 'puleres' (illustrating the point that many exceptions to rules can be found).

179.19 *refer ad aliquam elocutionem, et inuenies. ecce si dicas 'hoc consultum cuius est?'* plebis (cf. 182.7 *ut puta si dicas 'doctus', quae est inflexio?*, where *ut puta*, a more familiar equivalent to *e.g.*, is used in the same way;

TLL v.2.30.45ff. quotes examples of the combinations *ecce puta* and *ut ecce* with the same function).

But there are other places where *ecce* in one way or another enters the territory of demonstratives.

First, in Pompeius (and other grammarians) neuter demonstratives are often used in the manner of the neuter of the definite article in Greek to introduce a word or phrase (as in an expression such as τὸ λέγω, 'the word λέγω') (see XII.3.4, p. 223): e.g. 176.36 *hoc ipsum 'nuptiae'*, 190.1 *hoc ipsum e in i mutat* (here of the letter *e* rather than a word). *Ecce* is sometimes used in the same way, and is close to *hoc* in function, e.g.:

215.26 *puta 'cum fecero, ibo', 'cum dixero, audiam'; ecce 'cum fecero', 'cum dixero', solum hoc dic et noli aliud addere* (here *ecce* introduces a word form/expression that has just been used).

241.19 *puta 'orator cras': ecce 'orator' nomen est.*

289.21 *puta uidet nescio qui masculum hominem et dicit hanc; ecce 'hanc' una pars orationis est.*

290.20 *ecce 'toruum' nomen est.*

In the first three of these passages examples are first introduced by *puta* (= e.g.), and then *ecce* specifies the example or part of it.

Second, *ecce* occurs in other contexts in which it might possibly have been replaced by a demonstrative, a usage also mentioned by Cuzzolin (see above, 5.4.2.2; see also 5.4.1, p. 475 for another example from Pompeius). Note first:

217.16 *puta doceo doces docet, sedeo sedes sedet: ecce in et exeunt.*

Ecce here might also be taken as introducing the whole of the conclusion: 'see, they end in *-et*'. There is a similar ambiguity about the following two cases, but certainly replacement by a demonstrative would not alter the sense:

182.24–7 *genetius dictus est ab eo, quod per ipsum exprimamus genera: ideo dictus est genetius. puta 'cuius filius est ille?' oratoris; ecce genetius est, et genus inde intellegimus. puta 'cuius gentis homo est?' Africanæ: ecce genetius est, et genus inde exprimimus.*

Sometimes *ecce* is interchangeable with the local adverb *hic*: e.g. 209.25 *ecce habes ergo ubi non inuenitur uocatiuus casus*. The following *ubi*-clause points to its meaning. Cf. 260.33 *ne dicas mihi, ecce habes uerbum, ubi et praesens est, et habet significationem et actiuam et passiuam* ('lest you say to

me, "here you have a verb, where it is both present, and has an active and passive sense"). Note too 184.27–8 *hic doctus huius docti huic docto hunc doctum et o docte: ecce habes pentaptotum* 'there you have'.

6 General conclusions

Three different subjects have been discussed in this chapter, pronouns with the particle *-c(e)*, the genitive and dative singular forms of third person pronouns, and compounded forms with *ecce* and variants.

Forms of *ille* reinforced with *-c* seem to have survived only in lower sociolects after the republican period (see 2.3).

The new genitive and dative forms were excluded from the literary language but are quite well attested in inscriptions and informal non-literary Latin on materials other than stone. Some of them lived on in extensive parts of the Romance world. Here is unusually clear-cut evidence for phenomena that must have been widely current but only in low social varieties of the language.

Ecce by contrast was a good literary word. The compounded forms in Plautine Latin behave in very restricted ways: they are mainly exclamatory and used only in the accusative. An accusative form such as *eccistam* standing alongside a transitive verb such as *uideo* may appear to foreshadow Romance compounds but it does not, because it is not to be construed as object of the verb but is still exclamatory. Genuine compounds, interchangeable with CL *ille* and *iste* across a variety of case functions, only show up in the Romance languages, unless we accept a case in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*. If the text has been read correctly, such compounds, of independent type from those in Plautus and Terence, must have developed quite early in lower sociolects, but a claim of this sort based on a single example is unreliable, and the text is in any case uncertain.

The literary language over a long period shows *ecce* often juxtaposed with demonstratives (in the nominative, and thus of different type from the Plautine examples), but *ecce* may usually be interpreted as a discourse marker rather than part of a compound unit with the demonstrative. However, there are examples that are at least open to the interpretation that they merely focus the demonstrative, and these are only a step away from forming a grammaticalised unit with the pronoun (though grammaticalisation did not occur everywhere: see 5.4.1.1 n. 5). There are also places where *ecce* itself appears interchangeable with *hoc*, and in this role it had certainly encroached on the territory of the demonstratives.

The conditions that were in place for compounding to occur are identifiable not merely in one social dialect but at different educational levels of the language (in speeches in the *Peregrinatio* on the one hand and in a grammarian on the other), and we should therefore speak of change in progress in the language in general, as distinct from a restricted sociolect, say, Vulgar Latin.

The definite article and demonstrative pronouns

I Introduction

In most Romance languages the source of the definite article is the Latin demonstrative *ille* (more precisely, *illu(m)*), though in Sardinian, medieval Catalan and modern Balearic Catalan the definite article reflects *ipsu(m)* (Aebischer 1948: 181–4, Selig 1992: 133 with n. 43, Maiden 1995: 117, Vincent 1997a: 154, Ledgeway 2011: 411, 414, Manoliu 2011: 490).

A problem that has been perceived in the history of Latin to Romance lies in the relative frequency in late Latin of *ipse* compared with *ille* in functions that look like those of an article. *Ille* may be the main source of the Romance article, yet in many texts it seems easier to find *ipse* with article-like functions. On the frequency of *ipse* see Selig (1992: 133); also e.g. Grevander (1926: 25), Josephson (1940: 219–20), Svennung (1941: 149), Aebischer (1948: 201–2), Väänänen (1987: 49), Nocentini (1990: 142, 147), Stotz (1998: 288), Bauer (2007: 118). Selig (1992: 134–5) discusses the supposed problem raised by this frequency.

It will be necessary in this chapter to consider the defining features of a definite article, and differences between articles and demonstratives. These questions have not always been addressed in the literature on Latin. Aebischer (1948), for example, writes as if an article use is immediately recognisable, without need of discussion. But how can we be sure that uses of a term as complex in its semantics as *ipse* are indeed close to those of an article in a late text? Is it straightforward to rule out one of the classical meanings of *ipse*? Little notice has been taken of context and meaning by those interested in observing only the outlines of the transition from Latin to Romance. Defining the difference between demonstrative and article functions in any language is problematic, as C. Lyons' (1999) book brings out (see also the remarks of Bauer 2007: 118). An additional difficulty is that in languages that have a definite article 'it can be shown to be a recent phenomenon, as having arisen in the course of the development

of the language in question' (Wackernagel 1926–8: II.127, quoted from Langslow 2009: 558).

In late Latin of, say, the fourth to sixth centuries distinguishing old functions of *ipse* and *ille* from possible new ones is harder than it might seem. There has been dispute about the interpretation of Latin data even as provided by single texts. The *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* has been much discussed because of the frequency there of *ipse* (and to a lesser extent *ille*), but no agreement has been reached among scholars about the role of demonstratives in the text. On the one hand there are those who see features of distribution and usage that represent a stage in the development of the Romance article (Renzi 1976, Nocentini 1990, Vincent 1997a). On the other hand Fruyt (2003: 102) states that in the *Peregrinatio ipse* is not an article or an 'articloid' (for this term see Aebischer 1948: 186, 'de *ille* comme article ou mieux comme articloïde'; it has been taken up by others), nor is it a pure anaphoric (see below, 7). The attention that has been devoted to the *Peregrinatio* in paper after paper is unfortunate, because many other texts have relevant data, and the *Peregrinatio* is a curious composition reflecting the idiosyncracies of its author and a style by which she was influenced (on which see further below). Texts to be considered here include the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, Pelagonius, Vegetius *Mulomedicina*, Anthimus, the *Compositiones Lucenses* and a Visigothic slate tablet.

2 Some early usages

There are some early article-like uses in Latin that are modelled on the Greek article. These are of limited significance for the later emergence of the Romance article (but see below, 6, p. 508 with 9, p. 524), though there are those who have taken the Greek article to be influential. R. Coleman (1975: 117), for example, states that it 'is highly probable that the Greek article was a major factor, if not the determining one, . . . in the Latin developments'. There are two reasons why one should be cautious about assigning a major role to Greek influence. First, grecising article-like uses are found in the high literary language of the late Republic and early Empire as a deliberate imitation of Greek, and syntactic imitation of this type was often an artificial literary practice that had no long-term influence on the language as a whole (see e.g. Adams 2003a: 422–3). Second, there was no single demonstrative that emerged as the article-equivalent in this period, but rather the full range of demonstratives was pressed into service ad hoc, and these retained their traditional deixis (and thereby continued to be demonstratives: see below, 5, p. 505). On the diversity of equivalents

note Coleman himself (1975: 117): 'That the development towards articular function was not distinctive and neat is . . . demonstrated by the failure in the translation literature to find a single equivalent.' Calboli (2009: 114) notes that in the *Versio Palatina* of the Pastor Hermae the Greek article is variously rendered by *ille*, *ipse*, *iste* and *idem*, and he concludes that the 'use of Latin pronouns to correspond to the Greek article shows that Latin was not ready to develop a real article'. Similarly Hannah Rosén (1994: 132) observes that almost 'the whole gamut of demonstrative pronouns can be found, optionally, to function as substantivizing elements after the fashion of e.g. the Greek article τὸ, and often in Classical literary sources, in conscious imitation of the latter'. For example, for a use of *is* corresponding to the Greek definite article in Cicero's translation of the *Timaeus* see Mudry (1995: 696). Poncelet's chapter (1957: 139–57) on Cicero's strategies in his translations from Greek for coping with the absence of a Latin article shows that he went far beyond the mere employment of demonstratives, and that suggests the inadequacy of the demonstrative system of that time for expressing the full range of article functions.

A few examples may be given of demonstrative uses based on the Greek definite article. An infinitive may be substantivised by the attachment of a neuter pronoun, on the model of a well-known use of the Greek article. Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.274 = Langslow 2009: 343) quotes the following Ciceronian instances: *Fin.* 2.18 *hoc non dolere* 'this absence of pain', *Tusc.* 4.46 *illud aemulari* 'that striving', *Fin.* 3.44 *sapere ipsum* 'wisdom by itself'. There is a more extensive collection of material by Wölfflin (1886: 73–4). The above translations (Langslow's) bring out the fact that these neuters are demonstratives, not articles, with the different pronouns expressing variations of deixis. The connection with the Greek definite article is only loose. Definite articles, as we will see, do not convey deixis, whereas demonstratives normally do (see below, 5, p. 505). A general point that must be stressed is that if a Latin term 'translates' a Greek definite article in a translated text, that does not establish that the Latin term is itself an article. Latin writers were capable of using the resources of Latin itself to produce substitutes for the article in a translation from Greek (as Poncelet's chapter referred to above brings out).

This point may also be illustrated from the (postponed) preface of the *Miles gloriosus* of Plautus (for the details see Adams 2003a: 518–19), where the characters are introduced not by name but by designations such as *amica*, *lena*, *miles*, in the manner of prefaces in Greek New Comedy. In Greek prefaces such designations are accompanied by the definite article, and in the *Miles* they regularly have *ille* or *hic* (occasionally *iste*) attached.

The attachment of the demonstratives is derived from the use of the article in Greek, but the Latin terms continue to be demonstratives, and there are differences of deixis expressed by *hic* versus *ille* in the context.

Another Grecism found particularly in grammatical writings shows a neuter demonstrative applied to a word that is itself under discussion (e.g. Quint. 1.4.8 *ut in his 'seruus' et 'uulgus'*, 'as in the words *seruus* and *uulgus*'; for Ciceronian examples see E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.364; see also above, XII.3.4, p. 223, XX.5.4.2.3). Here again the demonstrative may be varied (see Adams 2003a: 518 n. 313 for a different demonstrative used thus), and individual preferences come into it. Hannah Rosén (1996: 132) points out that in Varro's *De lingua Latina* *hic* is used as a substantiviser to the exclusion of all other pronouns. *Ille* is perhaps more common elsewhere, and it goes back to Plautus in this role (*Mil.* 819 *illud stertit uolui dicere*); cf. e.g. Catull. 86.3 *totum illud formosa nego* (with Kroll 1929 ad loc.).

See further in general Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 191–2).

It is not only Greek influence that has come up in discussions of classical anticipations of the article. An early pattern of Latin type that has been seen as contributing to the evolution of the definite article is that where the demonstrative *ille* occurs in 'la position articulatoire' within a nominal syntagm, attaching an appositional element to a proper name (Plin. *Epist.* 2.20.7 *Velleius Blaesus ille locuples consularis nouissima ualetudine conflictabatur*) or epithet to a noun (Petron. 40.7 *et iam uidete, quam porcus ille siluaticus lotam comederit glandem*). For discussion see particularly Abel (1971: 179–83), who notes (179) that in Classical Latin an epithet is never employed after a proper name without the addition of this articulatory *ille*, and that Classical Latin also frequently employs *ille* thus between any noun and its epithet. Abel makes two further important points. First, in the Bible translations that are the subject of his study, *ille* in this position almost always corresponds to a definite article in the Greek version and not to a demonstrative (179; examples are listed at 180). Second (182), this placement of *ille* after the noun/name and before an epithet survives in the Romance languages.¹ He cites *Alde la Belle, Juana la Loca, la maison la plus belle*.

The fullest account of the pattern in Cicero is by Bauer (2008: 46–9). In Cicero's corpus there are as many as 202 examples of *ille* in combination with names. By contrast there are only nineteen such uses of *iste*,

¹ It should however be noted that in Romanian it is not the article that has this function, but the so-called demonstrative article *cel* (e.g. *Ștefan cel mare* 'Stefan the Great') (information from Adam Ledgeway).

seventy-nine of *hic* and 103 of *ipse*. Bauer concludes (48) that *ille* clearly had a special status in this context.

There are further remarks about the usage in Classical Latin by Hannah Rosén (1994: 129–31), who concludes: ‘Whatever its genesis, undoubtedly this pattern was highly conducive to the regularization of the definite article in Latin.’ It is not certain that a specialised use of *ille* in a restricted structure could have played a major part in generating the article in all its complexity, but it might have been one factor. In Classical Latin itself *ille* in this pattern should not be assumed to be an article already. It may be markedly deictic, and thus a full demonstrative (as probably at Petron. 40.7 above, where those present are instructed to look, and a gesture may have been envisaged), or have a special semantic nuance, such as ‘the well-known’ (see E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.366 n. 1, Abel 1971: 179). The evidence discussed by Abel (see above) does suggest, however, that some sort of weakening had taken place by the time of the Bible translations.

See also L. Löfstedt (1981: 269–72), with some remarks about the pattern in later Latin, and Hofmann and Ricottilli (2003: 242), citing the well-known phrase from the *Vitae patrum* (6.2.6), *abate Macario illo maiore*, where the Greek has τοῦ μεγάλου; also FEW IV.554–5.

We will be concerned here with the question whether in later Latin article uses are identifiable that are not merely features of translationese.

3 Some uses of articles in modern languages: anaphoric versus ‘associative’

Across languages considered to have articles the behaviour of these elements is not uniform, and a neat definition of what they are is out of the question. It might be possible to define the features of ‘definiteness’ (see e.g. C. Lyons 1999: 1–15), but languages differ in the ways in which definiteness is expressed. A marker of definiteness need not itself be an article. On other forms of definiteness in Classical Latin see Pinkster (1990b: 93–6), and also 271 n. 44 for some literature on the emergence of the article.

It may be useful to begin, not with an abstract account of either definiteness or the nature of articles, but by considering some discussions of the functions of definite articles in a few languages other than Latin (English, Old French and Fering). For the first and third, parts of C. Lyons (1999) are drawn on, and for the second, Buridant (2000). Two uses of the definite article recur in the literature, and something will be said here about both. In later sections (particularly 5 and 6) we will discuss more directly the criteria for identifying article-like uses in the dead language Latin.

3.1 *The anaphoric use*

In languages with a definite article there are uses of it that are anaphoric. C. Lyons (1999: 3) quotes the following sentence:

An elegant, dark-haired woman, a well-dressed man with dark glasses, and two children entered the compartment. I immediately recognized the woman. The children also looked vaguely familiar.

He describes (4) 'the' in this sentence as anaphoric. 'The referents of *the woman* and *the children* are familiar not from the physical situation but from the linguistic context; they have been mentioned before.' It might be added that here the anaphoric article occurs in a context with a feature that would not always be present. 'Woman' and 'children' are contrastive ('I recognised the WOMAN. The CHILDREN also looked familiar'), as would be brought out by the intonation pattern if the passage were spoken, and the articles are phonetically weak (for *ille* used in such contexts in late Latin, see below, 6). Contrast the following:

Pour water into the saucepan. Heat the water.

Here there is not the same emphasis on the noun ('water'), and in speech the intonation pattern would probably highlight 'heat' slightly.

3.2 *The 'associative' use*

C. Lyons (1999: 3) cites the following two examples with a different type of definite article, but one that is loosely anaphoric still:

- (1) I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way the driver told me there was a bus strike.
- (2) They've just got in from New York. The plane was five hours late.

Lyons (4) calls these uses of the article 'bridging cross-reference' or 'associative' (the latter term will be used throughout this chapter). He observes of the first:

[T]he driver has not been mentioned before, but there has been mention of the taxi, and it is part of our general knowledge that taxis have drivers. The idea is that the mention of a taxi conjures up for the hearer all the things that are associated with taxis (a driver, wheels, seats, the fare etc.), and any of these things can then be referred to by means of a definite noun phrase... [The second example] is particularly interesting because

the antecedent which warrants the definite *the plane* is not even a noun phrase. But travelling from New York to most places necessarily involves some form of conveyance, with an aircraft being the most likely if the present conversation is taking place in, say, Manchester.

The same two types of definite article are identified in Old French by Buridant (2000: 108). The Old French article derives from *ille* (cf. above, 1). Buridant distinguishes between the anaphoric use (where there is 'réidentification/rappel du référent par reprise anaphorique'), and the introduction, 'in the interior of a syntagm, of a referent whose presence is implied necessarily by the context, even without having already been evoked'. He quotes *Erec* 138–41:

Mes molt i orent po esté
Quant il virent un chevalier,
Venir armé sor un destrier,
L'escu au col, la lance el poing.

Ils étaient là depuis fort peu de temps quand ils virent venir un chevalier tout équipé sur un destrier, l'écu au col, la lance au poing.

The point here is that, though the *écu* and *lance* have not been previously mentioned, a knight in quest of adventure would normally be carrying such objects (see Buridant).

Fering, a North Frisian dialect, as described by Lyons (1999: 161–3), has two definite articles, one of which has the first function above and the other the second, though that is not the sole distinction between them. The first is anaphoric or cataphoric with a relative clause following, or used where the referent is visible in the context. The other is used with uniques, or may be generic or associative, i.e. used where the context has to be searched to find the referent (see 163).

4 The interpretation of anaphoric and associative uses: the Latin evidence

4.1 *The anaphoric use*

In this section *ipse* as an anaphoric will be considered, and the question asked whether it necessarily approaches an article in function when it is anaphoric. *Ipse* provides an appropriate starting point because so much has been said about it in writings on later Latin.

Much is made in the literature particularly on the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* of this anaphoric use of *ipse*, which is often applied to nouns that have just been used (see the comments of Väänänen 1987: 48 n. 106). For this usage the opening two chapters might be cited. At 1.1 a valley is introduced (though we do not have the start of the text, and it is not certain that the valley has not been mentioned before): *montes . . . faciebant uallem infinitam ingens planissima et ualde pulchram*. The valley remains the topic throughout the first two chapters down to 2.4. *Vallis* is qualified by *ipsa* six times in this passage. Only once is it qualified by *illa* (1.2 *per ualle illa, quam dixi ingens*), but *illa* anticipates a relative clause, and is thus, it might be said, 'cataphoric' (on the contrast between *ipse* and *ille* in this respect see further below, 7). In a second place (apart from at 1.1) *uallis*, with the same reference to the same valley, is unaccompanied by either *illa* or *ipsa* (2.3), and to these two instances might be added the rhetorical sentence openings (2.2 *haec est autem uallis . . . in qua . . . haec est autem uallis, in qua . . .*). Whatever else might be said about the function of *ipsa* in this passage, it is not an obligatory element. A third and final member of the rhetorical sequence just cited does indeed raise doubts about the appropriateness of fastening onto repeated uses of *ipse* in a single passage as if the repetition or redundancy in themselves might constitute an article-like feature. The passage (2.2) is as follows: *haec ergo uallis ipsa est, in cuius capite ille locus est, ubi sanctus Moyses . . .* The sense is that this is the VERY valley where a Biblical event took place, and *ipsa* has a strong meaning typical of Classical Latin (OLD s.v. 8). The presence of an obvious classical use in what is a rhetorical narrative in which Egeria (Aetheria) is keen to identify Biblical places precisely and to convey her wonder (note in this context the remarks of Väänänen 1987: 51 n. 114, quoted below, 7.1) makes it essential to analyse the function of demonstratives in context rather than vaguely pointing to anaphoric or repetitive uses that are supposedly anticipations of the Romance article. The *Peregrinatio* will be discussed in greater detail in a separate section (7).

An anaphoric use of *ipse* is common in late Latin quite apart from the *Peregrinatio*. It must be stressed, however, that *ipse* is often anaphoric even in Classical Latin (see the large section on the 'usus anaphoricus' at TLL VII.2.300.43ff.), and an anaphoric role does not rule out a meaning of classical type (see further below, this section on anaphoric demonstratives). Here are a few cases where *ipse* is attached to a noun that has just been used, of the type that have found their way into discussions of the developing Romance article (for bibliography on late texts see B. Löfstedt 1961:

261–2). The interpretation of such examples will take up a good deal of this chapter:

Mul. Chir. 55 sanguinem ei de inguina detrahes et ipsum sanguinem sale et oleo permisces.

Pel. 142 et aquae, in qua culiculi decocti sunt, id est ut habeat aqua ipsa mensuram sextarii, iunge uini heminam.

151.1 nam dicit cooperiri debere equum diligenter... et sic castoreo carbonibus imposito omnem uentrem et testes ipsius equi fumigari (note the source *Mul. Chir.* 456 *castorium impones in uiuis carbonibus et totum uentrem eius et testiculos suffumigato*, where a different but traditional method of reference is used, with *is* denoting the patient; cf. Veg. 2.79.16 (based on the same passage of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) *ut animalia a collo usque ad pedes inuoluantur de sagis... ut totum uentrem testiculosque eorum castorei fumus uaporet*. Vegetius has the anaphoric pronoun *is* referring back to *animalia*). 220 in puluerem redigis et ipsum puluerem... infundes.

242 et cum combusseris et in cinerem redigeris, ipsum cinerem cribrato.

256.2 sanguis a corona mittendus est et ipsa corona scarifanda et confricanda aceto (the same usage is in the source *Mul. Chir.* 616 *sanguine de corona emittes... et ipsam coronam scarificabis*).

366.1 (R) decoques in uino iunci radicem et marrubium, colas ipsum uinum. *Antidot. Brux.* 4, p. 365.21–2 agitatam transcolas in trullionem, sed et inmittis simul supra memorata de mortario in ipsum trullionem.

Itin. Ant. Plac. 3, p. 160.14–15 Castra Samaritanorum a Sucamina miliario subtus monte Carmelo. super ipsa Castra...

Comp. Luc. D 1–2 tolles bermiculum... et ipsum bemiculum tritum mittis in linleo.

Liber tertius 6.5, p. 299 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) infusas in aqua... et cum infuderis caricas... in ipsa aqua mittis sinape.

It may be true that most or all of the above examples of *ipse* could be translated into English by the definite article, but that does not mean that *ipse* is an article or even articloid. It is not only definite articles that may be anaphoric, but also demonstratives (see e.g. C. Lyons 1999: 54), and it may be difficult to distinguish between them. Note Lyons (1999: 54), stating that it ‘is possible in most languages to refer to something previously mentioned using a demonstrative’. He continues: ‘this means that it may be unclear whether a determiner specialized in anaphoric use is an article or demonstrative’. Lyons (1999: 164) notes that ‘many languages have a demonstrative unmarked for deixis and... English *that/those* can have this value. In several environments, particularly to refer to a perceptible entity, in anaphora, and before an identifying relative clause, either this deictically neutral demonstrative or the definite article can be used with very little

difference in what is conveyed.’ There are then cited three sentences in which ‘the’ and ‘that/those’ are interchangeable. Lyons (1999: 54) quotes a view that in the language Lakhota, which has a general definite article and a specialised anaphoric form, the anaphoric form corresponds to ‘that’, with the meanings ‘the above-mentioned’, ‘the aforesaid’ given as well, though Lyons himself inclines to the view that it is an article rather than a demonstrative. See also Lyons (1999: 164–5) for the possibility that one of the Fering articles (see above, 3.2) is in fact a demonstrative.

Latin itself has an anaphoric demonstrative, *is*, which may be used repeatedly in a single context, particularly in technical prose, referring back to the same referent. It may be deletable without change to the sense, and may be translated into English by the definite article, but that does not establish that it is an article itself, and it is certainly not taken as such in most of the grammatical literature (but see below, 4.1.1, p. 498). *Is* is typically treated as being without deixis (see above on deictically neutral demonstratives). Bauer (2007: 113), for example, distinguishes *is* from the set of three demonstratives (*hic, ille, iste*), describing it as an anaphor, ‘which refers to an element mentioned or that is about to be mentioned, without having deictic value. It typically refers to an antecedent’, but may anticipate a relative clause as well. Similarly C. Lyons (1999: 114) distinguishes between the anaphoric functions of *hic* and of *ille*, and contrasts the pair with *is*, which is used ‘especially where the distance back into the previous discourse of the earlier mention of the referent is not an issue’ (i.e. where the term is deictically neutral).²

Note for example Cato *Agr.* 157.10 *lotium conseruato eius qui brassicam essitarit: id calfacito . . . item pueros pusillos si laues eo lotio, numquam debiles fient. et quibus oculi parum clari sunt, eo lotio inungito . . . si caput aut ceruices dolent, eo lotio caldo lauio . . . et si mulier eo lotio locos fouebit, numquam . . .* The passage could be rewritten with *eo* omitted, and the meaning would remain the same for most readers, but the point is that a specific type of *lotium* is to be used (that of someone who has eaten cabbage), not *lotium* in general. The demonstrative leaves no room for doubt, as *lotio* unspecified might have. The passage might also be rewritten, on the analogy of the use of *id* in the second clause, with several instances of *eo* on its own (instead of *eo lotio*), a possibility that would undermine any suggestion that *eo* in the phrase *eo lotio* was an article in function. Note

² We may accept these characterisations of *is* in a loose sense, but they are not to be taken as absolutely true. Wistrand (1961) showed that *is* is sometimes deictic, from the Augustan period onwards and perhaps most notably in Vitruvius.

in this connection Lyons (1999: 145): 'It is very common for demonstratives to serve as third-person personal pronouns . . . Often it is a demonstrative unmarked for deixis that fills this function. In Latin, for example, the general demonstrative *is* is used, especially in non-nominative cases where there is more need for an overt form (Latin being null subject).' Whereas a demonstrative might serve as a pronoun, an article would not be expected to do so, and it follows that *eo* in *eo lotio* is a demonstrative.

The style exemplified by the passage of Cato, which is deliberately repetitive and obsessively specifying, is discussed by Norberg (1944: 70–5), who sees it particularly as a feature of legal and official Latin, from an early period onwards (for redundant specification as characteristic of legal language see e.g. Marouzeau 1949: 101–5). Norberg cites for example (70) *Lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, CIL 1².592, 11.2–12 *pecunia certa credita signata . . . eam pecuniam . . . ea pecunia . . . eam pecuniam . . . eius pecuniae*. It would be more accurate to say that it is characteristic of technical style in general or of imitations of that, that is of writings or contexts where a show of precision was called for. There is for example a similarity of presentation between medical treatises (the passage of Cato is in a medical section) and laws.

If one is to contemplate assigning *ipse* in late Latin an anaphoric, article-like function, one possibility that must first be considered is that it might simply have become an anaphoric demonstrative like *is* above (on demonstratives see further below, 5).

4.1.1 *ipse* and *idem*

But there is more to it than that. *Ipse* was *par excellence* in Classical Latin a contrastive demonstrative (see e.g. Meader and Wölfflin 1900: 388–9), with a variety of nuances clearly set out in the *OLD*. On the other hand in later Latin it is well represented in the meaning 'the same', = *idem* (see below). In these classical and later meanings it is what might be called a strong demonstrative, and could not justifiably be regarded as an article or articloid, even if it might seem to correspond in a particular context to the English definite article (for recognition of this and other uses of *ipse* that are not to be confused with a definite article see also Sornicola 2009: 40–3). As a straightforward case of an anaphoric instance with a strong meaning of classical type we might cite Pel. 7 *pulverem de radicibus cucumeris saluatici uel ipsum cucumerem tritum in aquam mittis* (contrastive: either the roots of the plant, or the plant itself, i.e. the whole thing; for this use in Classical Latin see *OLD* s.v. 1). Fruyt (2003) is one who has taken account of the

semantics of *ipse* (in the *Peregrinatio*),³ but others discussing the origin of the Romance article have not always been so cautious (see also her remarks in her review article of Selig 1992 (Fruyt 1996), about inattention to the different functions of the various demonstratives; also Väänänen 1987: 51 n. 114, Pinkster 1996: 144). More will be said below (7.1) about classical uses that on a superficial reading might be interpreted as article-like.

The frequent equivalence of *ipse* with *idem* (see above) is of special significance. C. Lyons (1999: 114, 115), discussing anaphoric demonstratives including *is* in Latin, makes some observations that are relevant here. After remarking (114) that ‘many languages have a special demonstrative for anaphoric use’, he continues that in ‘some cases it seems to have the more specific sense of “just mentioned”’. He adds (115): ‘A final observation on anaphoric demonstratives is that, particularly for those limited to immediately preceding mention, they often serve also as the expression for “same”.’

Ipse occurs with anaphoric function in late Latin particularly in genres in which there was a convention of specifying a referent by means of terms of the type ‘the same, the aforementioned’. This point is worth dwelling on, as it concerns the interpretation of *ipse* in a good deal of late Latin.

But first, for *ipse* = *idem* see in general Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 189), *TLL* VII.2.307.74ff., and also Meader and Wölfflin (1900: 390–1, 1902a: 361–3), Salonijs (1920: 236), Hofmann (1926: 108), Svennung (1935: 307) and particularly Abel (1971: 156), the last citing extensive bibliography on the equivalence. The usage may be ascribed loosely to later Latin (the first example cited by the *TLL* is from Apuleius), but it is difficult to distinguish from (the classical) meaning 8 of the *OLD* s.v.: ‘(to emphasize identity) Himself and no other, this or that very’.

For some clear-cut instances of *ipse* = *idem* see e.g. Adams (1995a: 592), citing Pel. 268.4 *sane si sanguis ad horam non fuerit inuentus*, λιβανωτοῦ ὁλκὸς *tres, sales ipsius ponderis cum uino dabis*, which is translated from Apsyrtus (*Hipp. Ber.* 34.2), who has the phrase ἄλὸς τὸ ἴσον (*CHG* I, p. 178.14). Again, at 397 (R) (*uel si calcitrosus fuerit, ipsa potione uteris adiecta aqua frigida ad umbilicum*, ‘or if it is prone to kick, use the same potion with cold water applied to the navel’) the underlined phrase is translated into Greek (*Hipp. Par.* 689, *CHG* II, p. 83.11) as τῷ αὐτῷ . . . βοηθήματι. Note too how the Greek translation of Pelagonius takes the following (anaphoric) case of *ipsum*: 242 *et cum combusseris et in cinerem redigeris, ipsum cinerem cribrato* = *Hipp. Ber.* 26.29, *CHG* I, p. 135.10–11 τὴν τέφραν . . . τὴν αὐτὴν

³ Another is Sornicola (2009: 40–3), though in reference to different texts.

τέφρον. A striking passage is at Pompeius *GL* v.127.32–3 *ergo eadem erit ratio in illis pluribus, quae in tribus syllabis, ipsa in sex syllabis, ipsa etiam in octo*, where *ipsa* is twice used as an alternative to the preceding *eadem*. For other alternations see *Per. Aeth.* 19.1–5 *ad ciuitatem... ipsa etiam ciuitas... in eadem ciuitate... ipsius ciuitatis*, Greg. M. *Epist.* 5.49 *abbas monasterii sanctorum Andreae et Thomae... monasterii ipsius... eiusdem monasterii... eidem monasterio... monasterium illud*. Hoppe (1903: 104) quotes e.g. Tert. *Pall.* 3.1 (*pluma*) *nunquam ipsa [= eadem], semper alia, etsi semper ipsa quando alia*, where there is a ‘same/different’ contrast.

It was seen above (4.1) that Pelagonius frequently (in the manner of the author of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*) applies *ipse* to a noun that had been used in the immediate context, even the same sentence. It must be noted that he uses *idem* often in the same way. For example 468 (*in puluerem molliissimum redige et ei per fyseterem in pupulam eundem puluerem sparge*) has *eundem* in an identical context to that at 220, quoted in the previous section (*in puluerem redigis et ipsum puluerem... infundes*), where it is *ipsum* that is used instead. Given the identity or near-identity of *ipse* and *idem* illustrated in the previous paragraph from the same text, it would be perverse to take *ipsum* as articloid (because it survives in some Romance languages as an article) and *eundem* as not. *Ipse* and *idem* are anaphoric demonstratives used in the same way, the meaning of which would be captured by ‘the same, aforementioned’ or the like.

The conventions of technical prose have to be taken into account. It had long been common in setting out recipes or remedies to specify objects by marking a repeated noun redundantly by means of terms such as *suprascriptus* or *idem* (see further below), and *ipse* in its later meaning ‘same’ continues that tradition. We saw above in Cato a repeated use of *is* that was very similar. *Idem* itself is used in this way in the first century AD by Celsus: 2.7.11–13 *at si sanguis aut pus in urina est, uel uesica uel renes exulcerati sunt. si haec crassa carunculas... habet... utique in renibus uitium est. at si paulatim destillat... in eadem uesica uitium est* (cited by Svennung 1935: 302). To fasten onto comparable uses of *ipse* as article-like and anticipatory of the outcome of the term in a few Romance languages (and then to express surprise that articloid *ipse* outnumbers *ille* in late Latin) is to disregard the conventions of technical genres going right back to the Republic.

The redundant use of *idem* in Pelagonius, which puts the use of *ipse* in the same contexts into perspective, may be illustrated from two passages in particular. At 54 (*spongiam mollem... in auriculam mittito et una nocte eadem spongia in auricula perseueret*) the sponge that is to remain in the ear for a night cannot but be the one that is to be put in, because the verb

perseueret makes it clear that once inserted it is to stay. Not only is *eadem* redundant, but the whole phrase *eadem spongia* could be left out. Most readers would not conclude from the redundancy of *eadem* that *idem* was being weakened into an articloid (but see below, this section, p. 497), and no more should we conclude that comparable uses of *ipse* are articloid. Rather one must see in these usages the traditional obsession of technical writers with making things clear by specification. Grevander (1926: 34) points out that the Greek source of the above passage (*Hipp. Ber.* 17.3, p. 92.9) has the definite article (τὸ σπογγάριον). That does not prove that *idem* was equivalent to a definite article, but rather that there was an established use of the term to mark a noun just used, which sometimes might be brought into service in a translation from Greek where the original had an article (see above, 2).

The second passage is at Pel. 65: *sanguinem de palato cum tuleris et supprimere eundem sanguinem non potes*. The blood that cannot be checked cannot be different from the blood that has been let, and *eundem* adds nothing. The phrase could be replaced with a pronoun, or left out. Pelagonius' source survives: cf. *Mul. Chir.* 547 *etiam si sanguinem de palato emiseric et subprimere non potueris*. There is no expressed object here. Pelagonius has added the specification himself.

Here are some other passages of Pelagonius in which *idem* is used anaphorically much as *ipse* is used:

24.2 de his omnibus facis modium et pridie in aqua munda eundem modium infundes.

57 linteola . . . uulneribus inponito . . . et cum ad sanitatem eadem uulnera peruenerint.

181 si . . . equus . . . clauum fecerit, utilissimum est farinam hordeaciam imponere . . . tamdiu, quamdiu idem clauus cadat.

190 sanguis de brachiolis mittendus est eodemque sanguine . . . omne corpus perungendum est.

236 hunc in aqua infunde et colatam eandem aquam per triduum dabis (cf. *ipsa aqua* at 142; also 110 *in aqua colari permittito. inde aquam ipsam . . . dato*).

248 panno inlitum articulis inponis, sed prius eosdem articulos sphilothro leuigabis.

281.3 si autem tumores inruperint <in> uulnera, posca eadem uulnera diluis.

In almost every case *idem* could have been omitted, and in some cases its inclusion is strikingly redundant (e.g. 57, 181, 281.3).

The stylistic feature exemplified here may be illustrated from some other texts. There are comparable examples in the early Empire in Scribonius Largus, but where the specifier is not so crudely redundant:

Scrib. Larg. 12, p. 19.13 *herbam, quam . . . nos nerualem appellamus, oportet ieiunum . . . comesse . . . haec eadem herba . . .*

122, p. 66.3 *calice nouo . . . imponitur . . . iniuntur in eundem calicem quae supra dixi coclearia tria.*

125, p. 66.22 *proficit mirifice haec compositio ad tumorem et dolorem cum duritia iocineris et lienis; item ad renum dolorem bene facit . . . qui propter uitia supra dictarum partium . . . prodest hoc idem medicamentum etiam ad . . . (anaphoric, referring back to *compositio*).*

There are other late writers who employ *idem* and such terms as *supradictus* redundantly in the manner of Pelagonius. The use of *suprascriptus*, *praedictus* and *supra nominatus* in that role is discussed at length by Norberg (1944: 70–5) (see also Önnersfors 1963: 94 on *dictus* = *supradictus*). Note for example the legal inscription *CIL* VI.10247 (Norberg 1944: 71) *monumentum . . . inque ua[quam] possessionem monummenti ss [= supra scripti] . . . ad id monumentum . . . monumentum ss*, where it is obvious from the alternation with *id* that the term functions as an anaphoric demonstrative. There are also alternations with e.g. *ipse* and *idem* (Norberg 1944: 72): e.g. Greg. M. *Epist.* 4.18 *ecclesiam sancti Pancratii . . . eidem ecclesiae . . . antefatae ecclesiae . . . praefatae ecclesiae . . . in suprascripta ecclesia . . . ecclesia ipsa . . . in suprascripta ecclesia*, *Epist.* 5.25 *Thomam . . . tutorem . . . antedicti tutoris . . . suprascriptus tutor . . . antedictum tutorem . . . eundem tutorem*.

There follow some redundant examples of *idem* and of the *suprascriptus* type from late technical prose (apart from Pelagonius):

Cass. Fel. p. 17.7 = 9.3 (Fraisse) *maculas supra dictas fricabis* (*maculas* occurs three times earlier in the chapter).

p. 26.2–4 = 18.1 (Fraisse) *cum se extantia et durities ueluti circumscripta cum rubore et dolore ostenderit, et cum coeperit supra dicta durities in saniolam conuerti.*

Mul. Chir. 11–12 *sanguinem eis detrahimus de palato . . . dispumamus post depletionem propter spurcitiam herbae eundem palatum* (*eundem* is pointless).

200 alii quidem dixerunt catulum lactantem occisum pilatum exenteratum sine intestinis decoctum in aqua, similiter in eadem aqua mixtum mel . . . (cf. Veg. *Mul.* 1.17.16, eliminating the phrase with *eadem*: *Chiron . . . asserit catulum lactantem uiuum in aquam feruentem missum ac depilatum ita decoqui, ut ossa separentur a carne . . . uiscera cum aqua in qua decocta fuerint . . .*).

209 quod latine dicunt ieiunum intestinum, eo quod nihil in eodem stentino cibi aliquid permaneant (the underlined phrase is redundant; Vegetius *Mul.* 1.40.2 rewrites without such a phrase).

477 ex eo medicamento in eundem extalem impositum alligabis (*extalis* is earlier, at 476).

645 easdem mirmices scarpello intercidito ab osso (*mirmices* is at the start of the section).

653 et scarificato easdem duritias (the noun is twice used earlier in the section, and there was no possibility of ambiguity).

663 sinito sanguinis fluxum per omnes uenas fieri, et sale trito confricato, ut restaures easdem uenas.

695 quodcumque iumentum scaurum factum fuerit, sic curato. eundem deponito iumentum (it is inconceivable that a different animal might have been treated from the one suffering, and *eundem* is pointless).

Liber tertius 9.2, p. 300 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) ergo ex hoc oleo et mollibus lanis stomachum foue[al]s easdemque lanas expressas super stomachum ponis.

Antidot. Brux. 5, p. 366.12 si non pausauerit ueretri tensura, idem ueretrum oleo unges (*idem*, specifying the penis of a single animal, is particularly pointless).

25, p. 370.32 sisymbrium ex aqua decoque... bibat cum caroeni mero ieiunus, ex aqua supra memorata.

Comp. Luc. c 16–20 arena est, que nascitur in diuersis locis. nascitur autem et in partibus Italie in montibus ista arena... tolle ex ipsa arena... tolle et ex eadem arena (*ipsa* and *eadem* occur with the same noun and in the same verb phrase, and are interchangeable).

One should be cautious in describing such uses of *idem*. There is something of a tradition of treating them as weakened or, worse, as functioning as an ‘article’. For this last view see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 192) with the index s.v. at 899, referring to *idem* ‘als Artikel’. The *TLL* (VII.1.206.36ff.) has a section s.v. *idem* headed ‘pro “articulo”’, adopting it as a criterion that the term corresponds to the Greek article in a source. On this line of argument see above, 4.1.1, p. 495. Immediately before that the *TLL* has a section on *idem* ‘vi attenuata’ and equated with *is* (205.28ff.). Quite a few of the ‘more or less certain’ examples of this ‘usus attenuatus’ (205.41ff.) are from legal and medical texts, the genres in which otiose specification is a feature. Meader and Wölfflin (1902b: 474) also set out to illustrate *idem* ‘als bestimmter Artikel’. As for weakening in a more general sense, Hofmann (1926: 108) refers to *idem* used as a substitute for *is*. Norberg (1944: 70–1) finds *idem* used as an anaphoric in the function of *is* as early as the *Lex Cornelia de xx quaestoribus*, but in the expression *eidem consules* which he cites the demonstrative has its full force in leaving nothing open to doubt. There is an extensive collection of material in Svennung (1935: 300–6) intended to show *idem* in a weakened sense and hard to distinguish from *is*. See too Josephson (1940: 229–30). Van Oorde (1929: 95) divides the uses of *idem* in the *Peregrinatio* into two categories, that in which it ‘recte

adhibetur', and that in which it is equivalent to *is* or *hic*. One example of the latter type is at 10.7: *nos ergo cum uenisseamus in eodem campo*. Previously the *campus* had been identified (10.4 *quae est in eo campo, in quo tunc filii Israhel castra fixerant*) and the term is picked up by *campus enim ipse* and then by a series of expressions of the type *hic est locus, ubi*. Then comes *in eodem campo*. There is no need to see here a weakened use; *eodem* can readily be given its classical meaning.

What these various 'weakened' uses of *idem* have in common is that they seem to be redundant. They may occur in a sequence with other such redundant terms. But *idem* does not become weakened or articloid merely because it might be omitted according to modern taste. Older discussions of article uses and even that of Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 191–3) hardly address the question what constitutes a definite article but fall back especially on places where *idem*, *ipse* or another demonstrative appear to translate a Greek definite article. It was noted above that terms such as *supradictus* are often used redundantly in later prose, but they would not for that reason be classified as articles: such words bear a stress and are semantically transparent, even though they could be omitted. So *idem* can be taken in its full meaning and treated as characteristic of a stylised form of writing.

The consequence of regarding redundancy as a sufficient criterion for identifying an article use is that a wide range of demonstratives come to be assigned article functions in the literature: so, apart from *ille*, *ipse* and *idem*, also *is*, *hic*, *iste* and even *qui* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 192–3; also Saloniū 1920: 235). Latin was hardly in the process of acquiring half a dozen definite articles. Some scholars on the other hand have got around this difficulty by largely disregarding redundant uses of *idem*, *supradictus*, *is*, *hic* and *iste* and writing as if only *ipse* and *ille* were used in this way. The reality is that there has been insufficient recognition of a technical style with a notorious *copia dicendi*.

The repetitive style referred to here is not only characterised by the use of demonstratives. Consider the following passages from the *Peregrinatio*:

6.2 diligentius et securius iam in eo loco ex consuetudine Faranitae ambulanti nocte, quam aliqui hominum ambulare potest in his locis, ubi uia aperta est. (3) in eo ergo loco de inter montes exiuius redeuntēs, in quo loco et euntēs inter montes intraueramus, ac sic ergo denuo plicauimus nos ad mare. filii etiam Israhel reuertentes ad montem Dei Syna usque ad eum locum reuersi sunt per iter quod ierant, id est usque ad eum locum, ubi de inter montes exiuius et iunximus nos denuo ad mare rubrum et inde nos iam iter nostrum, quo ueneramus, reuersi sumus: filii autem Israhel

de eodem loco, sicut scriptum est in libris sancti Moysi, ambulauerunt iter suum.

7.1 desiderii ergo fuit, ut de Clesma ad terram Gesse exiremus, id est ad ciuitatem, quae appellatur Arabia, quae ciuitas in terra Gesse est; nam inde ipsum territorium sic appellatur, id est terra Arabiae, terra Iesse, quae tamen terra Egypti pars est.

21.1 duxit nos episcopus ad puteum illum, ubi adaquauerat sanctus Iacob pecora . . . qui puteus sexto miliario est a Charris; in cuius putei honorem fabricata est ibi iuxta sancta ecclesia . . . ad quem puteum cum uenissemus.

21.4 ostensus est mihi a sancto episcopo uicus ingens . . . per quem uicum iter habuimus. hic autem uicus . . . fuit quondam uilla Laban Syri, qui uicus appellatur Fadana. nam ostensa est mihi in ipso uico memoria Laban Siri.

In the first passage *in eo ergo loco* is picked up by *in quo loco* rather than *in quo*, a feature of the text whereby the nominal antecedent of a relative clause is repeated in the relative clause itself. The usage is exemplified from this work by E. Löfstedt (1911: 81–4), who also, significantly, illustrates it from the legal language. In the same passage the whole phrase *usque ad eum locum* is repeated within a short space. Side by side with these gross repetitions we also see the specification of *locus* by more than one demonstrative, *is* four times and *idem* once. In all three of the other short passages there is more than one case of an antecedent repeated in the relative clause, and in the last two as well there are specifications of the same nouns with various demonstratives, *ille*, *hic* and *ipse*. These three terms are not articloid but functional. *Ille* anticipates a relative clause, a common usage, and *hic* is deictic in that it picks up a noun standing in proximity to it. In the final passage *ipse* could be given either a classical meaning ('in the very village, right in the village') or the meaning 'the same'.

Another text exemplifying a repetitive style marked by more than repeated demonstratives is the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. Note 213 (a passage that is not entirely coherent) *alia uitia inde fiunt, si quando stentina maiora hic humor coagulatus et diffusus ex superiore in eadem intestina maiora abundare coeperit. in qua intestina sinus per interualla dispositi sunt* . . . The style is rejected by Vegetius, who rewrites the passage as follows: *Mul. 1.42.1 alia quoque uitia ex perfrictione huiusmodi humoris nascuntur. qui cum intestina maiora praecluserit et in eorum sinibus stercora coeperit detinere* . . .

This section may be concluded with a few further remarks about *ipse* in the light of what has been said about *idem*.

Önnerfors (1975: 142) lists instances of *ipse* that he equates with *idem*, such as *Phys. Plin. Bamb. 62.3 item ipsorum ruborum cauliculi ex uino austero decocti eduntur* (where the noun had certainly occurred a few sentences

earlier, though it has to be restored to the text). This example would be interpreted by some as anaphoric and article-like, but Önnertfors has implicitly taken *ipse* in the way that has been suggested here. Fruyt (2003: 103) says that *ipse* in the *Peregrinatio* can always be translated 'précisément', and as it is often 'en anaphore proche' it expresses an identity (for further details of her view see below, 7.1, p. 514). Fruyt comes close to suggesting what is suggested here, namely that *ipse* is identical to *idem* in meaning.

Finally, we should return to the anaphoric instances of *ipse* listed at 4.1, p. 490. One might render them with the English definite article, but they are all translatable by 'the same' = *idem*, and are found in contexts in which *idem* also occurs.

4.2 The associative use

Ipse may be used anaphorically where the referent has not been named in the preceding context. Note e.g. Anthimus p. 8.11 *si assatum fuerit ad hora quomodo bradonis, pinguamen ipsum defluit in foco* (of *laredum*, 'bacon': 'if it is roasted at once like *brado* (?), the fat flows into the fire'). Fat (*pinguamen*) has not been mentioned, but is a component of bacon. Here to translate *ipsum* as 'the same' would be pointless. One translation that might seem to capture the force of the phrase would be: 'the FAT flows into the fire', with *ipsum* rendered as unemphatic and 'fat' stressed by the intonation pattern. On that interpretation *ipsum* would indeed be article-like (see below, 5 on the significance of lack of emphasis). On the other hand we cannot rule out a meaning of classical type for *ipsum*, making it implicitly contrastive ('the fat for its part, itself', sc. in contrast with the meat). This second interpretation seems more plausible.

The associative use of *ipse* has been seen as a distinctive step along the path to its acquisition of an article role. Renzi (1976: 31–2) finds in sixth-century texts (the *Regula* of Benedict, Gregory of Tours) a new development. *Ipse* is used for the first time 'without a textual reference'. By this is meant that it is anaphoric, but does not refer back to something named in the context. As an example Renzi cites Bened. *Reg.* 57, p. 73.13 Linderbauer *in ipsis autem pretiis non subripiat auaritiaie malum* 'let not the evil of avarice creep into the prices charged'. He notes (32) that the only anticipation of *ipsis pretiis* lies in the argument of the discourse, which deals with profit.

Various observations may be made about this claim.

First, *ipsis* can be given a strong meaning here. The passage deals with the possibility of fraud perpetrated by those selling the produce of *artifices*

working in the monastery. They are first warned in general terms against committing fraud. Then a specific prohibition is issued: let not greed show up in the actual prices charged (in the prices themselves, as distinct from some other form of cheating).

Second, the associative use of *ipse* is not a late innovation. At *TLL* VII.2.301.64ff., under the general heading ‘usus anaphoricus’ (300.43), this use is identified: ‘coniungitur c. nomine, subst. (ad verbum sive ad sensum iterato vel liberius ad ea pertinente, quae animo obversantur, e contextu intelleguntur . . .)’. The underlined words (my emphasis) are a precise description of the associative use, and cross-references are given (e.g. to 302.34, where Tac. *Dial.* 35.3 is cited: *cum pueri inter pueros . . . et dicant et audiantur. ipsae uero exercitationes . . .*).⁴

Third, the associative use is not a defining feature of the definite article but is possessed by demonstratives as well. The *TLL* itself (VII.2.301.66) in this context has a cross reference to VII.1.204.54f., where an identical use of *idem* is described (‘item ad notionem in superioribus involutam vel animo loquentis obversantem aut alioquin legentibus notam’). To treat *idem* as an article would be far-fetched (see above, 4.1.1). This use of *idem* is illustrated from classical writers. Again, note Cels. 5.25.4A *ubi iam bene manipellus is coctus est ibidem expressus proicitur; et cum eo umore passi par mensura miscetur*. Here there are two uses of the anaphoric demonstrative *is*. The first is an ordinary anaphoric. But the *umor* has not been mentioned, though its existence may be deduced from the context. The *TLL* too distinguishes between anaphoric uses of *is* where the referent has been previously named (VII.2.459.59f.) and those where it has not (470.26f.). The latter usage is common, from Plautus onwards through the classical period (e.g. Plaut. *Merc.* 74 *agrum se uendidisse atque ea pecunia | nauim . . . parasse*) (see also the remarks of Pinkster 1996: 146). *Is* has both the anaphoric and associative functions, and it is a demonstrative not an article. Anaphoric *ille* too need not be attached to a noun that has been itself already used; *OLD* s.v. 2 defines one of the main adjectival uses as ‘indicating a person or thing which has just been mentioned or implied’ (my emphasis), and several of the examples given are applied to a noun that has not been used in the context (e.g. Plaut. *Stich.* 679, Ovid *Pont.* 2.1.18). Note e.g. Quint. 10.3.7 *interim tamen, si feret flatus, danda sunt uela, dum nos indulgentia illa non fallat* (‘[s]ometimes, however, if the wind is behind us, we can spread our sails, so long as the favourable conditions do not lead us astray’,

⁴ It has to be said, however, that the *TLL*, under the influence of the literature on late Latin, sees here an approximation to the article: 301.66f. ‘hic usus quodam modo iam ad naturam articuli spectat’.

Russell, Loeb), where *illa indulgentia* refers back loosely to the content of the *si*-clause (see also Pinkster 1996: 148).

It follows that a use of *ipse* cannot be described as article-like merely because it happens to be attached to a noun that has not yet occurred in the context. A term with this function may be a demonstrative, and in the case of *ipse* there is as well a range of classical nuances that it might have that would rule out its being taken as an article. Every example of *ipse* that might be cited in a discussion of the development of the definite article must be assessed in context to see if it can be assigned a strong classical sense.

This last point is worth illustrating with some associative examples from Pelagonius and Anthimus.

Note e.g. Pel. 146.2:

et uesicam laedunt et meatum ipsum unguibus uulnerant (they harm the bladder and also the urethra, the urethra itself; the sense here would be conveyed by 'also', a function of *ipse* in classical Latin: see *OLD* s.v. 3, 6).

Also 89.2:

sane si pilulas decoquere nolueris, ipsa folia cupressi subsiccas (the leaves of the cypress are new to the context; previously there was mention of *pilulas cupressi* (89.1), that is the fruit of the cypress (*TLL* x.1.2143.53ff.), and *ipsa* may be taken as effecting a contrast (the leaves themselves, as distinct from the fruit). Cf. Veg. 2.131.6 *si placet pro pilulis etiam folia cupressi contusa miscere* . . . , drawing on the passage; Vegetius omits *ipsa* and replaces it with *etiam*).

And 283.1:

si uipera aut spalangio aut mus araneus momorderit, prodest terram formarum cum uino faucibus infundere aut ipsa uulnera confricare (the wounds are not referred to beforehand but are deducible from *momorderit*; however, *ipsa* is strongly contrastive: the mixture is to be poured into the jaws, or rubbed on the wounds themselves).

A striking case is at 150:

aliud ad eos qui non meiant . . . dicit enim debere de prioribus pedibus ungulas subter ipsius equi radi et teri cum uini sext. et naribus infundi.

Ipsius equi could be translated into English as 'the horse', as if *ipsius* were an associative use of an article. *Equus* is not used in the preceding context but the presence of the horse is obvious from the context. It is, however, far more likely that *ipsius* stresses identity: the hooves of the very/same horse

that is suffering, not of any horse, are to be scraped and a mixture made. This use of *ipsius equi* occurs several times in the text dependent on *stercus* (182, 256.3, 310): the horse's own dung is to be used. Of particular note is 43.1 *et ne plus iusto exanimetur, stercus ipsius iumentis fluentibus uenis admotum fasceis obligetur*. The phrase is taken from Col. 6.30.6, a classicising writer of the first century AD. In these passages *ipsius* can be given a classical meaning but is tending towards the later meaning 'the same' ('of the horse itself/of the same horse').

At 286.2 –

sane hirundinis pullos ore dissipatos locis, quibus percussus est, admoueto et ipsum nidum cum uino ueteri tritum locis ipsis impone ('move chicks of the swallow that have been cut up by the mouth to the places where (the horse) has been bitten, and put the nest itself, crushed with old wine, on the same places') –

the *nidus* has not been mentioned, but young birds must have a nest. However, *ipsum* need not be translated as an associative article. *Ipsum* is contrastive, of the nest itself, as distinct from the birds, which are also used in the treatment. With *locis* in this same passage *ipsis* could be given the meaning 'the same' (and *loca eadem* occurs several times in the work).

Liechtenhan in his index (1963: 70) lists eight instances of *ipse* in Anthimus where it 'quasi articuli uice fungitur'. At least some of those which seem to display the associative use can be given a classical sense, e.g.:

p. 9.3 certe si de perna, plus debet coqui. de cute uero ipsa nihil praesumatur (from the same passage as that cited at the start of this section, still about *laredum*: 'but if it is from the ham, it must be cooked longer. But of the skin itself nothing should be eaten'; this is a contrastive use of *ipsa* of classical type).

Note too:

p. 2.8 similiter et de potu tantum oportet adhibere, quantum cum cibis concordat. ceterum si plus praesumptum fuerit et maxime frigidus, stomachus ipse infrigidatus nihil praeualet ('similarly in the case of drink it is necessary to use only as much as is consistent with the amount of food. If more is consumed and especially if it is cold, the stomach is chilled and does not work').

The stomach has not been mentioned but is a necessary participant in the act of drinking and eating. However, there is another way of translating here: 'the stomach, itself made cold [i.e. also made cold, along with the water], does not work'.

Sometimes it does seem more attractive to translate the noun as emphatic without giving a classical meaning to *ipse*, and in such cases *ipse* does come close to an associative article (see below, 6), e.g.:

p. 32.6 *amigdolas bonas sunt; praeterea si amarioris fuerint, epaticis congrua sunt. sed in tepida missas cortex ipsa purgetur* ('almonds are good; particularly if they are bitter, they are suitable for those with liver disease, but they should be dipped in warm water and the SHELL removed').

The shell has not been mentioned, but it is a familiar part of the object. It would not make sense to suggest that the shell itself, as compared with something else, should be removed (or 'also' removed), as there is nothing else to be removed. *Cortex*, as something new but deducible from the context, seems translatable with the intonation that would make it emphatic, with *ipsa* no more than a weak marker of definiteness. We will return to the implications of this example below, 6.

An interesting instance is at Pel. 153: *rosmarinum decoque et de calida ipsa testes foueto*. The hot water has not been referred to but its presence is implied by the preceding verb. It does not seem possible to take *ipsa* in a classical sense. Vegetius (*Mul.* 2.79.21), drawing on this passage, took it as weakly anaphoric: *aliquanti rosmarinum decoquunt et ex ea calida testes fouent*.

5 Recapitulation: identifying article-like usages in a written language

Setting up a clear-cut distinction between articles and demonstratives is difficult, even in languages spoken today. It may be useful to review criteria that have been mentioned here, if only to be rejected, for identifying the definite article, and to move on from there, particularly in the next section, to some features of late uses of both *ille* and *ipse* that are suggestive of the transition from demonstrative to article.

In some languages, such as English, articles are obligatory in the absence of a fuller definite determiner (C. Lyons 1999: 52), but in other languages the definite article may be omitted if definiteness emerges from the discourse or the situation. In late Latin there are no texts in which *ipse* (or *ille*) even approaches obligatory status.

Definite articles are often anaphoric. Some languages have a definite article that is only anaphoric (C. Lyons 1999: 158). However, demonstratives too may refer back to something previously mentioned (see Lyons 1999: 54; cf. 159). In English 'the' and 'that' may be interchangeable. A use of *ipse* with anaphoric function in a late Latin text would not in itself constitute

grounds for taking *ipse* as an article, and that is to say nothing of the question whether an anaphoric instance might not have a strong meaning such as 'the same', 'the aforementioned', 'the very (one)'.

Another possible distinction between demonstratives and articles lies in their ability or otherwise to convey deixis. Demonstratives usually express deixis (C. Lyons 1999: 18–19), as for example by marking a contrast between the proximity and distance of referents. Lyons (1999: 21) remarks: 'The deictic feature typically expressed on a demonstrative plays a similar role to pointing, guiding the hearer's attention to the referent.' A set of deictic demonstratives may indicate degrees of closeness of the referent to the speaker (e.g. 'this' versus 'that' in English, *hic* versus *ille* in Latin, with a third demonstrative, *iste*, originally associating the referent with the addressee ('that of yours') but later taking on the functions of *hic*). The definite article on the other hand is deictically neutral, in that it gives no information about degrees of proximity. But for Latin this criterion is not particularly revealing as a means of identifying article-like usages. The difficulty is that Latin possesses an anaphoric demonstrative, *is* (see above, 4.1, p. 491), which is usually described as being without deixis. See e.g. Bauer (2007: 113), cited above, 4.1, p. 491; also C. Lyons (1999: 114), cited above, 4.1, p. 492, on *is* as deictically neutral. Lyons notes (114) that 'many languages have a special demonstrative for anaphoric use'. In some pieces of Latin text it is possible to find repeated instances of *is* referring back to something previously mentioned, in contexts in which an English translation might employ the definite article (above, 4.1). Traditional grammar would not, however, be inclined to treat *is* as a definite article. If Latin itself is deemed to have an anaphoric demonstrative that is not an article, then it would seem perverse to take late anaphoric examples of *ipse* as articloid merely because it might be possible to render them into English with the definite article. A better criterion is needed for assigning the term article functions.

We come to a more important criterion. According to Lyons articles are usually phonologically weak (1999: 47, 106, 116), though it is conceded that in some languages that cannot be demonstrated (see 106). The written evidence that is all we have to go on for Latin does not allow pronouncements about the phonetic weakness or otherwise of *ipse* or *ille*. However, some observations may be made about the semantic weight of *ipse* in different contexts. Definite articles are generally regarded as semantically empty as well as phonologically weak (Lyons 1999: 106, 116), and of these two features we can at least try to identify the first.

Terms meaning e.g. 'the same, the aforementioned' differ from an anaphoric definite article in a language such as English. In an English

utterance they bear their own stress. If *ipse* in a particular context may be said to be replaceable with *idem* in the strong sense 'the SAME, the VERY SAME', it is unlikely that it would have been phonologically weak in that context. In this sense it would be classifiable unambiguously as a demonstrative, not as an article. It has already been remarked (4.1.1, p. 493) that Lyons (1999: 115) observes that anaphoric demonstratives, particularly if they are normally only applied to terms mentioned immediately before, 'often serve also as the expression for "same"'. A question therefore that might be posed in relation to *ipse* is whether it ever occurs in contexts in which the strong meaning 'the same' is ruled out, and in which the intonation pattern which seems appropriate in an English rendering places stress on the noun rather than on the specifier (or both the specifier and the noun). This point might be elaborated on slightly.

In English in the sentence (1) 'pass me the HAMMER' the intonation pattern would normally show that 'hammer' is stressed and 'the' unstressed, whereas in the sentence 'pass me that hammer' there are two possible intonation patterns, both with stress on 'that': i.e. (2) 'pass me THAT hammer', where 'that' is heavily stressed and contrastive, implying the presence of more than one hammer, and (3) 'pass me THAT HAMMER', where there is not necessarily a second hammer present but 'that' is deictic, and where both terms bear their own stress. In sentences 2 and 3 we have demonstrative uses, and in 1 a definite article. If it could be shown that in late texts *ipse* or *ille* sometimes occur in contexts of type 1 and with a meaning such as 'the same' excluded, then that might be evidence that they were approaching an article function. A case of *ipse* meeting these conditions was seen in the last section in Anthimus (p. 32.6) (4.2, p. 504).

In the next section we will draw on the observations made here about the intonation pattern of expressions with an article and those with a demonstrative.

6 Some article-like uses particularly of *ille* but also of *ipse*

In Anthimus (as was seen above, 4.2) there are instances of *ipse* that might be translated as if they were articles of the associative type, but in almost every case *ipse* can be given a strong meaning, particularly one effecting a contrast. More striking are some uses of *ille* applied to nouns that have not been used in the context and are themselves contrastive and emphatic. If *ille* itself, as distinct from the noun to which it is applied, is contrastive, it must be emphatic (i.e. demonstrative), and cannot plausibly be taken to

approach an article in function. We are looking therefore for cases where it is the noun, not the specifier, that is emphatic.

It is worth beginning with an instance that looks like a promising candidate but is open to another interpretation: Anthimus p. 12.1 *nam posteriora ipsorum non praesumatur, quia grauat stomachum, quia non est illa sagina naturalis, sed adiecta* (in the context of birds that have been fattened by forced feeding). One might be tempted to translate: 'their posterior part should not be eaten, because it weighs down the stomach, because the FAT is not natural but added'. This example is (correctly) not listed by Liechtenhan among those said to resemble the definite article. Instead he has it under the heading 'cum substantiuis coniungitur, i. q. quem supra diximus', which would make it anaphoric. But since the *sagina* has not been mentioned the gloss is not appropriate. This is an associative use: in the context of the fattening of birds fat may be deduced to be present. However, there is a contrast between two types of fat, as the last clause makes clear, that which is natural and that which is added by artificial means. The sense must be 'THAT fat' (in contrast to the other sort). This is a contrastive demonstrative use and not article-like. It has the incidental interest of illustrating the fact that a demonstrative need not refer to something that has been named already, a point made above (4.2). Another feature of the passage is that it would so easily admit of an English translation – which would be wrong – that gave no emphasis to *illa*. The interpretation of individual passages is often difficult, and a slight mistranslation may lead to false ideas about the history of the transition from demonstratives to articles.

Of greater interest is Anthimus p. 17.5 *nam si in feruenti aqua missa fuerint, albumen coacolat et mediolum illut tarde sentit* ('but if they are put in boiling water, the white goes hard and the yolk takes time to feel (the heat)'). The passage is about eggs and their preparation. The white (*albumen*) and the yolk (*mediolum*) stand in a contrast in the same sentence, with each affected in a different way by excessively hot water. The latter has *illut* attached, but the yolk has not been referred to in the immediately preceding context. In English we would tend to take the white and the yolk as contrastive, with the stress on *mediolum* not *illut*, unless a reason could be found in the context for thinking that the reference was to a particular type of yolk, 'THAT yolk' rather than another (cf. above on *illa sagina*). Eggs should be put in warm or cold water and heated slowly. If they are put in boiling water the white goes hard and the yolk scarcely feels the heat. There is no demonstrative force to *illut*, unless one translates loosely as 'the yolk in that case'. That is only a remote possibility, and the demonstrative seems

well on the way to functioning as an article. Demonstratives are almost invariably stressed, whereas articles are not (C. Lyons 1999: 116), and the latter also, as was pointed out (5, p. 505), have minimal semantic content (Lyons 1999: 106). For the English definite article in a context of the above type, see the sentence discussed above, 3.1.

Also distinctive is an example at Anthimus p. 31.2: *mela bene matura in arbore, qui dulcia sunt, bona sunt; nam illa acida non sunt congrua*, 'apples that are very ripe on the tree, which are sweet, are good; but the piquant ones are not suitable'. Here *illa* is applied to an adjective, which stands in a contrast of opposites (sweet/sour). The sour apples have not been mentioned before, but are present by implication in a context dealing with apples on a tree that may be in different stages of ripeness. *Illa* is attached to the second member of the contrast (as in the previous passage). This example should be contrasted with *illa sagina* at p. 12.1. There it was the demonstrative that was contrastive, whereas here it is the adjective, nominalised. It is still possible to translate *illa* as a demonstrative ('those which are sweet are good, but those sour ones are not suitable'), but, with the emphasis on *acida* rather than *illa*, the latter is in the sort of context in which semantic weakening was likely. For this and similar examples see E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.368–9).

We have an articloid use here that can be paralleled in Greek (and Anthimus was a native speaker of Greek). See Chantraine (1963: 162): 'L'article s'est employé avec des adjectifs, particulièrement avec ceux qui marquent une distinction, une opposition.' Chantraine continues (163): 'Avec des adjectifs, l'article s'emploie pour souligner le contraste entre *grand et petit, bon et mauvais*, etc.' For the article with the second of such a contrasting pair, see Hom. *Od.* 20.310 ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια. On this usage see E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.376), calling it the 'article of contrast', and citing Plaut. *Trin.* 493 *aequo mendicus atque ille opulentissimus | censetur censu*, which is also quoted by Lindsay (1907: 46) as a usage playing 'something like' the part of the definite article of the Romance languages. On this passage see also Löfstedt (1956: 1.370–1 with 371 n. 1), referring however to an alternative interpretation from *TLL* VII.1.356.67 ('sc. qui in fabulis est', i.e. 'the well-known'); this undermines the possible significance of the example.

Similar to Anthimus p. 31.2 is p. 12.13 *nam inter diuersa bona commixta in prandio si unus cibus non congruus et crudior fuerit, illa alia bona dissipat* ('among different GOOD substances mixed in a meal, if there is *one* food that is NOT SUITABLE and too little cooked, it dissipates the *other* GOOD substances'). There is a double antithesis here, between *non congruus* and

bona (twice) on the one hand, and between *unus* and *alia* on the other, and *illa* is attached to the second member of this second opposition and nominalises the adjective. *Illā* seems to be without emphasis. On the article with ἄλλος and ἕτερος see Chantraine (1963: 162).⁵

The same usage is at *Comp. Luc.* A 31–2 *facis petala plus crosa . . . post hec facis illa alia*. Here the contrast is between the sheets that are *plus crosa* (= *grossa*) and the others, with *illa* attached to the second member.

At Anthimus p. 25.4 (*lenticula uero et ipsa bene lauata et bene elixa in aqua pura ita, ut illa prima calda fundatur et alia calda missa cum ratione, non satis*, ‘ . . . so that the FIRST lot of hot water is poured in and ANOTHER lot of hot water added with moderation, not too much’) *illa* is again used to nominalise an adjective in an antithesis (with *alia*), but here it is with the first member of the antithetical pair rather than the second. *Illā* does not seem translatable as a strong demonstrative, as *illum* might be in the phrase *illum alterum* discussed in n. 5.

There is now a suggestive non-literary letter of similar date that has turned up in one of the Visigothic slate tablets (no. 103). The text has been known since the 1940s but is now more accessible in the comprehensive edition of Velázquez Soriano (2004), who dates it to the end of the sixth century or beginning of the seventh:

[Domno] Paulo Faustinus saluto tuam
[. . .]em et rogo te domne ut comodo consu-
[etum] facere est p(er) te ipsut oliba illa quollige.
[cur?]a ut ipsos mancipios in iura{re}mento
[coger]e debeas ut tibi fraudem non fa-
[cian]t. illas cupas collige, calas
[d]e cortices et sigilla de tuo anulo et uide
[il]las tegolas cas astritas sunt de fibola quo
[m]odo ego ipsas demisi; illum Meriacium manda
[d]e Tiliata uenire ut aiate tibi . . .

5

Velázquez Soriano (2004: 366) on line 3 (also 2004: 530–1) takes these various examples of *ille* (also *ipsos*) as article-like. That is not necessarily so of line 8, where *illas tegolas cas astritas sunt de fibola* = *illas tegulas quae astrictae sunt de fibula* (‘those tiles which are fastened with a clamp’). The

⁵ E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.366–7) also quotes examples from Plautus and Sallust where *ille alter* follows *alter* or the like: e.g. *Jug.* 13.1 *Adherbalem omnisque qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant metus inuadit. in duas partes discedunt Numidae: plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores*. However, such an example in Classical Latin may well be a Grecism (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 192 on *ille alter* = ὁ ἕτερος, citing Hofmann 1926: 109 with n. 1), and in any case it is not difficult to give *illum* a strong demonstrative meaning (‘that other one’).

demonstrative use of *ille* may be picked up by a relative clause in Classical Latin (see below, 7, p. 513). In line 3 (*oliba illa quollige*) final *m* has been omitted and *oliua* is collective singular (for which usage see Col. 12.49.2 and particularly 12.51.1 *oliua nigra maturissima sereno caelo legitur*, 'black olives are gathered very ripe when the sky is clear'), as is often the case with names of plants or produce (see E. Löfstedt 1956: 1.14). Lines 2–3 may be translated: 'I ask you, master, as it has been usual for you to do – gather the olives yourself'. The olive trees of Paulus are obviously known to Faustinus, and Paulus is not instructed simply to get any olives, but definite ones knowledge of which is shared by writer and addressee. *Illa* can hardly be strongly contrastive ('THOSE olives, as distinct from others from a different source') but is surely merely a mark of definiteness. The same may be true of *illas* with *cupas* in line 6. In a short text there are thus two or three cases of *ille* which, as far as we can judge without further context, are not strongly deictic. *Ipsos* with *mancipios* may have a point (contrastive): the slaves themselves, who might have been expected to do such work, are not trustworthy. In connection with *oliba illa* it is worth quoting Ledgeway (2011: 412):

In early Romance the definite article displays considerable attenuation of its original deictic force, in that reflexes of *ILLE* and *IPSE* in their article function no longer situate a referent negatively with regard to the deictic sphere of the speech act participants (*ILLE*) or positively with regard to the deictic sphere of the addressee(s) (*IPSE*), but increasingly come to mark shared cognition between speaker(s) and addressee(s).

The problem of a text such as this is that the complete context would comprise the rest of the correspondence that the pair had exchanged, and we cannot fully judge the significance or otherwise of the various cases of *ille*. Nor can we be sure that Faustinus did not have his own stylistic tic such that he repeatedly specified nouns with a needless demonstrative. Such a tic would, however, be one factor in causing the weakening of the demonstrative. *Illa* with *oliba* looks very much like an article.

Something may now be said about *ipse*. In a previous section (4.2, p. 504) we saw a use of *ipse* in Anthimus (p. 32.6 *cortex ipsa*) that seems very similar to the uses of *ille* just discussed. In the same section (p. 502) an instance of the phrase *ipsius equi* in Pelagonius (150) was considered. There is another use of the same phrase *ipsius equi* in the same text that is worthy of note:

151.1 nam dicit cooperiri debere equum diligenter... et sic castoreo carbonibus imposito omnem uentrem et testes ipsius equi fumigari.

In this passage *equus* had been used a little earlier, and *ipsius* could only be anaphoric not associative. The semantics of the phrase are different compared with those of *ipsius equi* at 150. At 150 a substance is to be taken from the same horse, i.e. that under treatment, as distinct from another. Without *ipsius* there would be the potential for confusion, because the reader might think that the substance could be acquired from any horse. But at 151.1 urinary difficulties are being treated, and there would be no point in fumigating the belly and testicles of a horse other than that experiencing the difficulties. There would be no confusion if *ipsius* were left out, and to give *ipsius* a strong meaning, such as 'the horse itself' or 'the same horse', would at the very least be stilted. Here *ipse* seems to be empty of meaning and purely anaphoric. The source of Pelagonius here (see 4.1, p. 490) was *Mul. Chir.* 456, a passage which was used also by Vegetius at *Mul.* 2.79.16. Chiron has *totum uentrem eius et testiculos suffumigato*, and Vegetius *ut totum uentrem testiculosque eorum castorei fumus uaporet*. Both the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius have the anaphoric pronoun *is*. The comparison of the two uses of *ipsius equi* suggests that, while *ipse* is usually not genuinely articloid but rather has a classical or later demonstrative meaning (see the next section), it was capable of being weakened in a formulaic phrase that might occasionally be admitted in a context in which it was not quite appropriate.

The use of *ipse* in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* will be discussed in the next section, but one passage is worth considering in this context (19.16):

'eamus nunc ad portam, per quam ingressus est Ananias cursor cum illa epistola, quam dixeram.' cum ergo uenissemus ad portam ipsam, stans episcopus fecit orationem et legit nobis ibi ipsas epistolas et denuo benedicens nos facta est iterato oratio. (17) illud etiam retulit nobis sanctus ipse dicens, eo quod ex ea die, qua Ananias cursor per ipsam portam ingressus est cum epistolam domini, usque in praesentem diem custodiat, ne quis immundus, ne quis lugubris per ipsam portam transeat, sed nec corpus alicuius mortui eiciatur per ipsam portam.

The passage relates to a visit to the palace of King Abgar, who had had correspondence with Jesus. Egeria visits the very door through which the courier Ananias passed with the letter of Jesus. In the three sentences quoted *porta* occurs five times, in the first case unaccompanied by a demonstrative and thereafter four times with *ipsa*. It might be argued that in the first instance of *portam ipsam* the demonstrative has point and is a classical usage ('when we had come to the actual door' where this incident occurred). Egeria's readers back in the West might have been expected to feel wonder

that she had seen the very door that they had heard about in the story. It is less easy to see any point to *ipsam* in the three examples of *per ipsam portam* that follow immediately, all of them in a single sentence. *Ipse* can often in the *Peregrinatio* be given a strong meaning (see below, 7), but its use is more complex here. Whereas in a particular style of writing a term of the type 'aforementioned' might be attached to a term just mentioned, we should not expect the same specifier to be used with the same noun three times in a short sentence in which there was no possibility of ambiguity. There seems to be a difference between a sequence such as this, and one in which the same noun is qualified by a series of different specifiers, say *idem*, *ipse*, *suprascriptus* and *ille* (see above, 4.1.1, p. 496). The latter sequence could not be described as having a variety of interchangeable articles, but would be a specimen of the specifying style. In the first sequence, however, there seems to be a more mechanical use such that the strong classicising meaning is abandoned as the sequence unfolds, and that could be described as weakening. Even if we give to *ipsam* in the second phrase (*per ipsam portam*) an idea of proximal deixis supported by a gesture from the bishop ('through this particular door': for this use see below, 7.1, p. 518 on *Per. Aeth.* 13.3), it is hard to see such a nuance in the next two instances of the same phrase in the same sentence. Mechanical repetition may have been a factor in the weakening of *ipse*.

7 The *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*

There is said to be a functional distinction between *ipse* and *ille* in the *Peregrinatio*, with the first anaphoric and the second cataphoric (introducing e.g. relative clauses). This distinction is perhaps put most starkly by Nocentini (1990). The conclusion of his paper (146) about the demonstrative system in the *Peregrinatio* contains the statement that 'ILLE e IPSE si sono specializzati, il primo nella funzione cataforica, il secondo in quella anaforica' (for the figures on which this distinction is based see Nocentini 1990: 144–6). This distinction so sharply defined is misleading, as *ille* is well attested with an anaphoric function (e.g. in the first five chapters of the work nine of the thirty-two instances of *ille* are anaphoric and without a following relative construction), and *ipse* may be cataphoric (see below, 7.1, p. 515 for examples). But more importantly such a distinction tells us nothing about supposed article functions of the two terms, because demonstratives too may be anaphoric or cataphoric, and these functions alone are not defining characteristics of a definite article. Even in Classical Latin *ipse*, with its strong meanings that render it anything but an article, is mainly

anaphoric, as was pointed out earlier (see 4.1, and *TLL* VII.2.300.43ff. for about six columns of examples described as the ‘usus anaphoricus’; the ‘usus praepraeprativus’ (306.27ff.) occupies rather less space), and *ille* for its part in Classical Latin is often cataphoric (without being an article in any sense) (*TLL* VII.1.347.82ff.) as well as anaphoric (342.37ff.). *Ille*, we are told, is cataphoric in the *Peregrinatio* in that it introduces a relative clause, but in Classical Latin too the adjectival use of the demonstrative *ille* often anticipates a relative construction (*OLD* s.v. 3a). It is not so much the anaphoric or cataphoric character of demonstratives that one should be examining, as the meaning and emphasis of the terms and their associated nouns.

Details of the use of *ille* and *ipse* in the *Peregrinatio* tend to be disregarded by those seeking to make generalisations that might seem relevant to later Romance developments (notable in this respect is Faingold 1996). One should be wary of presenting as new a use that may go back to Classical Latin. For example, *ille* is sometimes used adjectivally with a noun that is new to the context, anticipating a relative clause: e.g. 5.6 *item ostenderunt torrentem illum, de quo potauit sanctus Moyses filios Israhel*, 5.7 *et illum locum, qui appellatus est Incendium, quia...*, 5.8 *et illum locum, ubi eis pluit manna*, 5.9 *ostensus est nobis et ille locus, in quo confixum <a> Moyses est primitus tabernaculum*. The definite article would be acceptable in an English translation, but there is a reference in each case to a Biblical passage, knowledge of which is assumed in the reader. The passages are well known to the author’s readers, and the use of *ille* is that classical one rendered ‘the well-known X’ or the like. *Ille* is the *vox propria* in such a context (cf. Pinkster 2005: 62 on earlier Latin), and the usage has no clear place in a discussion of the article.

It is possible that the high incidence of *ipse* with anaphoric reference represents a new development, but that would be hard to establish statistically, and again would not constitute a symptom of its acquiring an article function. It might just as well reflect the virtual equivalence of the term to *idem*, which in the repetitive style we have been looking at is regularly anaphoric.

7.1 *ipse*

It is appropriate to look in greater detail at the usage of the *Peregrinatio*. A useful starting point is the article of Fruyt (2003).

Fruyt (2003) is an exception among those who have written about demonstratives in the *Peregrinatio* in that she has considered the semantics and functions of *ipse* and not been content with classifying it simply as

anaphoric and articloid. She is not entirely alone in that but has gone into greater detail than others. A brief remark by Väänänen (1987: 51 n. 114) captures the special character of *ipse* in the text, and is worth quoting in full: 'Le *ipse* prolixe chez Egérie est un écho de l'étonnement naïf devant les lieux saints identifiés par elle, un élément de récapitulation, un moyen emphatique pour insister sur l'authenticité de son autographe'; cf. too Pinkster (1996: 144). Fruyt (2003: 102) states that in the *Pergrinatio* *ipse* is not an article or an articloid, nor is it a pure anaphoric; it is one of the means of anaphora, but is not itself 'un simple anaphorique'. She distinguishes (102–3) four uses of *ipse* in the text. One might quibble about some of the details but her approach is convincing.

The first use (a) has *ipse* in the sense 'lui-même', 'sans anaphore' (102): e.g. 33.2 *intrat episcopus intra spelunca... et accipit codicem euangelii, et stans ipse episcopus leget uerba domini*. On this interpretation there would be an implied contrast, 'the bishop himself', as distinct from someone else. *Episcopus* occurs constantly throughout the preceding description of the ceremonies, without *ipse*, at e.g. 29.3, 29.4, 30.3, 31.1 twice, 31.2, 31.4, 32.2. The absence of *ipse* in these other places and its presence here alone suggests that it has some point. There are other participants in such readings, e.g. a *presbyter* at 29.5 and the whole *populus*, and *ipse* may well have the sort of function that Fruyt suggests. This example highlights the importance of looking at the whole context, as a glance at this sentence on its own might lead one to say that *ipse* does no more than refer back to *episcopus*.

The second use (b) is translated as 'précisément' (102), and, with proximal anaphora, 'le même que précédemment': e.g. 35.2 *excepta enim ipsa die una per totum annum nunquam offeritur post crucem nisi ipsa die tantum* ('with the exception of this very day alone, during the whole year sacrifice is never offered behind the cross, except on this very day only'). This is an emphatic use of *ipse* which does not seem to differ from a classical use (see OLD s.v. 8 'Himself and no other'). *Ipse* might be described as anaphoric, but it is far from being an article.

Use (c) is said (103) to be 'sans anaphore', and to mean 'précis, exact, correspondant': e.g. 36.1 *legitur ipse locus de euangelio ubi dixit discipulis suis: uigilate, ne intretis in temptationem.* et omnis *ipse locus* perlegitur ibi et fit denuo oratio. The first instance of *ipse* is cataphoric. The *locus* is new to the context and is specified by the relative clause that follows, and the antecedent might indeed be rendered 'that precise passage where...', or 'the particular passage' (see further below, p. 514 on 11.3).

Fruyt's category (d) (103) is given the meaning 'as for'. *Ipse* is weakly contrastive and marks a change of subject (cf. OLD s.v. 3): e.g. 35.4 *lectiones*

et ymni et antiphonae aptae diei dicuntur; orationes etiam ipsae quaecumque fiunt, quas dicet episcopus, semper et diei et loco aptas dicet. See OLD s.v. 3.

Fruyt goes on to say (103) that *ipse* in the *Peregrinatio* can always be translated 'précisément', and as it is often 'en anaphore proche' (see (b)) it expresses an identity (= 'celui-là précisément dont nous venons de parler') with the referent previously denoted in the text, which might 'give the impression that *ipse* is itself anaphoric'. The bracketed gloss would make *ipse* virtually equivalent to *idem*.

Some further remarks may be added. A comparison of uses of *ipse* and *ille* in similar contexts sometimes brings out differences between them, which make it clear that they have special nuances that cannot be dismissed as merely articloid.

Note the following two passages: 3.2 *hora ergo quarta peruenimus in summitatem illam montis Dei sancti Syna, ubi data est lex* and 4.1 *cepimus iam et descendere ab ipsa summitate montis Dei, in qua ascenderamus. Illam* and *ipsa* are applied to the same noun, *summitas*, which in both sentences has the same dependent genitive, *montis*. In both sentences *summitas* (along with *illa/ipsa*) is followed by a local relative clause (and thus the anaphoric/cataphoric distinction does not apply). The similarities between the two contexts are so great that one might be tempted to equate *ille* and *ipse*. But that would be a mistake. First, the relative clause anticipated by *illam* contains a reference to a Biblical passage, and *illam* can be given the classical meaning 'the well-known'. Second, the other passage refers to descending from the summit, and there is no Biblical allusion in the relative clause, but a reference to the earlier ascent. In this context *ab ipsa summitate* can be translated 'right from the summit, from the very summit', with the emphasis on their having reached the very top. This use of *ipsa* would be classical.

Or again note 2.3 *et inde totum per mediam uallem ipsam, qua iacet in longo, rediremus* alongside 5.1 *ut per ualle illa media, qua tenditur per longum, iremus, id est illa ualle, quam superius dixi, ubi sederant filii Israhel*. The phraseology is almost identical in the two passages, except that in one *uallis* has *ipsa* and in the other *illa*. In both cases there are relative clauses following of almost identical content, and any anaphoric/cataphoric distinction again does not apply. The first passage comes after a rhetorical series of sentences stating 'this is the valley where . . . , this is the valley where . . . , this therefore is the same valley, in which . . . ' (2.2; in the last case the phraseology is *haec ergo uallis ipsa est, in cuius capite* . . . , where emphatic *ipsa* can be given the meaning 'the very' (valley) or 'the same' (valley), as it is taken by van Oorde 1929: 110 col. 2). At 2.3 above it is easy to take *ipsam* as meaning 'the same',

since there has been such a persistent identification of the valley with the site of various Biblical happenings. In the second passage it has been some time since the valley was mentioned, and Egeria uses a sequence of three relative clauses, anticipated in long-standing manner by *illa*, to bring it back to the mind of the reader.

There follow some comments on random passages, which show further that there is often a point to *ipse* and that the classification 'anaphoric' may be too imprecise.

At 10.4–6 there is the familiar rhetoric of the type 'here is the place where', repeated: *nam hic est locus, de quo . . . hic etiam locus est, ubi . . . nam ipse est locus, ubi . . . hic etiam est locus, ubi . . . hic est ipse locus, ubi . . .* In the third clause *ipse* replaces *hic* and is nominal, and not strictly relevant in the context of the article. But it is obvious that nominal *ipse* must have an immediacy to it resembling the proximal anaphora of *hic* ('this very (one)'). The passage continues (7) *cum uenissemus in eodem campo, peraccessimus ad locum ipsum*. The phrase *ad locum ipsum* cannot possibly mean in such a context 'to the place'. It is not weakly anaphoric but picks up the rhetoric that has preceded: 'proceeded to the very spot' (so Wilkinson 1971: 105).

At 11.3 (*cum illis sanctis clericis et monachis . . . perexiuius ad montem. multi autem et ex ipsis monachis sanctis, qui ibi commanebant iuxta aqua ipsa, . . . dignati sunt nobiscum ascendere montem Nabau*) there are two groups of monks distinguished. The first group (with *illis*, picked up by a relative clause not quoted here) is accompanying Egeria. The second consists of those who live in the place which they have now reached. *Ipsis* is not anaphoric, as this group are new to the context, but cataphoric, with a relative clause following ('many also of the particular monks who lived there . . .'). *Ipsis* is contrastive, with a meaning like that of English 'particular' (see above on Fruyt's use (c), and further below). In the phrase *iuxta aqua ipsa* in the same sentence the demonstrative conveys the idea 'right by the water'.

At 12.1 (*peruenimus ergo ad summitatem montis illius, ubi est nunc ecclesia non grandis in ipsa summitate montis Nabau*) it would not be appropriate to say that *ipsa* is merely anaphoric. The church is 'right on the summit', 'on the very summit' (cf. 4.1, discussed above). For this use of *ipse* see also 15.6 *qui ibi monasteria habebant in ipso horto pomario* 'right in the fruit garden'. The writer's obsessive desire to make things clear incidentally manifests itself at 12.1 just quoted in the naming of the mountain again at the end of the sentence. It is named twice in the last sentences of the previous chapter, and here either *Nabau* or the whole phrase *montis Nabau* could be left out without causing any problem of interpretation. This repetitiveness is

a stylistic tic of the author, which we should keep in mind in interpreting her repetitions of *ipse*: do they reveal the state of the language in general at this time, or merely a naïve and idiosyncratic style?

The nuance seen in *ex ipsis (monachis)* in the last paragraph but one seems to be identifiable elsewhere. Note 7.7–8 *Heroum autem ciuitas, quae fuit illo tempore . . . nunc est come, sed grandis, quod nos dicimus uicus. nam ipse uicus ecclesiam habet et martyria et monasteria plurima sanctorum monachorum . . .* (8) *nam ipse uicus nunc appellatur Hero*. The second sentence explains *grandis*, it seems (it is a village, but big, as containing a church, memorials to martyrs and many monasteries), which suggests that *ipse* is emphatic and marks a contrast (with other *uici*). The sense seems to be ‘this particular *uicus*’. Egeria then uses *ipse uicus* a second time in what looks like a mechanical way. This example is reminiscent of the passage discussed earlier (6) where *ipsa porta* was first used in a manner that gave point to *ipsa*, and then the phrase was repeated several times without obvious point to *ipsa*. It is only in isolated contexts such as this that *ipse* shows weakening.

At 10.4 (*quae est in eo campo, in quo tunc filii Israhel castra fixerant. nam et fundamenta de castris . . . in eo loco in hodie parent. campus enim ipse est . . .*) the last phrase indicates the plain itself, marking a contrast with or transition from the ruins.

Another contrastive use is at 20.8 *in ipsa autem ciuitatem*. In the city Egeria found not a single Christian. This phrase has to be contrasted with 20.5 *nam ecclesia, quam dixi foras ciuitatem*, where we learn that there was a Christian church outside the city. The meaning is ‘in the city itself’, as distinct from outside. Pétré (1948) translates as if *ipsa* were an article (‘dans la ville’).

A more complex contrastive use is at 12.7. Here they reach a place where the stele (*titulus*) of the wife of Lot was. But, Egeria tells us, *columna ipsa iam non paret, locus autem ipse tantum ostenditur*, ‘but the actual column can no longer be seen, but only the place itself is pointed out’ (the particular place). The translation of Wilkinson (1971: 107) is along these lines. It would be possible to use a definite article in English, and to render thus, with the semantic weight on the contrasting nouns: ‘The COLUMN can no longer be seen, but the PLACE only is pointed out’. If this translation were accepted *ipsa* and *ipse* would indeed be articloid, but such a translation is not obligatory because it is a straightforward matter to give both terms classical nuances (as above). The passage then switches back to the column: *columna autem ipsa dicitur mari mortuo fuisse cooperta*, ‘as for the column’ (so Pétré 1948, ‘quant à la colonne’), which is Fruyt’s meaning (d) (Wilkinson however translates ‘the pillar itself’). Then when

the contrast is over Egeria twice uses the demonstrative *ille* with anaphora, 12.7 *a quo non pareret columna illa . . . ubi stetit columna illa*. The two translations just given bring out a crucial criterion in identifying an article use of an original demonstrative. If we could find a contrast between two nouns as in the second rendering, at least one of them accompanied by *ille* or *ipse*, in a context in which a classical meaning could be ruled out for the demonstrative, then it might be maintained that the demonstrative had become articloid (see above, 6 on this point).

At 20.3 there are cases of *ipse* that can only mean 'same': *nam duxit nos statim ad ecclesiam, quae est foras ciuitatem in eo loco, ubi fuit domus sancti Abrahae, id est in ipsis fundamentis et de ipso lapide, ut tamen dicebat sanctus episcopus*. The church is where the house of Abraham was, and is built on the same foundations and from the same stone. Neither instance is anaphoric, a point worth stressing, given the tendency in the literature for *ipse* to be categorised in this text as anaphoric.

Finally, at 13.3 (*in medio loco est monticulus non satis grandis . . . ibi ergo in summo ecclesia est et deorsum per girum ipsius colliculi parent fundamenta*), the *colliculus* is identical to the *monticulus*, with lexical variation that is unusual in Egeria's style. If there were no demonstrative there would have been an ambiguity, given the change of term, such that the author might have been suggesting the presence of a second hill. *Ipsius* must mean something like 'this particular, the same'. In the next section in direct speech we find *in isto colliculo*, where *isto*, as several times in speeches in the work, is used for *hic*, and it would seem that *ipsius* had much the same function.

Enough has been said to show that, while *ipse* is often (but not always) anaphoric, it has a range of nuances, often of classical type, that usually make it quite unlike an article. Occasionally it occurs in a phrase that is repeated mechanically with *ipse* losing its point, and in such contexts there is a weakening of sorts. It would be an immense task to analyse every example of *ipse* in context, but a proper account of the emergence of the definite article would require such an analysis.

Abel's (1971) discussion of *ipse* in the Latin Bible translations is relevant to the *Peregrinatio*. He observes (1971: 148) that in the Latin Bible when *ipse* is employed adjectivally (translating a Greek demonstrative adjective) it usually keeps its classical functions. For example, applied to personal names it stresses the individuality of the person. Only very rarely is *ipse* used to translate a definite article (Abel 1971: 149): its use with that function alongside *ille* seems 'almost negligible'. For further observations on classical uses of the term in the Bible see Abel (1971: 150–1). However, sometimes (rarely) it seems weakened and to be a mere anaphoric (1971: 151–2). We thus

have a predominating classical use but with occasional weakening, which replicates the practice of the *Peregrinatio*. It is also clear that the translators or most of them did not think of the term as an article-equivalent.

7.2 ille

One of the functions of a definite article is to nominalise adjectives and also e.g. infinitives (see C. Lyons 1999: 60). We have seen above (6) *ille* with that function in Anthimus. There are also cases in the *Peregrinatio* where *ille* stands with a substantivised adjective, particularly but not only *sancti*. Note first e.g. 3.7 *posteaquam priores illas fregerat*. For *sancti* see e.g. 3.6–4.2 *statim sancti monachi pro diligentia sua arbusculas ponunt* . . . (7) *posteaquam communicaueramus et dederant nobis eulogias sancti illi* . . . *tunc statim illi sancti dignati sunt singula ostendere* . . . (8) *quae tamen singula nobis illi sancti demonstrabant* . . . (4.2) *sicut et illi sancti singula nobis ostendere dignabantur*. However, the fact that *ille* is used along with a nominalised adjective does not make it an article, because a demonstrative can be used in the same way. *Ille* is used with nominalised adjectives in Classical Latin, including Cicero (see e.g. *Att.* 7.1.4, cited by Wolterstorff 1920: 66).

The status of the word with an adjective, whether demonstrative or article-like, depends on the emphasis of the phrase in which it occurs. It was seen above (5) that in the sentence ‘pass me the hammer’ the normal intonation pattern in English would show ‘hammer’ emphatic and the article phonetically weak (‘pass me the HAMMER’), and that phonetic weakness is a distinguishing feature of the article. On the other hand it was noted that in the sentence ‘pass me that hammer’ there are two possible intonation patterns, both of which give a deictic, even contrastive, force to ‘that’, thereby making it clear that the term is a demonstrative (‘pass me THAT hammer’ or ‘pass me THAT HAMMER’). In the latter case the utterance might be accompanied by pointing, and there need not be another hammer present; ‘that’ is however deictic. It was further observed that in a passage of Anthimus containing a nominalised adjective along with *ille* (*illa acida*) the adjective is explicitly contrastive in the context, and *illa* semantically weak (= ‘the SOUR ones, as distinct from the SWEET’) and appears article-like. The question may be asked whether in the phrase *illi sancti*, *sancti* may bear the semantic weight like *acida* above. That might be the case if *sancti* were being contrasted with men who were not holy or were overtly secular. But that is not the point of the phrase. If there is an implicit contrast at all, it is not between HOLY and NON-HOLY men, but between THOSE holy men and others. Egeria constantly meets monks

who are described as *sancti*, and one group of *sancti* follows on another. If *illi sancti* is to be put into one of the three categories into which the sentences with 'hammer' were divided, it would most closely correspond to 'THAT HAMMER': 'we met some holy monks. Later those holy men took us to see. . . ' *Illi* is demonstrative, though not strongly contrastive.

It is not suggested here that a nominalised adjective has to be contrastive (in, say, English) to be accompanied by an article. What is suggested is that in the non-living language Latin, in the history of which certain demonstratives were reinterpreted as definite articles, phrases in which a nominalised adjective is strongly contrastive and an attached demonstrative not contrastive or obviously deictic at all provide us with an indication that weakening of the demonstrative was in progress.

8 The *Mulomedicina Chironis*

Another text that makes use of *ipse* attached to a noun previously used is the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (see above, 4.1). But here too one must resist the temptation to classify all such examples as articloid without considering the function of the term, which may be classical.

Note for example 323 *lingua eius procadet foras, et eis similiter caput et oculi tument, et obturatur eius gula et ipsa arteria faucium, et nec manducare potest nec bibere nec se extendere*, where the Greek original taken out of context might prompt a misinterpretation. This passage comes from Apsyrtus *Hipp. Ber.* 19.1, *CHG* I, p. 94.1–4. All five anatomical terms in the Greek are accompanied by the definite article. Chiron has *ipsa* only with the last, and it cannot therefore be an attempt to reproduce the Greek article of the source. It can be assigned an emphatic Latinate use, deliberately used with the final member of the list in a climax ('and the *arteria faucium* itself, the very *a. f.*').

At 81 an eye affliction called *terrigium* (< πτερύγιον, of a membrane growing over the eye) is introduced and the term is then twice qualified with *ipsum*: *terrigia quae uocantur. . . et acum suptus ipsum terrigium traicies cum lino tenuissimo et suspendes ipsum terrigium*. The demonstrative is not merely anaphoric. It stresses precision: the needle is to be passed right/exactly under the *terrigium*. Compare 82 *in ipso angulo oculi*, 'right at/exactly at the corner of the eye'. This use of *ipse* abounds in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, particularly with anatomical terms. Cf. 21 *ad ipsam diuisuram geminarum*, 74 *in ipso albumine. . . quod est ab ipsa fronte*, 79 *ipsa orbe nigredinis*, 83 *in ipsa palpebra oculi*, 492 *ures eum in ipso uertibulo*.

At 72–3 (*est et spissa colore oleagino mucco similis: curabilis est haec. quam ab ipso colore supra scripto intelligens eam maturam*) we have again the anaphoric *suprascriptus*, accompanied by *ipse*, which may either mean ‘the same’, or ‘the exact/precise’.

We have seen often that there is a tradition of comparing passages of Vegetius’ *Mulomedicina* with passages of his main source the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and identifying thereby ‘vulgarisms’ that Vegetius has eliminated. *Ipse* has been discussed along these lines. Grevander (1926: 25–6) deals with Vegetius’ treatment of *ipse* when he found it in the source: it is sometimes dropped. Grevander states (25) that *ipse* is often so ‘weak’ in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* that it functions as a definite article. Its deletion by the purist Vegetius might then be taken as evidence that the article use was substandard and had a wider currency in non-literary Latin than in the literary language. Such an argument would not, however, be supported by the evidence. The indications are that Vegetius was bothered not by a vulgar use of *ipse* with article function, but by the specifying or repetitive style adopted by the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and other technical texts. It is undue specification in general, not merely a use of *ipse*, that he gets rid of, and that is to say nothing yet of Grevander’s claim that there are article uses of *ipse* in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a claim to which we will revert below.

It has already been seen in this chapter that Vegetius rewrites to remove repetitive elements quite apart from *ipse*. Several passages of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* were pointed out where there were redundant uses of *idem* eliminated by Vegetius (see 4.1.1, p. 496). We also saw (4.1.1, p. 499) a manifestation of the repetitive style that had both *idem* and a repetition of the antecedent in a relative clause, and these features were rejected by Vegetius.

Further evidence of Vegetius’ resistance to unnecessary specification is easy to cite.

For example, at *Mul. Chir.* 312–14 there is a string of cases of *morbus*, all of them qualified by *hic*: *hic est morbus . . . hic morbus . . . huic enim morbo . . . huius morbi . . . morbi huius*. Vegetius takes this passage over at 2.87 and eliminates the repetitions. At 2.87.1 he uses the expression *quem morbum*, which is varied at the start of the next sentence (*est autem nequissima passio*); the same section also has *ex hac passione*. Later in the chapter (5) he writes: *sed quia plerumque huius aegritudinis pestilentia transit in proximos*. *Morbus* is used only once, and *hic* applied to a term for ‘disease’ only twice.

Grevander (1926: 25–6) cites ten passages of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* supposedly containing article uses of *ipse* removed by Vegetius. However,

these are not article uses at all but can be given classical meanings. In a number of cases *ipse* accompanies an anatomical term, as in the examples cited earlier in this section, and imparts precision. For example, at 418 the source has: *manum unctam in anum mittis et stercora excutito. deinde salem et mel in ipso foramine stentini immittito*. Vegetius (2.123.1) writes: *manum unctam in anum mittes et stercus exhauries. deinde sal et mel misces et in anum infundes*. The first sentences of each passage are almost identical. In the second sentence the *Mulomedicina Chironis* is more precise, specifying that the substances should be put ‘at the very opening of the bowel’, whereas Vegetius merely refers to the anus. It is unacceptable to impose on *ipso* an article function here; it is classical in function.

9 Conclusions

The frequent use in a text of *ipse* attached to a noun that has just occurred (i.e. an anaphoric use), or of *ille* as either anaphoric or anticipating a relative clause, does not make either of them an article or even articloid. Demonstratives too are often anaphoric, and *ille* may introduce relative clauses in Classical Latin.

An additional difficulty for those who would see articloid uses widely spread in late texts is that *ipse* in particular has a range of semantic nuances in Classical as well as later Latin that are hard to pin down, and contexts must be examined closely to see if a use may be semantically motivated rather than emptily anaphoric. Pinkster (1996: 144) well remarks that the ‘addition of *ipse* is possible in so many circumstances that it is difficult to distinguish excessive usage from “abnormal” unclassical usage’. Fruyt (2003) made a determined effort to examine *ipse* in the *Peregrinatio* in its contexts. In effect she rejected claims that have been advanced particularly in the literature on early Romance for its article character. We looked at a few passages from the *Peregrinatio* (and some other works) above and pointed out nuances that the term has that distinguish it from an article.

Another shortcoming of the recent linguistic literature is that no attention is paid to the conventions of certain prose genres that make use of redundant specification of sequences of nouns. This redundancy goes back to early Latin and is just one element of the *copia dicendi* that is a feature of laws and technical treatises. The writers of such texts keep the topic of their recommendations and descriptions before the reader, eliminating any possibility of misunderstanding, with specifiers such as ‘the same’, ‘the aforementioned’, ‘the very’, ‘that’ attached to recurrent nouns. If a term such as *spongia* is followed soon afterwards by *eadem sponsia*, we should not

see *eadem* as weak or equivalent to a definite article of English or another modern language (or indeed as itself an article, a notion which does indeed turn up in the Latin grammatical literature), but as intended literally ('the same sponge', a phrase that rules out a change of sponge). If *ipsa* were substituted the implication would be the same, = 'the very sponge (just mentioned)', even 'the same sponge' (*ipse* = *idem* is well established in later Latin). To modern tastes *eadem* or *ipsa* might seem redundant and candidates for the label 'articloid', but in Latin they belong to an old, deliberately repetitive, style, a style that also influenced (in this and other ways) the author of the *Peregrinatio*. She clearly wanted to stress to her colleagues at home the wonder of seeing the very sites mentioned in the Bible, and that is another determinant of the frequency of *ipse*.

It follows that if article-like uses of *ipse* (and *ille*) are to be identified in Latin, better criteria need to be found than apparent redundancy.

Despite the doctrine that *ipse* is better attested in late texts as an article-equivalent or articloid than *ille* (a doctrine that has been regarded as problematic, given that it was mainly *ille* that produced the Romance definite article), it has turned out here to be as easy or easier to find instances of *ille* that seem to be weakened and unlike demonstrative uses. These are mainly very late, in texts of the sixth century or beyond, such as Anthimus. In identifying article-like uses we have started from the observation (discussed by C. Lyons 1999) that definite articles are often phonologically weak. It is unreasonable to pronounce on the phonological weakness or otherwise of (original) demonstratives in a dead language such as Latin, but an analysis of terms such as *ille* and *ipse* may allow the identification of uses that are at least semantically weak.

Demonstratives (with deixis) are often contrastive (with another demonstrative, explicitly or implicitly), and thereby by definition emphatic (with emphasis marked in English by intonation). Two nouns may be contrastive yet accompanied by demonstratives that themselves form a contrast of deixis ('you take THAT briefcase and I will take THIS sack'). On the other hand there may be a strong contrast between two nouns where deixis does not come into it and in English definiteness is marked only by the definite article ('the yolk and the white have different nutritional properties'). For the most part demonstratives would be inappropriate in such a sentence, unless specific exemplars of yolks and whites were before the hearer and the speaker were pointing to individual specimens. In a Latin sentence in which the white and the yolk were contrasted and one of the terms was accompanied by *ille* (as in *albumen et illud mediolum*) it would be difficult to justify a full demonstrative sense for *ille* unless

individualistic circumstances were imagined (as for example if there were more yolks than one on a plate and one was singled out). In a general sentence, like the one in Anthimus, where there were no such circumstances and the yolk in general was being contrasted with the white, *ille* would be decidedly weak and article-like. However, in the material we have looked at we find in such contexts just one demonstrative rather than one with each of the contrasting nouns. Therefore such uses are only part of the way along the route to an obligatory article. We also found traces in Anthimus of *ipse* used in the same sort of context (at p. 32.6: see above, 4.2, p. 504).

Otherwise the articloid characteristics of *ipse*, such as they are, are different. We have noted a few passages in which *ipse* is first used in a phrase in which it has point, and then the phrase is repeated such that the demonstrative fails to maintain its point (see 6, p. 511 on *ipsa porta* in the *Peregrinatio*). The phrase has been extended beyond its proper context (cf. *ipsius equi* in Pelagonius (6, p. 510)), and that extension arguably causes a weakening of the demonstrative.

What are some of the factors that contributed to the development of definite articles in the transition from Latin to Romance? First, mechanical repetitions of the type just noted in the *Peregrinatio* must have played a part. Second, we saw (above, 2) a special context in Classical Latin in which *ille* was subject to weakening. Third, there is the question of Greek influence. It was noted (2) that in the earlier period imitations of the Greek article were a feature of the high literary language, which did not necessarily influence the language in all its social varieties. It is possible, but would be difficult to prove, that at a much later period, when large numbers of Greek speakers all over the Empire were acquiring Latin, article uses were imported by them into their second language. Anthimus was a Greek, and one of his 'article' uses (whereby a demonstrative is attached to one of two terms standing in antithesis) had a long history in Greek (the 'contrastive article'). Fourth, even in native speakers' Latin antitheses might have played a part in the weakening of demonstratives. We saw at 7.1, p. 517 a passage of the *Peregrinatio* (12.7) where Egeria contrasted the pillar of Lot (*columna ipsa*), which was no longer visible, with the site itself (*locus ipse*), which could still be seen. Some point in the context can be given to *ipse* and *ipsa* (see p. 517), but it is easy to see how the primary contrast might have been taken to be that between *columna* and *locus*. When there is a marked antithesis between two nouns, deictics that might be present as well could be prone to weakening, and it is in just such contexts that we observed article-like instances of *ille* (6).

Another factor (subject inversion and its consequences) has recently been proposed by Hannah Rosén (1996), which it is worth dwelling on. Rosén (1996: 141–6) finds a new development in the *Confessions* of Augustine, which she believes shows the emergence of the definite article by about the fourth century (see 145, quoted below, on this chronology). Her discussion has to do with definite subjects of a sentence. It is first submitted (135) that initial position in the sentence may in itself in Classical Latin mark definiteness, including definiteness of a subject. It is then suggested that when ‘the preferred constituent order S-O becomes disrupted’ (141), *ille* may fill in ‘in order to mark definiteness of non-initial subjects’ (141). It is stated (141) that *ille* fulfils ‘exactly that role’ in Augustine, ‘while earlier literary sources did not exhibit this use’. In particular it is proposed that when there is so-called subject inversion (on which, and its determinants, see 141) *ille* is attached to the subject to mark definiteness. The appearance of this pattern in Augustine leads to the following conclusion (145): ‘we venture to conclude that the date of the emergence of the definite article in Latin may be pushed backward, much earlier than the *communis opinio* has it, to the fourth century’.

Rosén’s own description of this function of the demonstrative is set out at 143:

If inversion takes place, a definite subject, unless inherently determined (as is often the case), is accompanied by demonstrative pronouns, with a considerable number of occurrences of demonstrably diminished demonstrative force (my emphasis).

Some statistics are given (142–3), but very few examples are cited (143), and these are not discussed in context. Ideally one would want to see a list of inverted subjects that do not have a demonstrative attached, alongside a list of those that do, and in the case of the latter a discussion with contextual analysis of the extent to which they have, or do not have, full demonstrative force. This last requirement is crucial (see the highlighted part of the quotation above). It is by no means clear that a demonstrative with this role would lose its demonstrative force, and one would like to see the diminution referred to clearly demonstrated. One of Rosén’s few examples may be cited.

It is stated (143) that the demonstratives used thus are mostly not anaphoric, and *Conf.* 1.18 is quoted in part: *sed quot et quanti fluctus inpendere temptationum post pueritiam uidebantur, nouerat eos iam illa mater et terram per eos, unde postea formarer, quam ipsam iam effigiem committere uolebat*. It is not true to say that *illa* is not anaphoric. Augustine’s

mother, who encouraged him towards Christianity, is referred to repeatedly in the previous section (17 *ab utero matris meae . . . a pietate matris meae . . . mater carnis meae . . . maternae pietatis*), where there is moreover a contrast between two different mothers, his natural one, and 'the mother of all of us, your Church'. *Illa mater* does not mean 'the mother', but 'that mother of mine', allusively, of his natural mother.

Rosén's generalisation about the emergence of a definite article in the fourth century is not convincing on the strength of such a presentation of the evidence. A far larger corpus would have to be discussed, and in detail.

It must be concluded that the Latin evidence does not have much to tell us about the emergence of the definite article. Even if it is possible to find some instances of the redundant marking of definiteness by *ille* or *ipse* (perhaps most notably in Anthimus, who was not a native speaker of Latin), the 'most remarkable thing is that marking definiteness became obligatory and that the Romance languages adopted *ille* and *ipse* instead of the already available *is*' (Pinkster 1996: 146). There is no sign of the obligatory use of *ille* or *ipse* in our texts. It is incidentally less remarkable that the Romance languages did not come to employ *is*, because this phonetically weak demonstrative was receding before *ille* from an early period.

And what of the article and social variation? Grevander's (1926) attempt to show that an article-like use of *ipse* was dropped by Vegetius from passages he took over from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* does not establish that there was an article use that was considered substandard at the time. The uses of *ille* eliminated by Vegetius were not articloid at all, but classical, and what Vegetius was reacting against was the specifying style of technical works. The *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, which has often been treated as the archetypal low-register text, does have more uses particularly of *ipse* than many contemporary high-style texts such as (e.g.) the letters and *Vitae* of Jerome or the works of Lactantius and Ammianus, but there is no reason for seeing the uses of the demonstrative as a reflection specifically of lower sociolects. *Ipse* is overused, but mainly in classical ways, and is just one feature of the author's naïve repetitiveness. Non-literary texts have until recently had no light to throw on the question whether lower sociolects were ahead of educated varieties in acquiring an article-like usage, because those extant had no relevant uses. We did however discuss (6, p. 509) a low-register Visigothic slate tablet in the form of a non-standard letter (marked for example by a number of uses of the preposition *de* where a plain case might have been used in Classical Latin), in which there is an accumulation of examples of *ille* that seem deictically weak, and it is possible that here,

in the late sixth or early seventh century, we have a glimpse of something approaching speech down the social/educational scale. Anthimus' Latin too is notably substandard, though there is admittedly the problem of his Greekness. He might have picked up from speech a current stigmatised use of *ille*, and perhaps of *ipse*. The chronology of the emergence of this use remains obscure, but there are at least hints in the texts just mentioned that there was more going on beneath the surface than meets the eye. Sixth-century literary texts, such as the works of Gregory the Great, do not exemplify such usages.

One has to wait for some time before *ille* starts to appear in some sentences in written texts both in a weakened use and with near-obligatory status, but that is a story that belongs far beyond the scope of this book. B. Löfstedt (1961: 267), Calboli (1990c: 76, 1992: 44) and Stotz (1998: 288) cite the following from the *Regula* of Chrodegang of Metz (eighth century): 29, p. 19.35–8 *illas cappas et illos sarciles et illa calciamenta de illos teloneus superius nominatos . . . et de illo calciatico, quod ille episcopus . . . ad illum clerum reddere consuevit*.⁶ Stotz also quotes *Cartul. capit. Agath.* 330, p. 293 (AD 956) *ipse iudex interrogauit ipsum episcopum et canonicos . . . si habebant ipsam scripturam. et ipsi responderunt . . .*

⁶ Contrast, however, E. Löfstedt (1956: 1.373), and see also Sornicola (2009: 39).

Suffixation (mainly adjectival) and non-standard Latin

1 Introduction: some questions about suffixation

Latin was well supplied with suffixes, particularly adjectival and nominal. These have been classified in detail by Leumann (1977). There is a résumé with an eye to Romance developments in Väänänen (1981a: 84–92). Langslow (2000: Chapter 5) deals specifically with medical Latin, but his discussion of numerous suffixes and their relationships goes beyond the medical genre. Adams (1995b: 519–41) is about suffixation mainly in veterinary texts. Olcott (1898) offers a collection of material from inscriptions. There is wide-ranging discussion of Latin suffixes and their survival in Romance (Italian) by Rohlfs (1969a: 362–462) and Bauer (2011). Many others have commented on the topic, not always with illumination, and the opinions of some of these will be quoted in the following pages. This chapter will concentrate mainly on adjectival suffixes, which are particularly rich in their variety, and provide a representative sample on which to base discussion of the motivations of suffixation and possible social variation.

It is the assumption of this chapter that suffixes or suffixal derivatives may be classified in two main ways, according to their functions or meanings, and according to their structures. Different suffixes have different meanings, and may be attached to different bases (adjectival, nominal, verbal, for example). There is, however, also a widespread opinion that some suffixes are classifiable according to their stylistic or social level. It is held that certain suffixes belonged to such entities as *sermo plebeius*, *sermo rusticus*, vulgar or popular Latin, and so on. This is an idea associated with Cooper (1895), the title of whose book, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, makes his viewpoint clear. He lists in the contents about forty nominal and adjectival suffixes, almost indeed the full range of the suffixes of these two types possessed by the language, as if they characterised *sermo plebeius* rather than Latin in general. He states in the preface (xlii) that ‘plebeian Latin differed in its vocabulary from the literary language,

not alone in the extent to which it permitted neologisms, but especially in its inordinate love for ponderous derivatives and compounds'. There follows a list of nominal and adjectival suffixes with which this variety of the language 'was burdened', all of which in reality have literary credentials. A little later (xlii–xliii) Cooper explains the determinants of plebeian word formation. There was an 'effort to conceal, by an exaggerated and bombastic diction, the lack of dignity and poverty of thought which characterize the popular mind'. Cooper had odd notions of what constituted plebeian or rustic Latin. Writers on architecture or medicine, for example, belong among those 'whose attainments were too meagre to enable them to write correctly, however much they wanted to, and their works naturally contained a strong coloring of plebeian vocabulary' (xxxv). Into this class fall the classicising purist Celsus, whose work 'owes considerable to plebeian Word-Formation' (xxxix), and Vitruvius, who is 'distinctly vulgar' (xxxix). On the other hand for '*sermo rusticus* we have Columella' (xxxix), who into the bargain is a Spaniard and therefore uses vocabulary with 'an archaic tone' (for the attitude here see Adams 2007: 372–4). Columella's word formation is assumed to be rustic merely because he wrote on rural subjects. Cooper was receptive to contemporary ideas about African Latin (see 1895: xxvi), and he raises the question of the relationship between rustic Latin and African Latin (123).

Cooper has been influential down to the present day. Karakasis (2005: 29–35) has a survey of suffixation in Latin comedy that displays the attitudes of Cooper, who is cited several times. For example, Karakasis states (2005: 30) that adjectives in *-inus*, derived from the names of animals, 'are very common in the *sermo plebeius*', and adds that they abound in 'agricultural writers' (alluding perhaps to the view that agricultural writers use rustic Latin, which was related to plebeian). Cooper too (1895: 139) connects *-inus* with *sermo plebeius*. But the suffix *-inus* was the standard one in any variety of the language for forming an adjective based on the name of an animal (*aquilinus*, *catulinus*, *ceruinus*, *equinus*, *haedinus*, *uerrinus*, etc.: see Leumann 1977: 326, Kircher-Durand 2002b: 138–9), and if such formations are common in agricultural writers that is because animals come up in such texts. It is also misleading to state that 'a majority of the adjectives of this termination are derived from the names of animals' (Karakasis 2005: 30). Leumann (1977: 326–7) lists various types, mainly with a place in high-register Latin (not least those types based on names and place names).

It is a question that must be considered here whether any suffix can be categorised in blanket terms as 'colloquial, vulgar, rustic' or the like, but in addressing this question the classifications of Cooper must be disregarded.

It would be a different matter to assert that a particular member of a suffixal class, say an adjective in *-osus* such as *bibosus*, was substandard (see below, II.I.4). That if true might be the consequence of an individual lexical history, not of the character of the suffix as such. Much of the substandard material that will come up in this section is of this type. It will be shown that it is difficult (but not impossible) to find suffixes that inherently belong to lower social varieties.

It is easy to find statements about suffixation that are in line with the views of Cooper (some others will come up later), but not all scholars have been so injudicious. Leumann's (1977) immensely detailed classification of the functions and structure of the numerous nominal/adjectival suffixes is exemplary. Väänänen (1981a: 84) was familiar with the diversity of the suffixal functions, remarking that suffixes are characterised by variations that escape narrow definitions. He concentrates on the most productive types, and refrains from sociolinguistic generalisations intended to capture the social level of a whole formation. He says of *-osus* (1981a: 88), 'suffixe de grande popularité, panroman', a statement that is perfectly acceptable, provided that 'popularity' is not intended in the narrow sense of 'used only by the common people'. There is a difference between a suffix that might be vulgar in this latter sense, and one that is popular or productive across the social spectrum, and there is little doubt that the latter is what was meant. Langslow (2000: 340), also commenting on *-osus*, was similarly to the point: 'But Ernout is quite rightly against characterizing words in *-osus* as a whole as belonging to a single register of Latin, "poetic", "Vulgar", or whatever.' He quotes Ernout (1949: 81): 'en réalité, elles se trouvent à tous les degrés de la prose et de la poésie'.

It would be pointless to go through suffixes one by one, as if the typology of Leumann did not exist. This chapter will deal with many types, but selectively, and always with the aims of the book in mind. In the literature on suffixation and Vulgar Latin certain themes may be identified, and it is appropriate to begin with a list of questions.

(1) The most obvious question has been alluded to. Are there suffixes, or uses of suffixes, which there is reason to believe the educated would have treated as stigmatised? A number of the other questions that may be put are subdivisions of or variations on this question.

(2) The division between a root and suffix is sometimes reanalysed and a new suffix created. *Hamburger*, for example, was analysed *Ham-burger* instead of *Hamburg-er*, and the element *-burger* has become productive. To what extent does this phenomenon take place in Latin, and is there any evidence that resultant suffixes characterised lower sociolects?

(3) Sometimes two or more suffixes (particularly adjectival) seem to interchange, such that for example the usual suffix attached to a root is replaced, to all appearances haphazardly, by another. Is such interchange merely unmotivated? Are there circumstances which favour it? Are replacement forms ever stigmatised?

(4) Among adjectives there is a phenomenon that may be called multiple or double suffixation, whereby one suffix is added to another (or to an existing adjective) without necessarily changing the sense, other than perhaps by intensifying the term (e.g. Plautus' *pedit-ast-ellus* at *Mil.* 54, a double contemptuous formation).¹ Another Plautine instance is *cist-ell-ula* (e.g. *Amph.* 773); both *cistula* and *cistella* are also in Plautus. Sometimes a single suffix seems to be used twice, as in forms ending *-ararius*. Frequently the suffix that is added to an adjective bears the stress, which in the base form had been on the root (*rústicus* > *rustic-ánus*). It seems intuitively obvious that when one suffix is added to another the second will add a nuance not possessed by the base form. But are there 'augmented' or (in the terminology of Cooper) 'ponderous' forms that have no other *raison d'être* than their length? Were there registers, social varieties or periods of the language in which augmented forms without any semantic justification were favoured? If it is possible to identify forms with an empty second element, had that element always been empty of meaning or had the word been modified in meaning over time? Was suffixal redundancy a marker of low social dialects?

(5) Suffixes may be extended in function or attached to types of roots from which they were previously excluded. *-osus*, for example, is predominantly a suffix joined to nominal bases, but it is also attested with adjectival (*canosus*) or even verbal (*bibosus*) roots (4.3.6, II.1.2; II.1.4). Some formations of these latter types have been castigated in the literature as 'improper, illicit' or the like, and their abnormal structure used as the basis of a judgment that they were plebeian, vulgar and so on. Is there any justification for judgments of this type?

¹ There are other instances of *-aster* + *-ellus*, and not all with the suffixes in the same order. For *nouellaster* 'rather new' (so Souter 1949) see *Marc. Med.* 8.94. See also Niedermann ([1912] 1954b: 47). For a term with the same structure as that in Plautus see *Col.* 12.51.3 *oleastellus*, of a 'cultivated variety of olive resembling the wild sort in its fruit' (*OLD* s.v.). The 'wild sort' referred to here is called *oleaster*. Here we see a double suffix employed not because it is merely intensifying or pejorative, as in the Plautine case, but to impart a specific meaning. Additional suffixation constantly has some semantic point, and the semantics of any term are best considered before a formation is dismissed as substandard or vulgar. The Columellan case is technical not substandard. On the form *oliuastellum*, which is in the *Casae litterarum*, see Josephson (1940: 267). On the augmented form *-astrello* in Italian (e.g. *polpastrello*) see Rohlf's (1969a: 443). On *-aster* see in general Leumann (1977: 319), Rohlf's (1969a: 442–3); see also Ferri and Probert (2010: 32–3) for Quintilian (8.3.22) on the form *Antonias*.

2 Reanalysis of root and suffix

The first question to be considered is that numbered (2) above.

Resegmentation is a general feature of the history of suffixation, not a phenomenon specific to a lower variety of the language. For example, a form such as *Roma-nus* was subject to the analysis *Rom-anus*, and *-anus* was then attached to nouns not of the *a*-declension (e.g. *urb-anus*; *mont-anus* alongside *silua-nus*) (see in general Leumann 1977: 260–I, 324–5). *-anus* itself was extended to *-ianus* in adjectives derived from personal names (see Leumann 1977: 325, Kajanto 1965: 109, Kircher-Durand 2002b: 137; also Schnorr von Carolsfeld 1884: 183–4), such as *Caesar-ianus*, *Ciceron-ianus*. The *i* comes from gentile names in *-ius*, with the suffix resegmented (*Tullius*, *Tulli-anus* > *Tull-ianus*).

For other cases which show the insertion of a vowel (*i*) before a suffix see e.g. Svennung (1941: 126 with n. 56), and Kajanto (1965: 120) on *-io* from *-o* in names. Heraeus (1937: 146) similarly discusses *-(i)ensis*. In e.g. *Diuiti-ensis* from *Diuitia* (*CIL* XIII.7054) the *i* is part of the root, but that is not always the case in *-iensis* forms. Heraeus points out that Scribonius Largus (97) correctly writes *Catin-ensis* from *Catina*, whereas Marcellus (*Med.* 20.1) has *Catin-iensis*. So at *CIL* VII.49 *fabriciesis* is from *fabrica* (Svennung 1936: 60). It will be shown below (4.5) that *bell-iatus* arose alongside **bellatus*, from resegmentation of forms such as *ampli-atus* (> *ampl-iatus*: so *OLD* s.v. *belliatus*).

In these cases the false analysis led to a slightly augmented suffix. The interchangeability of the two suffixal forms opened the way to substitutions of the reverse kind, i.e. *-ensis* for *-iensis*, as in *Ostensis* for *Ostiensis* (*CIL* XIV.429 etc.: Svennung 1936: 10) and *Diuitensis* for *Diuitiensis* (*ILS* 2784: Svennung 1936: 10). This spelling might be explained phonetically (as e.g. representing the syllabic reduction caused by palatalisation: on which see VI.4), but the morphological explanation (i.e. as representing an interchange of suffixes) is just as convincing. For further variations of the same type in different suffixes see Svennung (1936: 10); also (1936: 59, 60), where cases of the alternations *-arius/-iarius* (see also below, 4.4) as well as *-ensis/-iensis* are cited. On interchange of suffixes see the next section (3).

The deviant forms noted in the last two paragraphs perhaps never hardened into general currency, and if that were so there would have been speakers who regarded them as substandard. On the other hand the forms in the paragraph before those were accepted into the standard language. Many other examples of the latter kind could be given. For example, there is an extended form of the suffix *-īnus*: *-tinus*, as in *uesper-tinus*, from reanalysis of *matut-inus*, or *pauper-tinus*, possibly based on *libert-inus*

(Leumann 1977: 327, who lists several other types of extension of this suffix ('Suffixerweiterungen')).

It is possible to find the odd new suffix originating in this way that remained marginal in the historical period. A notable item is *sanguinentus* in the Oribasius translations (Svennung 1932: 118, Adams 2007: 492). The usual form was *sanguin-ulentus*, with the familiar suffix *-ulentus* (Leumann 1977: 336). In a term such as *farinulentus* there was the possibility of resegmentation, with the base interpreted as *farinula* rather than *farina* (*farinul-entus*), which led to the emergence of a new suffix *-entus*. This suffix is also in *cinerentus* (*Vit. patr.* 5.29, p. 960A). *Sanguinentus* is reflected in some Italian dialects and in Ibero-Romance (Adams 2007: 492). It caught on in the long run, at least in ordinary speech in some areas, but in the Latin period the suffix *-entus* had no more than a shadowy existence,² surfacing only in low-register texts.

It may be concluded that a new suffix by resegmentation is not necessarily to be classed as substandard; quite a few of the terms cited in this section were standard Latin within the classical period. Much must have depended on the chance history of individual lexical items. Some terms with new suffixes might have been resisted by purists for a while, but a full account of suffixal reanalysis would show that the phenomenon left a deep mark on Latin in all its varieties.

3 Interchange of suffixes or substitutions of one for another

Sometimes one adjectival (or nominal) suffix seems to be substituted for another (see the third question at 1 above). The substitute may appear striking if the original form is commonplace, and there may be a temptation to assume that the new form was stigmatised, particularly if it is attested just once or twice. Once again the data cannot be treated as a single phenomenon, and a single stylistic level cannot be assigned to the replacement forms. It is possible to identify at least four categories of interchange, substitution or overlap.

3.1 Substitutions determined by analogy

A suffixal derivative may have its suffix replaced by another on the analogy of a word or group of words of a comparable semantic field showing the second suffix (on the importance of this factor see Rohlf's 1969a: 364). For

² In *cruentus* the suffix is probably not *-entus* but *-tus* (*cruen-tus*, with the root showing interchange of *n* with *r*: Leumann 1977: 360 with 334, and, for the possibilities, de Vaan 2008: 146).

example, the word for 'stable', *equile* (from Cato onwards), is replaced by *equale* at *Mul. Chir.* 501: *si calidus nimis ab equalem uel a sole biberit frigidam* (also 698; cf. 427). See Niedermann ([1912] 1954b: 46), who also cites evidence for a form *buale* = *bubile* (CGL v.563.51, recording the plural *bualia*; there are also some Romance terms reflecting Latin forms such as *boualia*, with a glide), and attributes both *equale* and *buale* to the analogy of *casale*. A coinage by analogy may be an isolated ad hoc creation, or may achieve wider currency, at variable levels of the language. Each case has to be assessed separately. *Equale* had no Romance outcome, and it may be an isolated formation (idiolectal), a regionalism, or a scribal error. On analogy as affecting suffixation see below, 4.1 (*aestiuialis*), 4.2 (*crudiusus*), 4.3.5 (*humaninus*). An adverbial case that shows not only the influence of analogy but also reanalysis of root and suffix is *rarenter* = *raro*. *Raro* was remodelled to *rarenter* on the analogy of *frequenter*, reanalysed as *frequ-enter* instead of *frequen-ter* (see Leumann 1977: 264).

3.2 Semantically motivated substitutions

The replacement form may reflect an attempt to express a different nuance from that expressed by the usual form. At *Att.* 5.2.2, for example, Cicero refers to C. Sempronius Rufus, a contemporary of his, as *Rufio noster*, the point being that the cognomen *Rufio* was more common among slaves and freedmen than among the free (cf. *Cic. Mil.* 60 *heus tu, Rufio*, of address of a slave), whereas *Rufus* was almost entirely a name of the freeborn (on the significance of the suffix in this name see Gaide 1988: 58–9). The replacement suffix is intended to be offensive (see Kajanto 1965: 121). If there is even a possibility that a substitute has some semantic point it would be ill-advised to dismiss it to a lower social dialect.

There is for example a rare adjective *sanguinosus* (not in Leumann 1977) attested in several late medical writers, whereas the more usual adjectival derivatives of *sanguin-* were *sanguinulentus* and *sanguineus* (see also above, 2 on *sanguinentus*). Note first Cass. Fel. p. 66.11 = 32.10 Fraisse *gingiuas turgidas siue sanguinolentas sine ulla uexatione desiccant*, where the manuscripts PV have *sanguinosas*. The term is also found at Cael. Aur. *Cel.* 3.30, p. 310.20 *Diocles uero libro, quo de passionibus et causis et curationibus scripsit, sanguinosos inquit homines ex utroque brachio phlebotomandos* ('full-blooded', Souter 1949: 363). It is used in the same sense but substantivally in the next section (31), and also at 3.45, p. 318.22. This adjective ('plethoric', of an abundance of blood in the whole person) is different in meaning from *sanguineus* and *sanguinulentus* in Caelius, as a glance at the index of Bendz (1990–3: 1164) shows. The latter two refer to colour, or to the presence of

blood in a body part or discharge, whereas *sanguinosus* had been coined as a medical technical term.

Again, the veterinary terms *roborosus* and *marmorosus*, both describing forms of disease, are replaced in a magical incantation at Pel. 278 by *roboratus* and *marmoratus* (see Adams 1995b: 537; 293). Those contemplating *marmor* in a horse perhaps looked on the condition in different ways: the animal might be ‘full of *marmor*’ (*marmorosus*), or (suddenly or recently) ‘smitten by *marmor*’ (*marmoratus*). The one form might have been replaced by the other not mechanically, but because of the perspective of the speaker. There is such a thing as the mechanical interchange of suffixes without change of meaning (see particularly 3.4.1 below), but it is essential to identify those cases where a suffixal form has a nuance distinguishing it from other derivatives of the same root.

3.3 Functionally overlapping suffixes

There is some functional overlap of different adjectival suffixes in Latin. Two or more suffixes sometimes had their own functions in origin but were so finely differentiated that they ran together semantically over time. It is a mistake to think that the language had only one suffix for one function, or that language standardisation had eliminated redundancy of suffixation.

To speak of one suffix being ‘substituted’ for another, as in the heading of this general section (3), may be the wrong way of referring to some such cases of functional overlap. A distinction is worth making. If an established suffixal derivative is suddenly, say in a late medical text, replaced by a hitherto unattested term showing the same root but a different suffix, one might reasonably refer to a substitution, and then set about determining whether it was haphazard or motivated in some way, whether it was substandard or merely isolated, and so on. But if two or more suffixal derivatives of the same root coexist for centuries, in some cases perhaps distinguished semantically from one another but in other uses overlapping, it would not be reasonable to fasten onto one of them used in the same meaning as another in a late text, and to describe the synonymy as a substitution. The overlapping usages would represent an in-built redundancy of the language, which allowed different speakers to select at will from the possibilities (though it is always hard to be sure that subtle differences were not perceived by some speakers between any two forms). It is worthwhile to illustrate this redundancy, as distinct from substitution as defined above.

Adjectival derivatives of *pastor* provide examples. There are three (possibly four: see further below, 4.3.1) of these, and they are difficult to separate

semantically (*pastoralis*, *pastoricius*, *pastorius*). The *TLL* (x.1.645.15) defines *pastoralis* as 'pertinens ad pastorem', adding that the notion 'rudis, humilis' is also sometimes present. Both *pastoricius* (647.14f.) and *pastorius* (647.31) are then equated with *pastoralis*, and in both the notion 'rudis' is again said to be sometimes present. *Pastoralis* is the most common form, but the other two are classical (*pastoricius* in Cicero and Varro, *pastorius* in Ovid) and found in educated later Latin. The various suffixes had particular functions that might imply some differentiation of the terms, but the three adjectives soon fell together semantically and were used in comparable collocations.

The suffix *-icius* forms adjectives from the titles of officials (Leumann 1977: 301), such as *aedilicius*, *praetoricius*, *tribunicius*, *patricius*, and, by a slight extension, *pastoricius*. An early example of this last term retains this quasi-official character in a mocking context: Cic. *Cael.* 26 (of the *Luperci*) *fera quaedam sodalitas et plane pastoricia atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum* ('a quite savage brotherhood this, downright rustic and uncouth, consisting of those genuine wolf-men', Austin 1960: 81). Soon, however, we find *pastoricius* used in a general sense 'belonging to a shepherd/shepherds'. Of the 'shepherd's life', for example, Varro uses both *uita pastoralis* (*Rust.* 2.1.5) and *pastoricia uita* (*Rust.* 1.2.16). *Pastoralis* is an epithet of *canis* in Columella (7.12.3, 7.12.7), and *pastoricius* at Apul. *Met.* 9.34.

The suffix *-ius* is *par excellence* one of belonging (Leumann 1977: 288), as in *patrius*, and like *-icius* it too could be attached to titles, as in *praetorius* alongside *praetoricius*. The overlap of *pastorius* with *pastoralis* may be seen in the application of both to *habitus* (Livy 9.36.6, Flor. 1.17.4, with a var. lect. *pastorali*).³

Another set of overlapping adjectives consists of the suffixal derivatives of *populus* 'poplar tree' (for details see *TLL* x.1.2708–9). Three of these (defined by the *TLL* as meaning 'ad populum arborem pertinens') go back to the Republic (*populeus*, *populnus*, *populneus*), and a fourth (*populinus*) is found in late (Italian) Latin only (Oribasius translation, Alexander of Tralles translation).

A functional overlap between two suffixes attached to the same root may be the consequence of complex semantic shifts undergone by the pair. Note the following identical uses of *pulmonaceus* and *pulmonarius* in the

³ It is not only derivatives of *pastor* that are synonymous in these ways. Note e.g. the derivatives of *sutor*. In Classical Latin cobbler's blacking was *atramentum sutorium*. Pelagonius has that old expression at 175, but twice (177, 228) he uses *atramentum sutoricum* instead (Adams 1995b: 533). Two other synonymous pairs, the *-icius* one largely confined to late medical texts, are *pictoricius* (*TLL* x.1.2081.9ff., once in the Latin Oribasius, and qualifying *atramentum*)/*pictorius* and *pistoricius*/*pistorius* (*TLL* x.1.2219.75ff., once each in the translations of Oribasius and Alexander of Tralles, and in Gregory the Great).

same writer: Veg. *Mul.* 1.12.2 *radiculam, quam quidam consiliginem uocant quidam pulmonaceam*; cf. 4.3.12 *radiculam herbae consiliginis, quam alii pulmonariam uocant*.

Terms in *-aceus* are mainly adjectives of material, formed particularly on the names of plants, cereals, foodstuffs (*betaceus, rosaceus, farinaceus, hordeaceus, uinaceus*) or the names for types of earth or minerals (*miniaceus, silaceus, argillaceus, sandaraceus*) (see Leumann 1977: 287). In *pulmonaceus* the suffix is at a considerable remove from this function. The term does not mean 'composed of *pulmo*', but 'suitable for the lungs, curing lung trouble' (see Souter 1949: 334). The suffix was generalised to mean 'belonging to, pertaining to, suited to', and that is the development lying behind the use here. The semantic extension of the suffix may also be illustrated by the history of *hordeaceus*. This adjective could mean 'of barley', but 'barley pears' (*pira hordeacea*: Col. 5.10.18 *quam generosissimis piris pomaria conseramus. ea sunt crustumina, regia, Signina, Tarentina, quae Syria dicuntur, purpurea, superba, hordeacea*) were so called because they ripened at the same time as *hordeum* (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 15.55, who uses *hordearia* in the same sense). In this expression the adjective means merely 'having a connection with *hordeum*', and the nature of the connection is unspecified in the formation itself and has to be deduced from the context (see Adams 1983: 74). *Pulmonaceus* as used above had developed along the same lines.

The similar semantic vagueness of the *-arius* suffix (on its variability see Nichols 1929) underlies the transition in meaning of *pulmonarius* to 'beneficial to the lungs' in the passage of Vegetius above (contrast the sense 'diseased in the lungs' at Col. 7.5.14 *ouem pulmonariam*). This function of the suffix seems to have been established by the early imperial period. *Vesicarius* can mean 'curing pain in the bladder' (Lewis and Short; Scrib. Larg. 146), and used as a noun *uesicaria* (sc. *herba*) denotes a plant that cures such pain, i.e. bladder-wort (see Plin. *Nat.* 21.177, Cass. Fel. p. 114.4 = 45.5 Fraisse *herbae fysalidos quam Romani uesicariam appellant*; see further André 1985: 271).

A suffixal derivative does not always stand the test of time. It may over a period be rivalled by a succession of different derivatives. This point may be illustrated by terms for 'pregnant'. The earliest form seems to be *praegnans* (*TLL* x.2.659.78ff.), which is attested in the earliest manuscripts of writers from Plautus onwards. *Praegnans* is a later remodelling, facilitated by the loss of *n* before *s* and the availability of *ns* as more 'correct' (see above, ix.7). This form according to *TLL* x.2.660.12ff. is found particularly in the earliest manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina*. *Praegnax* is a remodelling of *praegnans* to give it a familiar suffix (for the evidence see *TLL* x.2.660.16ff.).

Praegnax occurs at *CLE* 498.4 = *CIL* ix.3968 and is transmitted several times in the manuscripts of Varro *Rust.* (e.g. 2.4.7) but not accepted by editors. There are several late examples, as at *Mul. Chir.* 129 *equa praegnax*. Finally there is *praegnata*, which is in a letter of Claudius Terentianus (471.19 *matrem . . . praegnata*) and at *Mul. Chir.* 769 (see *TLL* x.2.663.26ff.). This must be a remodelling of *praegnatem* effected because of a connection felt with *nascor, nata*. This 'participial' form in turn generated a verb *praegno* = 'make pregnant' (*TLL* x.2.663.16f., 25f.).

The semantically interchangeable uses of various suffixes seen in this section merely illustrate the synonymy that was capable of emerging in a language so well endowed with adjectival suffixes, which in some cases were not sharply distinguished in the first place. When an overlap appears it should not automatically be assumed that one form or the other must be deviant or non-standard, though one or two of the terms for 'pregnant' perhaps had low status. The material of this section brings out the redundancy present in technical terminologies, which is inconsistent with any idea that the language moved relentlessly in the direction of standardisation.

3.4 Interchange of suffixes of similar form

A common type of interchange is that between two suffixes of similar form,⁴ and in some such cases it may be more realistic to argue for a haphazard alternation avoided in educated varieties of the language and considered by some to be unacceptable. The classic interchange is between *-aris* and *-arius*, with some interference from *-alis* as well. This phenomenon is considered in detail.

3.4.1 Interchange of *-arius* and *-aris*

-aris was not an independent suffix but was dissimilated from *-alis* when attached to stems with an *l*: *militaris, consularis, popularis, uulgaris* (Leumann 1977: 351), alongside *hospitalis, comitalis* (Leumann 1977: 231).⁵

-arius is not related to *-aris* (Leumann 1977: 299), but confusion between the two was bound to occur because of the identity of the neuter plural forms (in *-aria*), from which false back-formations would have been made (see Leumann 1977: 299, 351; also B. Löfstedt 1959: 32–5).⁶

There are many pairs in *-aris/-arius*. It is not unusual for the *-aris* form to be the common one, with the other an occasional variant, but the

⁴ Cf. Rohlfs (1969a: 442) on the interchange of *-astro* and *-asco* in Italian.

⁵ For Italian see Rohlfs (1969a: 428).

⁶ For Italian, in which *-arius* was more productive than *-aris*, see Rohlfs (1969a: 392–4).

interchange operated in both directions (see Adams 1995a: 106). The two may be distinguished semantically, or one may be preferred as a noun and the other as an adjective, or they may be equally widespread, or the *-arius* form may be the standard one. There has been a tradition of treating terms in *-arius* as colloquial, plebeian, rustic and so on (Cooper 1895: 70–1, 147–51, Karakasis 2005: 30), and for that reason the *-arius* member of an *-aris/-arius* pair may sometimes be dismissed as pejorative, substandard or the like (see Baehrens 1922: 121). The matter is, however, more complicated. There follows a list of pairs, with some discussion to bring out the diversity of the relationships between the two members.

There is a possible piece of evidence in the first case below for a stigmatised character of an *-arius* term (but see 1.7 (iii) on the *Appendix Probi* as a mere collection of scribal errors).

primipilaris, primipilarius

These are dealt with together by *TLL* x.2.1248.35ff. The form *primipilaris* predominates (1248.43), and *primipilarius* is censured by *Appendix Probi* 69. There is a list of instances of *primipilarius* at *TLL* 1248.45ff. (one in an inscription, the rest in manuscripts of late texts). It is tentatively suggested (1248.44f.) that the *-arius* form may be based on the Greek *πριμιπιλάριος*,⁷ but that explanation is not a necessary one (as line 45 makes clear), because the interchange of *-aris* and *-arius* is so common.

Baehrens (1922: 121) would have it that *primipilarius* was pejorative. He cites a passage from the *SHA*, which has both *primipilaris* and *primipilarius* in the same sentence: *Pesc. Nig.* 2.4 *ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum qui haberet exercitus, se <t>ueri posset, proinde quasi qualis libet imperator a primipilario posset occidi*. According to Baehrens the author first used the normal *primipilaris*, and then switched to the other form to mark the contrast between the high status of the emperor and the lowly status of the military subaltern. It would be at least as plausible to say (if the text can be trusted) that the two forms were interchangeable, with *primipilarius* perhaps preferred in the ablative.

Sometimes the two suffixal derivatives differ in meaning or function, as in the next case.

⁷ The Latin ending *-is* is generally converted to *-ios* in loans from Latin (Meinersmann 1927: 118, L. R. Palmer 1946: 31), as in *ἰλλούστριος* < *illustris* (Meinersmann 1927: 18, 118). Thus *-aris* becomes *-άριος* as in *σιγγούάριος* (Meinersmann 1927: 55–6, 118) and, perhaps, *πριμιπιλάριος* (Meinersmann 1927: 49–50). The latter in particular is a frustrating case, as it is impossible to tell whether the ‘correct’ or the castigated (see the *Appendix Probi*) form was the base of the borrowing into Greek. Whatever one’s view of the origin of the Greek, it would not do to argue that this Greek form was the origin of Lat. *primipilarius*, which is far more likely to have developed independently in Latin itself. On *-άριος* in Greek, in terms of both Latin and Greek origin, see now Filos (2008: 263–74).

lapidaris, lapidarius

Lapidaris (TLL VII.2.78f.) is cited once only (CIL XI.4638), with the meaning 'lapidibus factus'. *Lapidarius* by contrast is used mainly as a noun, = *lapicida* (VII.2.942.11ff.), and in its adjectival uses (942.1ff.) is not equivalent to *lapidaris* (see Baehrens 1922: 121). Terms in *-arius* show a tendency to be substantivised (see Arias Abellán 2002: 164–72), whereas those in *-aris* are more likely to remain adjectival. The distinction is not absolute (see below on *epistularis* and *epistularius*), because *-arius* forms are frequently adjectival as well, even if they acquire a nominal use. For the distinction note, however, on the one hand *solearius* 'sandal maker' (see OLD for classical examples), and on the other *solearis* 'having the form of a sandal' (SHA Ant. Car. 9.4, cited by Souter 1949: 380 and so defined).

In other cases the two forms seem interchangeable, without any sign that there was, say, a distinction of stylistic level. That is so in the following two cases.

alaris, alarius

Two forms of the same military term, < *ala* (see TLL I.1481, where each is given separate treatment). Both are represented in the literary language, *alaris* in, for example, Livy and Tacitus, and *alarius* in Caesar, Cicero, Livy and Tacitus. Both are also quoted from inscriptions. Evidence of this type suggests haphazard alternation between the two suffixes, and not a stylistic difference that might support the idea that one was domiciled particularly in lower social varieties.

auxiliaris, auxiliarius

Both forms are very frequent, and from the Republic onwards and in the literary language (TLL II.1614.3ff., 1615.6ff.). Caesar uses *auxiliaris* of auxiliary troops, and Cicero *auxiliarius*.

In the case of *primipilaris/-arius* the *-aris* form was the primary one, but sometimes that status belongs to *-arius*, as in the following six cases.

balnearis, balnearius

Both are attested in the classical period (i.e. that covered by the OLD). *Balnearius* was the favoured form in literary texts (see the OLD s.vv.).

legionaris, legionarius

Legionaris has turned up in a Vindolanda tablet (180.22 *militibus legionaribus*; here the change of declension might have been generated by

the ending of the preceding noun). *Legionaris* is hardly otherwise attested (see *TLL* VII.2.1109.60, Adams 1995a: 106). *Legionarius* is common in the literary language, from Caesar onwards.

actuaris, actuarius

Actuaris is an isolated variant for the commonplace *actuarius* (*CGL* v.341.17; cf. B. Löfstedt 1959: 34).

focaris, focarius

Focarius is common (but usually in various substantival uses: see *TLL* VI.1986.34ff.). The only example of *focaris* cited by the *TLL* (986.31ff.) is in a passage of Isidore, in a phrase attributed to the *uulgus*: *Etym.* 16.4.5 *est alius pyrites uulgaris, quem uiuum lapidem appellant . . . hunc uulgus focarem petram uocant*. Isidore's source was Plin. *Nat.* 36.138, but the clause beginning *hunc* was his own insertion, and he has dipped into current Spanish Latin for a gloss (for the details see Sofer 1930: 89). *Focaris* survived as Sp. *hogar* (see Corominas 1967: 283 s.v. *fuego*, Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II.968, 969; also *REW* 3398.2; note too Cat., Pg. *fogar*, with Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II.969; Fr. *foyer* is regarded as reflecting *focarium*: see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 274, *FEW* III.649; for *focarium* = *focus* in the *Compositiones Lucenses* see Hedfors 1932: 143). In Isidore the phrase *focaris petra* means 'flint', and is a variant of *petra focaria*, which is at *CGL* v.382.21 *petra focaria flint*.

calidaris, calidarius

TLL III.150–1 has an entry for *calidarius* but does not register the form *calidaris*. Note however *Mul. Chir.* 250 *mittis eum in cellam caldarem*. The usual expression is *cella cal(i)daria* or *cal(i)daria* on its own as a feminine substantive (*ILL* III.150.71ff.).

sesquiplicaris, sesquiplicarius

The *OLD* cites two certain cases of *-arius* from inscriptions (other possible cases are abbreviations), but none of *-aris*. But an equivalent with the *-aris* suffix is *sesquiplaris* (e.g. Veg. *Mil.* 2.7.11, juxtaposed with *duplares*). For the types of suffix variation here see below on *duplarius*, *duplaris*.

In the following cases the *-aris* form is the predominating one, or the two forms are equally current.

manipularis, manipularius

The *-aris* form predominates, but there are instances of *-arius*, mainly in inscriptions (*TLL* VIII.315.35ff.; also Olcott 1898: 158). *Manipularis* is also found in literary works, including the plays of Plautus.

commanipularis, commanipularius

The two forms are treated separately at *TLL* III.1821. Both are found largely in inscriptions (*commanipularis* is, however, at Tac. *Hist.* 4.46.3), with *-aris* very much more common than *-arius*.

duplaris, duplarius

According to *TLL* V.1.2272.55f. these military terms, based on *duplus*, and *duplicarius*, *dupliciaris* and *dupliciaris* (the latter two with an additional *i*), based on *duplex*, all mean the same thing. Many examples, mainly from inscriptions, of all these forms are cited in column 2272, and there is a separate entry for *duplaris* and *duplarius* in non-military uses at V.1.22585ff. See also Olcott (1898: 151).

There is constant confusion in military titles, which might sometimes have reflected the intrusion of Greek forms into Latin (for which see n. 7).

peculiaris, peculiarius

The former is standard throughout the history of Latin, but the *-arius* form is sometimes attested, in an inscription and some late texts (*TLL* X.1.922.71ff., Olcott 1898: 162).

pulcaris, pulcarius

The former is usual. The latter is found only in the feminine (*TLL* X.2.2580.6f.), as the name of a plant. For *herba pulcaria* see 2580.36ff. (medical texts: Caelius Aurelianus and Soranus Lat.), and for *herba pulcaris* see 2580.25ff. (a wider range of medical texts). Olcott (1898: 164) cites Diocletian's Prices Edict 8.43, where the Latin has *pulcare* and the Greek πούλικαριον. On the interpretation of such a Greek form see n. 7.

simplaris, simplarius

For the first see Veg. *Mil.* 2.7.10 and for the other Dig. 21.1.48.8.

singularis, singularius

Singularis is common throughout Classical Latin, in meanings classified by the *OLD* into six groups. *Singularius* is much rarer but goes back to Plautus (*Capt.* 112) and Turpilius (28). In Plautus it has a meaning ('standing

alone, single, separate', *OLD* s.v. 1) that is classical and commonplace for *singularis* (*OLD* s.v. 2). In the *OLD* *singularius* is cited only from early Latin (see above) and Gellius, an archaiser, and it must have been largely ousted from use by *singularis*. It does however turn up a few times in inscriptions in military terms (Olcott 1898: 168).

urceolaris, urceolarius

Only *urceolaris* is represented in the period covered by the *OLD* (Pliny the Elder, Scribonius Largus), but *urceolarius* is found three times in Pelagius, against one case of *urceolaris* (see Adams 1995b: 532); all four instances qualify *herba*. For further examples of the adjectives see André (1985: 276).

epistularis, epistularius

Both of these terms (for which, treated separately, see *TLL* v.2.685), of late imperial date, have an adjectival and a substantival use (the latter of secretaries, scribes of various types). *Epistularis* is more common than the other in both uses. Baehrens (1922: 121) attempted to set up a difference of tone between the two nominal uses, with *epistularis* designating a higher official (e.g. one in the imperial secretariat) and *epistularius* a more humble. The distinction is artificial, and based on the citation of a single example. *Epistularis* is itself also used of non-imperial secretaries (*TLL* v.2.685.61ff.). *Epistularis* was the established form, and *epistularius* an occasional variant merely reflecting the tendency of the two suffixes to be confused.

3.4.2 Interchange of *-anus* and *-aneus*

siccanus

OLD s.v. sees this form as a variant of *siccanus*, citing *CIL* xiv.396 (substantival, neuter). E. Löfstedt (1911: 68) also cites *Plin. Nat.* 16.72 (where editors emend). Note too *Pel.* 128 *siccani holeris* (cited by Souter 1949: 377 and equated with *siccanus*), a passage which corresponds to *Mul. Chir.* 414 *olus siccanum*. *Siccanus* is also applied to *causticum* at *Mul. Chir.* 905.

On the interchange of *-aneus* and *-anus* see Niedermann ([1912] 1954b: 47 n. 6, and particularly Cohn (1891: 160–8).

3.4.3 Interchange of *-arius* and *-alis*

There appear to be examples of this interchange (in both directions) in Latin loan-words in Greek: see e.g. βενεφικιᾶλιος (–ᾶλιος is a standard rendering into Greek of *-alis*: see n. 7) = *beneficiarius* (Meinersmann 1927: 10, Filos 2008: 11.176 nos. 98, 108), προβινικιᾶριος = *prouincialis*

(Meinersmann 1927: 50), *πριγκιπάριος* = *principalis* (Meinersmann 1927: 49, L. R. Palmer 1946: 32, Filos 2008: 1.265, 11.49).

There is, however, an uncertainty about the examples in the last paragraph. Had changes of suffix taken place in Latin (or Greek), or phonetic changes in Greek as the borrowings were made? The interchange of λ and ρ in Greek papyri of the Roman period is illustrated by Gignac (1976: 102–7). It is quite common, particularly in words of Latin origin, but in such words is usually assimilatory or dissimilatory (see the material collected by Gignac 1976: 102–4). *πριγκιπάριος* and *προβινκιάριος* might be assimilatory (after /r/), but neither assimilation nor dissimilation will account for *βενεφικιάριος*. There is also some evidence for unconditioned interchange (i.e. that which cannot be attributed to assimilation, dissimilation or transposition) of ρ and λ in Greek of the period (see Gignac 1976: 104–6), a feature of which, Gignac (1976: 107) maintains, is that it is found nowhere outside Egypt. Gignac (1976: 107) explains such interchange as due to Egyptian interference. Since the evidence cited in the previous paragraph comes from Egypt, it may seem tempting to allow that one of these misspellings (*βενεφικιάριος*) may reflect Egyptian phonetic influence on the term as it entered the recipient language, Greek.

But the explanation from Egyptian interference looks overcomplicated, and against it stands the fact that interchange of ρ and λ is sometimes attested in Greek outside Egypt. In the Prices Edict of Diocletian at 19.34, where the Latin is missing, the Greek has *τάπης ἀκκουβιτᾶρις*, and this must correspond to Lat. *tapete accubitale*; for *accubital-* see *TLL* 1.338.37. The change evidenced by the Greek form cannot be explained as assimilatory or dissimilatory. A morphological explanation is simpler. There may have been suffix alternations in such terms in either Greek or Latin, or both. The evidence from Latin itself is good.

A clear-cut alternation of *-arius* and *-alis* in Latin is seen in the shift from *aciarium* ‘steel’ to *aciale*, a change of suffix that had consequences in the Romance languages (see Svennung 1932: 60, Adams 2007: 475–6).

Another pair is *ducalis/ducarius*. The latter is at *Pactus legis Salicae* 2.15 *si quis scrouam ducariam furauerit*, of the leading sow in the herd (see Adams 2007: 325; *ductrix* is used in the same way). *Ducalis* is found in the *SHA* (*Aurel.* 13.3), and there is a substantival neuter *ducale* (*TLL* v.1.2128.66ff.). *Ducarius* is cited by the *TLL* only from the Salic Law. On the change of suffix see Schramm (1911: 56 n. 5).

It was seen earlier (3.3, p. 537) that *uesicaria* (*herba*) was a term for the plant bladder-wort. This was subject to a change of suffix: for the late form *uesicalis* (*herba*) see Souter (1949: 441).

3.4.4 Conclusions

The most distinctive alternation discussed here is that between *-arius* and *-aris*. Various reasons may be suggested for the interchange. First, the two forms are similar, though belonging to different declensions. Their neuter plurals are identical, and identity opened the way to back-formations. Second, the substantival use of *-arius* was a favoured way of designating practitioners of professional occupations, military and civilian (see e.g. Väänänen 1966: 92–4 for the large number of such nouns in Pompeian inscriptions, and Adams 1995a: 104 for the similarly prominent terms of this type at Vindolanda), and an *-aris* term might have been under pressure to shift to *-arius* when used as a noun (see above on *lapidarius*). That is no doubt why *primipilarius* and other comparable terms emerged in military Latin. Third, ad hoc contextual factors inspired isolated shifts, such as the juxtaposition *militibus + legionaribus* cited above from a Vindolanda tablet.

There is finally the question whether such shifts, particularly from *-aris* to *-arius*, were a characteristic of lower social dialects. It would be easy to be swayed by the censure of *manipularius* in the *Appendix Probi*, but a survey of a wider range of examples does not support the view that the *-arius* form was of lower status than the *-aris*. In many cases *-aris* does seem to be the standard form, with *-arius* a variant, but there is a significant number of cases in which it is *-arius* that is standard. Moreover it is not obviously the case, to judge from the material assembled here, that the *-arius* form is mainly in low-register texts. Interchange was quite common, but it would not be justified to argue that either interchange itself or the one form or the other was a feature of an entity Vulgar Latin.

4 Extended adjectival suffixes

Adjectival suffixes (often bearing the stress accent) may be attached to existing adjectives (as distinct, for example, from more usual noun-stems),⁸ and this practice has sometimes been described as colloquial, substandard or the like. That description has been applied to *-osus* adjectives of the type *anxius* (adj.) + *-osus* > *anxiosus* (see below, 4.3.6). There are usually, as we will see, no grounds for such characterisations.

Augmented adjectives may be put into two groups on semantic criteria. In many cases the new suffix adds a nuance and is motivated. On the other hand there are terms in which the suffix seems to be semantically empty.

⁸ A phenomenon referred to by Rohlfs (1969a: 362) as ‘cumulo di suffissi’; see 363 for examples from Italian; also e.g. 395, 413.

It remains to be seen whether extended adjectives of the latter type may be open to a general social or stylistic description. It does, however, seem a priori improbable that long forms should have been merely a feature of a lower social dialect, however it might be described. If for argument's sake there was a pomposity to extended forms, as is sometimes the case in English and other modern languages, they are more likely to have been a feature of registers (medical, legal, for example) in which formality of expression is traditionally cultivated by practitioners to distance themselves from the public.

The distinction just made, between extended suffixes that are motivated and those that are empty of meaning, may first be illustrated with a few cases, starting with those of the second type. It will also be shown that analogy was one factor in generating extended forms, whether these forms were semantically distinctive or empty.

4.1 *Some extended adjectives with empty suffix*

perpetualis

The *TLL* (x.1.1634.35) says of the word in the first meaning given that it is 'fere i. q. perpetuus'. In this sense the adjective turns up sometimes in inscriptions and later Latin (Fulgentius, Isidore).⁹ Note e.g. *CIL* vi.19966, of a 'spatium aeternum' (*TLL*), *D. M. somno perpetuali L. Iulius Eucarpus uiuus fecit sibi et. . .* For *perpetuus* used in this sense (= *aeternus*) see *TLL* x.1.1640.38ff. The adverbial derivative *perpetualiter* also belongs to later Latin, usually of high register (e.g. Jerome, Arnobius), and refers to 'tempus aeternum' or 'indefinitum' (*TLL* x.1.1634.51ff.). The classical adverbs *perpetuo* (*TLL* x.1.1648.57ff.) and *perpetue* (1649.49ff.) are used in the same ways.

There is another extended form, *perpetuarius*, which by contrast has a meaning that sets it apart from the base *perpetuus*: note *OLD* s.v. *perpetuarius*, '[p]ermanently employed in a given capacity; (of an office) permanent, perpetual'. *Perpetuarius* is more specialised than *perpetuus*, and not synonymous with *perpetualis*.

aestiuallis

Synonymous with *aestiuus*, 'ad tempus aestatis pertinens, fere idem quod aestiuus' (*TLL* 1.1108.5f.). On the equivalence in Pelagonius, who uses both *potio aestiuallis* (395) and *potio aestiua* (371, 374, 466), see Adams

⁹ The word is also cited (*TLL* x.1.1634.46ff.) from Quintilian with a slightly different meaning.

(1995b: 531–2). The word is found in a mixture of late texts, mainly of low register (inscriptions, the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, the Latin Dioscorides; also Hyginus *De munitionibus castrorum*). Parallels are *uernalis* = *uernus* and *hibernalis* = *hibernus* (Adams 1995b: 532). The analogies that generated the extended forms were *hiemalis* and *autumnalis*.

Another extended form of *aestiuus* was *aestiuanus*, which was also semantically indistinguishable from the base form (see below, 4.3.2).¹⁰

Aestiuialis (but not *aestiuanus*) had a limited survival in Romance (see FEW 1.46, citing OProv. *estival* and a few other Gallo-Romance reflexes, and noting '[s]onst nicht erhalten').

canosus

For *canosus* (not in Leumann 1977 or Lewis and Short) see e.g. Cass. Fel. p. 11.10 = 2.5 Fraisse *et si forte canosi capilli fuerint nati, frequenter psilotro emendabis caput* (also p. 12.14 = 5.1 Fraisse, and in the SHA: TLL s.v.). This is a more marginal case than that above, because the suffix perhaps intensified the meaning of the base form *canus*. In colour terms the suffix *-osus*, it has been suggested, 'marque en effet une intensité supérieure de la qualité exprimée par le simple' (André 1949: 210). On this view the suffix is not redundant but converts the sense into 'very white'. André lists only five colour terms in *-osus*, describing the formation as late. Only one other of these (*caerulosus*) is possibly of adjectival base (< *caerulus* or *caeruleus*, both well-attested forms). *Herbosus*, which according to André means 'd'un vert intense', is of different type, because the adjective is an old one (Cato onwards) with a nominal root, which here has simply changed meaning, becoming a term of colour rather than material. André's semantic definition is also suspect. It is easy to see how *canosus* might have capped *canus* ('whiter than white'), but not clear why *herbosus* should mean 'intensely green', when there was no corresponding base form meaning merely 'green'. As for *canosus* (Souter 1949: 38 gives the meaning 'hoary'), *canus* is so well established of the hair of old age (OLD s.v. 2) that the suggested nuance of the suffixal form might readily have been lost.

¹⁰ There is another adjective of extended form that is synonymous with *aestiuus*, *aestatiuus*, which does not appear in the TLL. It occurs in the Latin Oribasius translating θερπιδός (Svennung 1932: 62). This form brings to the fore the stem *aestat-*, as Svennung notes, and is the adjectival derivative of *aestas* that might have been expected. *Aestiuus* is structurally an oddity. It might be modelled on the analogy of *tempestiuus* alongside *tempestas* (Leumann 1977: 304). Alternatively *aestiuus* may be a derivative of *aestus*, which subsequently became popularly associated with *aestas* and changed meaning (Svennung 1932: 62). Svennung quotes a gloss in which *aestiuus* is treated as a derivative of *aestus* (CGL 11.346.56).

Synonymy of base form and extended form might have come about on the evidence seen so far in different ways. An analogy may cause an adjective to acquire a new suffix. Alternatively, a new suffix may modify the original meaning so subtly that the base form and derivative eventually fall together semantically.

4.2 Some extended adjectives with meaningful suffix

trepidarius

This occurs at Veg. *Mul.* 1.56.37: *non enim circulis atque ponderibus praegrauant crura, ut tolutim ambulare condiscant, sed ipsos equos, quos uulgo trepidarios militari uerbo tottonarios uocant, ita edomant ad leuitatem et quaedam blandimenta uecturae, ut asturconibus similes uideantur*. There is a relevant meaning of *trepidus*, but this is modified by the suffixal derivative. See *OLD* s.v. *trepidus* 4, '[a]ffected with unsteady or agitated motion, quivering, shaking, trembling'. In this sense *trepidus* is not necessarily applied to animals, but it must have had that potential (*OLD* cites Stat. *Theb.* 6.187 *non secus ac primo fraudatum lacte iuuencum, | cui trepidae uires*, of a weak calf). Whereas *trepidus* is used of variable types of agitated motion, of vehicles, vessels, persons or animals, the derivative in *-arius* is specialised of a gait of the horse (for discussion see Ortoleva 2001: 151–3); Souter's 'pawing the ground' (1949: 428) is unlikely to be right. Vegetius was interested in the different equine gaits (*ambulatoriae*), and he uses *tottonarii*, which is equated above with *trepidarii*, in another passage (*Mul.* 3.6.6–7), where the gait of Persian horses is described as being halfway between that of *tolutarii* and *tottonarii*. On *tottonarius*, which occurs (in the form *toctonarii*) in some Anglo-Saxon glosses on Virgil's *Georgics*, see now Langbroek (1999: 142–3); also Hofmann (1938), Ortoleva (2001: 153–4). It is a Germanic word, and possibly had a variant form *trottonarius* (the verb *trotare* occurs in medieval Latin, as does the noun *trotarius*, of a groom: see Niermeyer 1976: 1046).

The suffix *-arius* had long been connected with the gait of horses: note Lucil. 476 *ipse ecus, non formonsus, gradarius, optimus uector* (*TLL* VI.2–3.2134.39f. 'is qui gradatim et lentiore gressu procedit').

cruidius

Only in Anthimus, twice (*TLL* IV.1234.23ff.). Adjectives in *-ius* are often formed on a past participial base (of the type *captius* < *captus*: see Leumann 1977: 304), and those on adjectival bases such as *cruidius* are rare (Leumann 1977: 304 a). But there is a ready explanation of *cruidius*

(see Niedermann [1912] 1954b: 49, Leumann 1977: 304, *TLL* IV.1234.23), which emerges from one of the examples in Anthimus: p. 27.1–2 *de reliqua legumina si coctiua fuerint, quando necesse est, comedas, nam si crudiua, satis grauissime nocit* (sic). *Coctiuus*, a classical term (Pliny the Elder) of orthodox formation, < *coctus*, means ‘suitable for cooking’. *Crudiuus* has been coined as its opposite, meaning ‘not suitable for cooking’. It does not mean simply ‘raw’ (*crudus*), but ‘raw because unsuitable for cooking’ (*TLL* ‘quod non facile coquitur’). Here again (cf. *aestiuialis*, above; also *humaninus*, below, 4.3.5) is seen the influence of analogy in generating occasional anomalous formations.¹¹ Again the suffixal derivative is no mere substitute for the base form.¹²

4.3 Some extended adjectival forms, arranged by suffix

4.3.1 *-alis*

pastorialis

In one codex of the *Pactus legis Salicae* 6.4 (cod. 1) there is the expression *pastoricialem canem*. Other codices have *pastoralem canem*. The form is described by Schramm (1911: 49) as ‘eine sehr volkstümliche Suffixkontamination aus *pastoricus* . . . und dem sonst üblichen *pastoralis*’. It was seen above (3.3) that there are three adjectival derivatives of *pastor* that are difficult to separate semantically, *pastoralis*, *pastoricus* and *pastorius*, and *pastorialis* would show the augmenting of one derivative by the suffix of another without a change of meaning. There is no other attestation of this form, which is treated as dubious by the *TLL* (x.1.647.10 with 646.6f.), though there is evidence from the same document which suggests indirectly that the form may be genuine (see below, 4.3.4 on double suffixes in this and other Frankish legal texts).

See also above, 4.1 on *perpetualis* and *aestiuialis*, and for further examples see Adams (1995b: 531).

¹¹ For the influence of analogy in suffixal derivation see the discussion by Niedermann ([1912] 1954b: 49) of *pollicaris*, which has a limited Romance survival as the word for ‘thumb’ (e.g. OProv. *polgar*: for further details see *FEW* x.135), alongside reflexes of *pollex*. This was coined on the analogy of designations of other fingers, *diginus auricularis*, *annularis*, *medicinalis*. It is now clear (*TLL* x.1.2545.4ff.) that the starting point is a phrase *digitus pollicaris* (in which the adjectival complement is indeed anomalous alongside the role of the adjectives in the other designations), with subsequent dropping of the noun to leave *pollicaris* as an equivalent to *pollex* (so in some codices [see *TLL*] of the *Pact. leg. Sal.* 29.4: a clear anticipation of the Old French reflex above).

¹² Augmented forms in *-iuus* may however sometimes be synonymous with the base form. B. Löfstedt (1961: 306) cites an example of *sanctiuus* from the *Leges Liutprandi*: *Liut. 84 qui ad arbore, quam rustici sanctiuum uocant, atque ad fontanas adorauerit*.

4.3.2 *-anus*

Many adjectives with this suffix are based on nouns (*siluanus*, *montanus*, *oppidanus*, *hortulanus*: Leumann 1977: 324, and above, 2), but there are some others based on adjectives. The formation is not intrinsically low. There are for example military terms such as *primani*, *secundani* (Leumann 1977: 325), where the suffix adds something to the base (= 'belonging to the *prima* (*legio*)'). One augmented adjective, *medianus*, however, has had a long-standing place in works on Vulgar Latin, and that is a useful starting point.

medianus

Medianus is typically described as vulgar (see Heraeus 1937: 228 n. 2, Leumann 1977: 324, E. Löfstedt 1911: 67 'volkstümlich'), but an examination of its meaning and history shows that it was not a standard synonym of *medius*. Löfstedt (1911: 68–9) pointed out that in the *Peregrinatio Aethiae*, where *medianus* occurs eight times and *medius* twenty, *medianus* is always used of a mountain 'standing in the middle' (surrounded by others: note 2.6–7 *hi omnes [montes], qui per girum sunt, . . . cum omnibus altior sit ille medianus, qui specialis Syna dicitur*), whereas *medius* refers to the middle part of things, such as the night, a valley (cf. Väänänen 1987: 144). There is a potential difference between *medianus mons*, the 'mountain in the middle', and *medius mons*, 'the middle of the mountain'.

The difference that Löfstedt was getting at is well described in the *TLL* article (Bulhart). The vast majority of examples of *medianus* fall into a 'non-partitive' category, that is 'de tota re in medio sita' (VIII.524.78f.); note 524.79 'res est in medio aliarum rerum', 525.1 'res est media inter easdem res'. In English the term in this sense is rendered 'the middle' rather than 'the middle of'. This second sense is 'partitive'. The *TLL* (525.49ff.) cites just two cases of *medianus* used thus, only one of them local in meaning, found at Oribas. *Syn.* 7.19 Aa, p. 155.11 *ouum assum medianum*, of the 'middle of' an egg, i.e. the yolk (rendering λέκίθος).

The distinction between *medius* and *medianus* is as follows. *Medius* is used both non-partitively (*TLL* VIII.582.11ff.) and partitively (584.24ff.), whereas *medianus* is attested almost exclusively in the first sense. The overlap is only partial. There must have been contexts in which it was advantageous for a writer to employ the term that was not ambiguous, and that may be why *medianus* is so common (seventeen times) in the architectural writer Vitruvius (for examples see *TLL* VIII.525), who may preserve technical uses.

Heraeus (1937: 228 n. 2) says that the examples of *medianus* cited by Rönsch (1875: 128) leave no doubt about its vulgar character, but these include instances from Vegetius (*Mul.* 2.40.3 *medianus digitus*, of the middle finger (the typical non-partitive meaning), a phrase Vegetius was happy to take over from *Mul. Chir.* 565), Ulpian *Digest* (9.3.5.2) and Caelius Aurelianus, a learned writer. In Caelius the three examples, again non-partitive, are in the phrase *medianae partes* (*Cel.* 2.80, p. 180.3, *Tard.* 3.93, p. 734.23, 4.119, p. 842.6). *Mediae partes* is common in Caelius (Bendz 1990–3: II.1096 cites thirteen examples).

The *TLL* article gives a better impression of the distribution of *medianus* (VIII.524.66ff.). It occurs, for instance, in the *Acta fratrum Arualium* of AD 240 (II.36, *ILS* 9522), in a gloss in Charisius, p. 462.24 Barwick *medianum* μεσόδμη, where the sense is technical, of a tie-beam, and also in Jerome, Paulinus of Nola and a variety of medical works. The alleged vulgar character of the term is further undermined by its appearance in Cicero (*Tim.* 25 *mediana linea*), in a sense defined by the *OLD* s.v. 1 as '[s]ituated in the middle, central' (non-partitive).

The non-partitive use of *medianus* was classical. The partitive use occurs in the low-register Oribasius translations, and was possibly substandard, but equally it might have had little currency.

Medianus survives widely in Romance (*REW* 5452, *FEW* VI.1.587): e.g. It. *mezzano* ('mean, middle, medium, middle-sized'; *mezzo* < *medius* = 'half'), Fr. *moyen*. *FEW* (587) notes that in Gallo-Romance the reflexes retain the original meaning: 'Im gallorom. lebt MEDIANUS in der ursprünglichen lokalen bedeutung "in der mitte befindlich" in adjektivischer und substantivischer verwendung weiter.' The term must have achieved a widespread currency.

The augmenting of the base form *medius* by *-anus* does not constitute a feature of a low social dialect but was semantically determined.

decimanus

There is an overlap between *decimus* and *decimanus* in a metonymic meaning. Both words can mean 'huge' (*TLL* V.1.170.9ff. *decimanus*, 172.54ff. *decimus*). Behind the semantic change the ancients found a belief that every tenth egg or wave was particularly big: Paul. Fest. p. 62.27 Lindsay *decumana oua dicuntur et decumani fluctus, quia sunt magna. nam et ouum decimum maius nascitur, et fluctus decimus fieri maximus dicitur*. Ernout and Meillet (1959: 166) generalise slightly: 'Le sens de "très grand" vient sans doute de ce que l'on choisissait, pour offrir aux dieux, le plus gros des dix oeufs, etc., ou de ce que l'objet arrivant à la fin d'une série

de dix héritait de l'idée de grandeur contenue dans le nombre.' There is, it should be noted, a distinction between *decimus* and *decimanus* in the passage of Paul. Fest. just quoted. The tenth (*decimus*) egg or wave is huge (*decimanus*). The *-anus* derivative has a special meaning here. Lucilius is notable for using *decimanus* several times in this sense, of eggs (1151), waves (1152), and by extension of *panis* (502) and *scuta* (1150); the first, second and last of these examples are modern attributions to Lucilius.

All five examples of *decimus* in the sense 'huge' cited by the *TLL* refer to waves (in one case obliquely), and, more interestingly, four are in epic poetry (Ovid *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius) and the fifth in tragedy (Seneca). This use of *decimus* therefore looks artificial and poetic, and must be a 'semantic back-formation' from *decimanus* (see below, 11.1.2 on *bellicus* 'warlike'). Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1884: 188), discussing *-anus* derivatives based on existing adjectives as showing a typical vulgar striving after full forms, cites as the first example *decimanus* as used by Lucilius, 'wie sonst *decimus* gebraucht wird' (so E. Löfstedt 1911: 68). But Lucilius was not building on an established use of *decimus*, but employing *decimanus* in an extended sense appropriate to a derivative. There are no grounds for thinking that *decimus* and *decimanus* were synonyms at the time of Lucilius, with *decimanus* the vulgar variant.

rusticanus

Rusticanus was a term of the educated language (prose), well represented in the works of Cicero. An original difference from *rusticus* may be deduced from the first two meanings of the latter given by the *OLD*. These are (in brief) 'of or suited to a farm', and 'of, belonging to or connected with the country'. These two general senses are not attributed by the *OLD* to *rusticanus*, which is given two more specific meanings, '[l]iving or situated in the country (esp. w. implication of awkwardness or ignorance)', and (of things) 'used or practised by, typical of, rustics'. *Rusticus* was not restricted to the two senses above. It developed a range of meanings (seven are listed by the *OLD*) that brought it into rivalry with *rusticanus*, but the overlap was not total. *Rusticanus* was coined to modify the more general senses of *rusticus*.

aestiuanus

There is one instance cited of *aestiuanus*, at Oribas. *Syn.* 4.26: *persica Armenia et praecoccia et omnes stiuianni cibi* (*TLL* 1.1108.16f.). This might have been replaced by *aestiuus*: for the latter of summer fruits and the like see *TLL* 1.1109.54ff.

Punicanus

Punicus means ‘Punic’, but *Punicanus* is applied by Varro (*Rust.* 3.7.3) to windows (*fenestrae*), and means ‘in the Punic style’ (see the *OLD* s.v.).

4.3.3 *-arius*

Extended adjectives in *-arius* with adjectival base are already found in Plautus (see in general Arias Abellán 2002: 175), and they have been taken to be substandard. Superficially the Plautine terms appear interchangeable with the base form. But were they?

manifestarius

For the apparent synonymy note Plaut. *Bacch.* 918 *moechum manifestarium* alongside *Poen.* 862 *manufesti moechi* (see Adams 1995a: 105, 1995b: 531 n. 263).

The earliest cases of *manifestus* mean not ‘evident, obvious, conspicuous’ in a general sense, but ‘caught in the act’, of either the deed or the criminal (see *OLD* s.v. 1, 2). The meaning seems to have been in the Twelve Tables (see Festus p. 158.31–3 Lindsay *ut et in XII. est. . . ‘si adorat furto, quod nec manifestum erit’*; cf. Gell. 11.18.11 *manifestum autem furtum est, ut ait Masurius, quod deprehenditur dum fit*), and it is the only one cited by the *OLD* 1, 2 from Plautus (*Asin.* 569, *Cas.* 893, *Men.* 594, *Poen.* 862), who also uses the adverb *manifesto* in a specialised sense (with verbs of catching and detecting), ‘[i]n the act, red-handed, undeniably’. The more general meanings do not appear until the late Republic and the Augustan period. The early meaning led ancient etymologists to see in the first part the word for ‘hand’ (Isid. *Etym.* 10.183, some manuscripts), but if that is true the second part remains obscure (see Ernout and Meillet 1959: 385).

Were it the case that *manifestus* was already being generalised in meaning at the time of Plautus, the derivative *manifestarius* might have reflected an attempt to preserve under its own form the specialised early meaning. But there is no sign that *manifestus* was being generalised in early Latin, and *manifestarius* looks like an exact equivalent semantically of the base form *manifestus* (note too Plaut. *Aul.* 469 *furem manifestarium* (cf. *furtum* with *manifestum* in the XII Tab. above), *Mil.* 444, *Trin.* 895). The *TLL* article shows that the augmented form had no life after the time of Plautus. It is used once by Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 30.5 *manifestarius homicida*), who probably picked it up from Plautus, and by Gellius (1.7.3) commenting on a Plautine usage.

Are there grounds for finding a vulgarism here? The concept is legal, and *manifestarius* is more likely to have been technical than anything else.

Did the extended suffix have a technical character at this time? There are some other Plautine terms to go on.

praesentarius

Praesentarius, another eminently Plautine term, also has a technical appearance. It is found five times in Plautus, and then just a few times much later mainly in archaisers such as Apuleius and Gellius (see *TLL* x.2.852.71–2). Its history resembles that of *manifestarius*. In Plautus it is mainly (four times) a financial term, applied to money paid on the spot, at the moment when due, in cash (*TLL* x.2.853.1ff.: e.g. *Most.* 361 *ubi id erit factum, a me argentum petito praesentarium*, *Trin.* 1081 *uendidit tuos natus aedis . . . praesentariis | argenti minis numeratis. :: quot? :: quadraginta*; similarly an example at *Most.* 913 is in allusion to the sale of a house). There is an identical legalistic use of the base form *praesens*, in Plautus himself (*Capt.* 258, *Men.* 1159, *Poen.* 89) and in a variety of other texts over a long period, including laws, financial documents and legal works (*TLL* x.2.848.18ff.). House sales and the like for cash upfront are legal transactions, and it would not be convincing to suggest that Plautus was dipping into a lower sociolect in using *praesentarius*; it is more likely that the suffix gave the adjective an enhanced legal or business-like ring. In Plautus *praesentarius* is used as an equivalent of *praesens* only in this financial sense. *Praesens* is common in Plautus in other applications (see Lodge 1924–33: II.368–9).

subitarius

An example of *subitarius* in Plautus (*Mil.* 225) also may have a technical ring. The phrase *res subitaria est* is in a speech parodying a general's address to his troops before battle. The *OLD* s.v. 1 has the rubric '[r]equiring prompt action', and the Plautine phrase is translated 'emergency'. The phrase *res subita est* is at *Curc.* 302, but the context is not military. There is also an early military use of *subitarius* reported by Livy 3.4.11: *Latini Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites – ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant – iussi*. Ogilvie (1965: 401), citing a few other cases from Livy, says that *subitarios milites* are not mentioned outside Livy, and adds: 'Probably a Punic War definition retrojected by the Annalist tradition to early times.'

peruorsario

At Plaut. *Cist.* 294 *haec tu peruorsario | mihi fabulatu's* the adverbial *peruorsario* means '[i]n a wrong-headed or deluded manner' (*OLD* s.v.). *Peruerse* can have this meaning from the classical period (*OLD* s.v. 2b:

e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 226), but in Plautus it means rather ‘wrongly, mistakenly, erroneously’ (*OLD* s.v. 2), and it seems therefore that the suffix changed the meaning of the base at the time of Plautus.

The evidence suggests that to Plautus the *-arius* formation with adjectival base and overlapping semantically with the base form had a technical flavour, legal, financial, military.¹³

primarius

See *TLL* x.2.1235.30f. ‘significatur qui inter primos est, quod primi ordinis sim. est, sed haud raro i. q. primus’. The *OLD* gives the definitions ‘[o]f the highest importance or station, leading’ and ‘excelling’. The suffix adds something, but the term tends to weaken into a synonym of *primus*.

sodaliciarius

Sodaliciarius is cited by Olcott (1898: 169) from *CIL* vi.10185 and equated with *sodalis*. It looks at first sight like a doubly augmented form (*-icius* + *-arius*) based on *sodalis*, but an extended suffix *-iciarius* cannot be brought into existence on this basis. There were several stages in the derivation. Strictly *sodaliciarius* is a derivative of *sodalicius* (< *sodalis*, = ‘of a *sodalis*’), but whereas *sodalicius* is adjectival (except in the substantivised neuter), *sodaliciarius* is nominal, ‘comrade, member of an association’. The *-arius* form converts the adjectival *sodalicius* into a noun (cf. *-arius* substantival forms alongside *-aris* adjectival, 3.4.1). As such *sodaliciarius* was replaceable with *sodalis*, but the equivalence emerged by chance in several steps rather than by extended suffixation.

4.3.4 *-icius*

This suffix typically formed denominative adjectives based on the names of officials, such as *patricius*, *praetoricus*, *tribunicus* (Leumann 1977: 301, and above, 3.3).¹⁴ An early formation on an adjectival base is *gentilicius* (< *gentilis*), which is discussed below.

gentilicius

Leumann (1977: 301) argues that *ludi aedilicii* was the model for various adjectives (or substantivised adjectives) referring to festivals (*ludi Compitalicii*, *Saturnalicus*, *sacra gentilicia*, *dies natalicius*). For *gentilicia*

¹³ Nevertheless a full treatment of the suffix in Plautus might be worthwhile. He uses *auxiliarius* in the sense ‘giving aid’, for which *auxiliaris* is preferred later (see *OLD* s.vv. 1), and he also uses *singularis* (once) but never *singularis* (see 3.4.1).

¹⁴ On *-icius* in Italian see Rohlfs (1969a: 369–70).

sacra see Livy 5.52.4. A. Thomas (1904: 63) made the point that *gentilicius* and *gentilis* are synonyms. The OLD defines the primary meaning of *gentilicius* as '[o]f or proper to a particular Roman gens', and *gentilis* as '[o]f or belonging to a Roman gens'. The synonymy is also apparent from the treatment in the TLL. For *gentilicius* see VI.2–3.1865.81f. 'pertinens ad gentem sive familiam Romanam', and for *gentilis* 1867.8f. 'spectat ad gentem (familiam . . .) Romanam'. Specific cases of overlap between *gentilis* and *gentilicius* are not hard to find. The idea 'clan name', for instance, may be expressed by either adjective (Suet. *Nero* 41.1 *nomen . . . gentile*, *Claud.* 25.3 *Romana nomina dumtaxat gentilicia*; see further TLL VI.2–3.1866.14ff.). If *sacra gentilicia* (above) was the 'proper' phrase, *sacrum gentile* is also attested (Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.152). If there is a difference between *gentilis* and *gentilicius* in this primary use (of the Roman *gens*), it is that *gentilis* is the more literary word, found in poetry and artificial prose (notably Tacitus' *Annals*: see the examples at TLL VI.3.1867.9ff.), whereas *gentilicius* usually retained a technical tone. It occurs in prose, including jurists. Plautus' use of *-arius* to impart a technical tone to various adjectives (see 4.3.3) would display the same function of extended suffixation.

A possible case of a blending of *-icius* with another adjectival suffix was cited above (4.3.1) from the *Pactus legis Salicae* (*pastoricialis: pastoricius* was a normal denominative formation, modelled on *patricius* etc.: see 3.3).

Rather more common in texts of the same period was a blending of *-icius* with *-arius*.

carrucaricius

Carrucarius 'belonging to the *carruca*' is quite well attested, applied to e.g. carriage animals, or used substantivally in the same sense as *mulio* (TLL III.499.5ff.). There is also one attestation of the augmented form *carrucaricius*, at *Pact. leg. Sal.* 38.1, in one codex (A 1): *si quis caballum carrucaricium inuolauerit*. Other manuscripts have *caballum qui carrucam trahit*, which may embody a gloss on the adjective.

anguillaricius

Pact. leg. Sal. 27.27 has (in some manuscripts) *si quis retem ad anguillas de flumen furauerit*, of the theft of a net for catching eels. Other manuscripts have the expression *retem anguillaricium* (with various misspellings). The adjective is not otherwise attested (TLL II.51.13f.), and there is no alternative form *anguillarius* extant.

There are various such formations in the *Leges Alamannorum* (MGH, *Leg. sect.* I.V.1):

68, p. 135.13 si quis in uaccaritia legitima, ubi sunt duodecim uaccas uel amplius, taurum ex ea inuolauerit (var. lect. *uaccaria*)

81, p. 141.7–8 si quis stubam, ouile, porcaritiam domum alicuius concremauerit (var. lect. *porcarium*; of note here is the use of *domus* with the adjective, of a pigsty; there was often an ellipse of *domus*, as will be seen below)

82, pp. 142.16–143.1 bonum canem porcaritium, ursaritium, uel qui uaccam et taurum prendit (with variant readings *porcarium* and *ursarium*).

The formation is also well attested in the early medieval Frankish legal text the *Capitulare de uillis* (MGH, *Leg. sect.* II.1)

23, p. 85.5 in unaquaque uilla nostra habeant iudices uaccaritias, porcaritias, berbicaritias, capraritias, hircaritias (a series of substantival feminines denoting animal dwellings, with ellipse of *domus*: see above)

62, p. 89.13 de ferrariis et scrobis, id est fossis ferrariis uel aliis fossis plumariciis.

There is enough evidence here to show that *-aricius* had achieved a place in the Latin legal register adopted by the Franks, but Romance evidence shows that the usage was almost certainly rooted in popular language. *Porcaricia* is cited at REW 6658 as a feminine noun for a pigsty reflected in various Romance languages. On the Romance (particularly Gallo-Romance) outcomes of the formation see especially A. Thomas (1903); also Spitzer (1921), A. Thomas (1904: 65–6).

4.3.5 *-īnus*

humaninus

This occurs in the Oribasius translations, with words for ‘dung’ (*stercus*, *finus*): TLL VI.2–3.3075.iff., Mørland (1932: 125), Svennung (1932: 87). For an example (*stercus humaninus*, sic) see Mørland (1940: 106) Aa line 24. Here is a striking extension of the function of the suffix, which has to be put down to an analogy. *-inus*, as noted earlier (1), is regularly attached to the stem of nouns denoting animals (*asininus*, *caballinus*, *caninus*, *ceruinus*, *equinus*, etc.: Leumann 1977: 326). Such adjectives are often in technical (e.g. medical) treatises applied to words for ‘dung’, and it is on the analogy of e.g. *stercus caninum*, *caballinum* etc. that *stercus humaninus* must have been formed. This ad hoc coinage does not differ in meaning from *humanus*.

A coinage of this type is to be distinguished from the diminutive formation *-īnus* (see below, 7).

4.3.6 *-osus**tremulosus*

See Svennung (1932: 132) on Oribas. *Syn.* 8.1 add. Ab p. 265 *tremulosus* ~ Aa p. 205 *tremulus*; also Souter (1949: 428), giving the sense as 'quivering'. There are examples (assembled by Thomas 1929–30: 162, with the rendering 'qui éprouve des tremblements') in the medieval medical glosses collected by Sigerist, e.g. B p. 30 (= 'Antidotaire de Bamberg', on which see A. Thomas 1929–30: 98) *omnibus tremulosis et inpetiginosis*. *Tremulosus* may look interchangeable with *tremulus*, but it is a medical term, which aligns itself with other medical adjectives in *-osus* (note the juxtaposition in the above passage), and no doubt generalises the meaning of the base form (= 'one prone to the shakes', rather than one 'shaking' at a particular moment); for this function see below, 11.1.2).

ridiculosus

Svennung (1932: 132) associates this with *tremulosus*. It is transmitted at Plaut. *Stich.* 389 but changed to *ridiculissimos*, and otherwise belongs to late Latin (e.g. Jerome: see Rönsch 1875: 127–8). An obvious derivation would be from the adjective *ridiculus*, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that it is based on the substantival neuter *ridiculum*.

anxiosus

Twice in Caelius Aurelianus: *Tard.* 3.95, p. 736.8 *tum post uespertinum cibum ungenda crura atque brachia, quod est dormituri anxiosum*, 3.103, p. 740.24 *somnus difficilis uel anxiosus*. Both times it is applied to things that are full of or cause anxiety in a person. By contrast the only instance of *anxius* in Bendz's index (1990–3: 11.969) is applied to a person (an *aegrotans*). The suffix effects a differentiation from the base adjective.

fatuosus

The *TLL* vi.1.370.20 quotes one example of this from an Old Latin version of Sirach 21:21, where the Vulgate has *fatuo* and the Septuagint $\mu\omega\pi\tilde{\omega}$ (cf. Ernout 1949: 40). This must be an isolated coinage with no wider currency; it leaves no trace in the Romance languages (unlike *fatuus* itself: see *REW* 3223; Fr. *fade* on the other hand reflects **fatidus* (*REW* 3223.2), which shows a change of suffix possibly through contamination with *uapidus* or *sapidus*: see *FEW* III.438, Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 251).

imbecillosus

See *TLL* VII.1.416.38ff., Ernout (1949: 41). Another ad hoc coinage, with only one example cited: Aug. *Vera relig.* 15.29 *corpus hominis . . . post peccatum factum est imbecillosum et morti destinatum*. Here is an educated writer perhaps coining the augmented form for emphasis ('full of weakness'), a phenomenon that is not relevant to any submerged variety of Latin.

asperosus

Another term cited just once by the *TLL* (II.827.66ff.) (see also Ernout 1949: 33), from a medical work (the Latin Dioscorides).

-osus adjectives with adjectival base come up again below, II.1.2. On the suffix used in southern Italian dialects to augment adjectives (e.g. Sic. *scurusu* = 'oscuro', *robustoso* in Old Umbrian) see Rohlf's (1969a: 441).

Something may now be said about the apparent doubling of a single suffix.

4.4 'Double' suffixation (?)

The most obvious candidates for inclusion in this category are adjectives in *-ar(i)arius*, which are collected and discussed by Svennung (1936: 54–8); see also (more briefly) Olcott (1898: 139), Väänänen (1981a: 85).

This formation does not usually represent a redundant doubling up of the suffix at all, but occurs where the base itself already has *-arius*. Note e.g. *CIL* VI.9895 *C. Rusticelio Felici Afro sigillariario* (according to the *OLD* s.v. *sigillariarius*, a 'maker of *sigillaria*'). *Sigillaria* were '[s]mall objects of pottery stamped in relief with figures or ornamentation' (*OLD*). By contrast a *sigillarius* (*CIL* VI.9894) was a 'maker of *sigilla*' (*OLD*). A *specularius* was a mirror maker, but, *specularia* being panes of glass, a *speculariarius* was a window maker (for the word see Olcott 1898: 169).

A more interesting case is *cellarius*. From *cella* there was formed *cellarius* ('of or connected with a *cella*'), which is already in Plautus, both as an adjective (*Mil.* 845; see also Svennung 1936: 54) and as a substantivised masculine (*Capt.* 895; 'cellar-man, -master'). From the substantivised neuter *cellarium* (quoted by the *OLD* from Scaev. *Dig.* 32.41.1), which had much the same meaning as *cella* ('store-room', *OLD*), *cellarius* was formed, with the same meaning as *cellarius* (Svennung 1936: 54; also 56 for examples). See e.g. Bened. *Reg.* 31, p. 59 Linderbauer *cellarius monasterii elegatur de congregatione sapiens*. For the extensive Romance reflexes of *cellariarius* see

FEW II.1.575, REW 1803 (for the type of extended suffix here (-*arius*, with *i*), see above, 2 and the terms in the second paragraph of that section).

Cellar-arius is not strictly a formation with a redundant repeated suffix, but given the synonymy of *cellarium* with *cella* it must have been open to the analysis *cell-ararius*. Similarly *capsararius* is based not on *capsa* but *capsarium* (Svennung 1936: 54; also TLL III.363.1ff. for this substantival neuter), but it is doubtful whether there was any difference of meaning between the normal *capsarius*, and *capsararius* (see Svennung 1936: 55, Olcott 1898: 146, equating the two). TLL III.362.53 cites *capsararius* from inscriptions as the title of a functionary, = 'custos vestimentorum'. The same meaning is given for *capsarius* (362.68), a usage attested in legal texts and inscriptions.

It is however very difficult to find genuine cases of a suffix -*ar(i)arius* where there is not a primary derivative in -*arius* on which the secondary derivative is based.

5 Conclusions

Some classifications of the above data may be attempted, with the aim of determining the motivations of augmented suffixes. It must also be asked whether augmentation can be reduced to a simple stylistic description (was it, for example, vulgar?), and whether there are chronological variations. The evidence discussed above is selective, because a comprehensive account of extended suffixes would fill a book. The material assembled is enough to bring out the issues and at least to suggest some answers, and it may also open the way to further investigations, as this is a topic that has not been systematically studied. In what follows the terms discussed in the previous section (4.4) are disregarded, as being a special case and difficult to classify.

About thirty-five words were considered above (4.1–3). Of these, thirteen have a meaning different from or not entirely overlapping with that of the base form (*canosus*, *trepidarius*, *crudius*, *medianus*, *decimanus*, *rusticanus*, *Punicanus*, *peruorsario*, *primarius*, *gentilicius*, *tremulosus*, *anxiosus*, *imbecillosus*), though in some cases by a secondary development there was some falling together of derivative and base form, whether because of semantic extension of the derivative (*medianus*, *gentilicius* (which became less technical), possibly *canosus*), or because of what has been called here semantic back-formation, whereby the base form was sometimes influenced by the derivative (*decimus/decimanus*). To the thirteen terms listed may be added *bellicosus* and *ebriosus*, which are discussed in a later section (II.1.2). It is obvious that adjectival suffixes could be freely attached to adjective-stems,

and not only in late Latin (*medianus*, *decimanus*, *rusticanus*, *gentilicius*, *primarius*, *bellicosus* and *ebriosus* are all early, and that is to say nothing of other terms that are yet to come up: see 6, II.I.2). The function of *-osus* is the easiest to capture. It generalises the meaning of the base form, such that, for example, *ebriosus* means 'prone to drunkenness' rather than 'drunk' on an occasion (II.I.2). In one or two cases (*canosus*) it seems rather to be intensive, and an intensive meaning was readily weakened. *-arius* seems to have been favoured for technical meanings, and *-icius*, at least in the early period, was found particularly in official terms.

There are twenty-two terms that are difficult or impossible to separate semantically from the base form. These may be put into several groups.

First, there are three words in *-arius* in Plautus, *manifestarius*, *praesentarius* and *subitarius*, which are semantically interchangeable with their base forms. There are several ways of interpreting these. On the one hand they perhaps provide evidence of a colloquial tendency for adjectives to be augmented by *-arius* in the early Republic (given that Plautus is traditionally regarded as a repository of colloquial Latin). Such a tendency might have been transitory, since these terms largely disappear from use later. On the other hand it was suggested that they seem to belong to technical registers, legal, financial and military, and if that were so suffixation might have enhanced the technical character of the derivative, making it differ in register, if not in meaning, from the base form (cf. *gentilicius* alongside *gentilis*).

Second, there is a miscellaneous group of eight adjectives with various suffixes, all apparently interchangeable with the base form (*perpetualis*, *aestiuallis*, *pastoriciallis*, *aestiuanus*, *humaninus*, *ridiculosus*, *fatuosus*, *asperosus*). The last three here are included with hesitation, as it is difficult to prove from the limited evidence that they were synonymous with the base form, though it was noted above (4.3, p. 559) that the suffix survived into some Italian dialects as a means of augmenting adjectives without changing their meanings. Of these all are found only in late Latin, in texts variously of low register, such as the translations of Oribasius and Dioscorides (*aestiuallis*, *pastoriciallis*, *aestiuanus*, *humaninus*, *fatuosus*, *asperosus*), or high register (*ridiculosus*, in Jerome), or both (*perpetualis*).

Third, we saw ten words in *-aricius*, all with shorter synonyms having a single rather than double suffix, and all in law codes from the Frankish area (*carrucaricius*, *anguillaricius*, *porcaricius*, *ursaricius*, *uaccaricius*, *ferrariicius*, *plumbaricius*, *berbicaricius*, *capraricius*, *hircaricius*). The law codes are marked by substandard Latin anticipating Romance (see Adams 2007: 313–29, with bibliography), and this formation itself lived on, not least in

Gallo-Romance. It is reasonable to think that these were popular terms not literary creations.

Fourth, there is *sodaliciarius*, which is synonymous with *sodalis* but a special case.

There is a pattern here, which one might expect to find reinforced by a more systematic review of the evidence. The extending of an existing adjective by another adjectival suffix goes back to early Latin, but in the early and classical periods it was a functional process, with the additional suffix either modifying the meaning of the base form or placing the term in a special register (thus, on one interpretation, the *-arius* terms in Plautus). Such suffixation continued to be used in later Latin to create terms differing in some way from the base form (e.g., in the first list in this section, *trepidarius*, *tremulosus*, *anxiosus*), but in the late period, and particularly very late Latin, coinages appear that are not distinguishable from the base forms, and this phenomenon seems to be evidenced mainly in low-register texts.

This chapter has been selective, and intended to raise issues, not to cover every manifestation of an augmented suffix. Two further suffixes may be mentioned in conclusion, but without much documentation.

First, the formation *-īcius* was added particularly to past participial bases (though not exclusively: note *nouicius*, which goes back to Plautus, and may even be the prototype for the semantic development of the formation: Leumann [1918] 1959: 13), and such forms seem often to have been interchangeable with the participle itself (*empticius* = *emptus*). The suffix was not, however, an empty one in the Latin period (but on Italian see Rohlfs 1969a: 367–8). Most examples (they are well represented already in Plautus: Leumann [1918] 1959: 14) fall into one of a limited number of categories: they may indicate the legal status of persons (*adoptaticius*, *conducticius*, *expositicius*, also *nouicius*, all of these Plautine), or be applied as technical commercial terms to goods and their acquisition (*aduecticius*, *aduenticius*, *empticius*, *importaticius*, all of them classical: Leumann [1918] 1959: 23–4), or may be juristic, administrative or grammatical terms of various types. See Leumann (1977: 301) and particularly ([1918] 1959: 13–31, with the table at 33) on the semantics and extensions of type; see also Wölfflin (1888, with the list at 425–37).

However, in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* there is a cluster of medical examples (not for the most part appearing in Wölfflin 1888 or Leumann [1918] 1959) designating mainly symptoms, and replaceable by the corresponding past participle (Adams 1995b: 533–4): *uulsicius* = *uulsus*; so *extrusicius*, *suffusicius*, *inflaticius*, *loticius*, *sideraticius*, *subtriticus*. Note too

uulneraticius (Diosc. Lat. 2 (*RF* 10, 1899), p. 242.14), which implies a wider medical use of the suffix beyond veterinary language. To speak of such terms as vulgar would be inappropriate. It was probably the technical character that the suffix had long had that made it seem apt for forming technical medical terms when a participle was available, which might just as well have described the symptom, to provide the base.

Second, the participial suffix *-atus* is sometimes applied to adjectival bases without discernible participial force (see Adams 1995b: 537–9), though possibly effecting a subtle semantic differentiation. Some of these formations have a substandard look to them, most notably *bonatus* in a freedman's speech at Petron. 74.16, meaning 'good-natured' according to M. S. Smith (1975) (cf. the name *Bonata* at *CIL* III.3314 with Kajanto 1965: 256). The suffix occurs in an extended form (with *i*) with a comparable adjectival base at Plaut. *Rud.* 463 (*bell-iata*), and is extended yet further by an additional suffix on the same base at Plaut. *Cas.* 854 (*bell-iat-ula*). These forms suggest a popular method of emotive intensification current from an early period (see further Stefenelli 1962: 138–9 for **bellatus*, *malatus*, *magnatus* later). Plautus himself has *impurata belua* (*Rud.* 543), the whole phrase with a colloquial appearance, as well as *impura belua* (*Most.* 619). Other adjectives extended in this way could also be cited (see Adams 1995b: 539), but it is hard to be certain that there is not a participial nuance to some of them.

6 Hybrid formations

Foreign suffixes may first enter a language (L2) in loan-words from a donor language (L1), and then take on a life of their own in the recipient language (L2) and become attached to roots belonging to L2 (see e.g. the comprehensive discussion of Latin suffixes in Greek in Filos 2008, Chapter 7).¹⁵ A few examples of Latin roots with Greek suffixes are discussed by Adams (2003a: 419–20), e.g. *hamiota* (Plaut. *Rud.* 310, Varro *Men.* 55) and *lupatria* (Petron. 37.6). These, to judge from their appearance in comic genres (and the *Cena Trimalchionis*), must have originated down the social scale. Some others, in Christian Latin (of the type *Rogatistae* 'disciples of Rogatus'), have been discussed by André (1971: 100–1) (see also Bauer 2011: 535).

¹⁵ On the influence of the vulgar Greek suffix *-άκιον* (from Magna Graecia) in Romance dialects of southern Italy see Rohlfs (1969a: 380).

Here are some further terms of Latin root with borrowed suffixes.

tubisculum

Tubisculum in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (593 *iosu quam genu ab interiore parte tubiscula ex osso nata inuenies*; another instance is in the same passage) seems to be a hybrid double diminutive, containing both a Latin diminutive suffix (cf. *tuberculum*, an old term from *tuber*; a form *tuberum* is also attested later) and the Greek -ισκο- (see Adams 1995b: 302–3 for details; on the complexities of the *-isco* suffix and its passage into Italian see Rohlf s 1969a: 437–8). The same Greek suffix must be present in the problematic *baliscus* at Petron. 42.2 (see Cavalca 2001: 41–2). In principle such a double diminutive is no different from Plautus' *peditastelli* (above, 1), which contains two suffixes with similar function. For double diminutives in Greek itself see L. R. Palmer (1946: 90).

The name/adjective *Syrus* appears sometimes in Latin in the Greek diminutive form *Syriscus* (see Ter. *Eun.* 772, 775, Mart. 5.70.2, Auson. *Epigr.* 87 with R. P. H. Green 1991: 412), and it must have been first in Greek terms such as this that the suffix entered Latin.

There are also various botanical terms in Latin with the ending *-iscus*, which are of unknown origin (but substrate in some sense) and certainly not Greek (see Battisti 1949: 212–13), notably *hibiscus* (see André 1985: 123) and *turbiscum* (André 1985: 266). Perhaps these terms were assimilated into Latin by the conversion of their original endings into the more familiar Greek diminutive ending. The latter term had an alternative form, attested in the Latin Oribasius, *turbischum* (André 1985: 266), which has the same hybrid appearance as *tubisculum* above. Another term is *tamariscus* (André 1985: 255), which is said to have been of African origin (André 1985: 255). This has numerous forms (listed by André), *tamarix*, *tamaricum*, *tamari-cium*, *tramaricum*, and it seems that again the *-iscus* form represents an assimilation to a relatively familiar suffix.

triticinus

This adjective, based on *triticum*, with *amylum* 'starch', thus 'starch of wheat', is attested¹⁶ in a work referred to in the past as 'Plinius Valerianus' (*Liber diaetarum*) (5.31, Cod. Sang. 752, p. 150) (see Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer 1987: 128–9, with III under *Liber diaetarum*, Adams and Deegan 1992: 90–1). The suffix *-inus* attached to plant names comes from Greek (Leumann 1977: 321). At Virg. *Georg.* 3.172 *faginus axis* is an echo of Hom.

¹⁶ Information from K.-D. Fischer.

Il. 5.838 φήγινος ἄξων (Mynors 1990: 209), and the suffix appears in loan-words as well, such as *murrinus*, *cannabinus*, *amygdalinus* (Leumann 1977: 321). *Triticinus* has a Latin base, and is equivalent to *triticeus*. There is just one attested case of *triticum* in Greek (*P. Ross. Georg* 5.64.6 τρίτικα), of the seventh century. It seems unlikely (though not to be ruled out) that the adjective *triticinus* had entered Latin directly from Greek. Other Latin words with this Greek suffix are *iuncinus* and *laurinus* (Leumann 1977: 321).

ebriacus

This word (for *ebrius* or *ebriosus*) seems to have the Celtic suffix *-acus* (see Leumann 1977: 338, and particularly Schulze 1904: 284–5), known from place names and also family names current particularly in the north of Italy (see Schulze 1904: 11–19, with e.g. 15 and 17 on names such as *Curtiacus* (T. Curtiacus, of Bononia, *CIL* xi.21) alongside Lat. *Curtius*; on the suffix in names in Italian in the north see Rohlf 1969a: 382). *Ebriacus* alongside *ebrius* might have been coined in northern Italy on the analogy of such pairs as *Curtiacus/Curtius* (so Schulze 1904: 284). *Ebriacus* has a distinctly non-standard profile. It survives widely in the Romance languages, including Old French and Provençal, Italian, to the north in Engadine and Friulan, and in Ibero-Romance (see *REW* 2818, *FEW* III.199–200). Its wide currency in Romance is in contrast to its rarity in Latin texts (see Adams 2003b: 566 for details to that date; also Heraeus 1900: 306 n.), a discrepancy which suggests that the word had a life in lower sociolects. Indeed it was, according to Charisius p. 105.3 Barwick, a term that ‘one should not use’. There is, it seems, an example in a Vindolanda tablet (*Tab. Vindol.* 662, but the *c* is unclear), from a Celtic province, though that is probably due to chance. Another instance is in one of the mimes of Laberius (10, ap. Nonius p. 154.7 Lindsay; 8 Panayotakis 2010), a writer notoriously given to admitting *ignobilia nimis et sordentia (uerba)* (see Gell. 19.13.3, 16.7.4–14). There is now a case in a graffito from the Casa di Augusto (Rome) published by Solin (2008a: 112) (no. 16): *Sampsaius ebriacus*. The name is Semitic (see Solin), and the context thus in line with the view that the adjective was distinctly non-standard. Finally, the word turns up sometimes in late low-register texts (e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 45.3, with E. Löfstedt 1911: 332). Heraeus (1900: 306 n.) (followed by *FEW* III.200) compares for the formation late Latin *sobriacus* ‘sober’, which occurs in an inscription (see Souter 1949: 380).

The interest of *ebriacus* is that it is a hybrid form, with a suffix not from the usual source, Greek, but from one of the disregarded vernacular languages of the Roman world. It is not the only such hybrid in

Laberius. Another is *leuenna* (80¹, Gell. 16.7.11), which has an Etruscan suffix (see Adams 2003a: 164–5, with further bibliography at 165 n. 226), found occasionally in hybrids in Latin comic writers (Pomponius 108 Frassinetti *Dossennus*, Plaut. *Aul.* 659 *sociennus*) and reflecting language contact at low social levels. Suffixation of this type has a provincial look to it, and indeed Laberius has various other provincial terms in fragments cited by Gellius in 16.7, namely *gurdus* (8), which may have been of Spanish origin (Quint. 1.5.57), *obba* (9), possibly African (Adams 2007: 540) and *botulus* (11) = *farcimen*, possibly Oscan (see Ernout and Meillet 1959: 75). *Talabarrio* (-*iunculus*) (6) must also come from a vernacular language (Etruscan?: see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: II.643, Breyer 1993: 515).

6.1 Conclusions

The limited terms discussed in this section are all in low-register texts. The borrowing of suffixes from vernacular languages other than Greek is bound to have taken place mainly at low social levels (though in the very early period Etruscan was a language of high status in Roman eyes).

This section is far from exhausting the topic of hybridisation, a phenomenon sometimes exploited in high literature for allusive or humorous effect (see the remarks of Biville 2002: 97–8), as for example in Cicero's *fac-teon* (*Att.* 1.16.13). Not all hybrids are marked as such by a suffix alien to the root (note e.g. *epitogium* at Quint. 1.5.68, where it is a Greek prefix that is attached to a Latin root).

7 A diminutive formation

The *-inus* suffix developed in later Latin a diminutive or affective use, in the formation both of adjectives (of the type *miserinus*) and nouns (see Niedermann 1954b for a full account of this usage; also Leumann 1977: 327, Adams 2007: 535). This diminutive function, which was productive in the Romance languages (particularly Italian, Portuguese and Rhetoroman: see Niedermann 1954b: 329: e.g. It. *gattino*, *tavolino*, *poverino*, Pg. *casinha*, *gatinha*, and, for Italian, Rohlfs 1969a: 412–14), seems to have developed out of one of the functions of the suffix in the formation of gentilicia (see Niedermann 1954b: 332, Leumann 1977: 327; against, Kajanto 1965: 114).

Kajanto (1965: 36) states that the 'origin of the cognomina in *-inus* may... be sought in adoptions and in derivations from the gentilicia of the parents' (see also Kircher-Durand 2002b: 136). The first type, which is not relevant here, may be exemplified by the republican *Calpurnii Pisones Caesonini*. They 'owed their second cognomen to the cos. of 148 BC, who

had been adopted from the *gens Caesonia*' (Kajanto 1965: 36). The second type is primarily a patronymic formation, as for example in the female name *Calpurnina*, formed from the father's gentile name *Calpurnius*. Kajanto (1965: 36) says that there are no certain cases of the latter type in the Republic, but a steady flow in the nomenclature of the *plebs ingenua* in the Empire. He lists some specimens (1965: 113): '*Adiutorinus* (father *Adiutor*), *Agrippina* (two daughters of *Agrippa*), *Amandinus/na* (son and daughter of *Amandus*), *Blaesina* (father *Blaesus*), *Dolabellina* (daughter of *Dolabella*), *Marcellinus* (mother *Marcella*).' Further examples are given by Niedermann (1954b: 332), with some interesting variants on the pattern: e.g. base word the name of an elder brother, derivative the name of a younger brother (*CIL* XI.681 *Iustus et Iustinus*, sons of the same father), base word the name of an elder brother, derivative the name of a sister (*CIL* VI.19917 *Capito* alongside *Capitolina*, the latter dissimilated from **Capitonina*). The derivative in *-inus/a* denotes a younger person in relation to the bearer of the base name: *Iustinus* implies 'little *Iustus*', and so on.

These are not the only types of names in *-inus* (as Kajanto 1965: 113 puts it, the formation was 'largely used to coin new varieties from old cognomina'), but names of the second type above have a discernible diminutive relation to the base name (particularly in the extended type in which *-inus* occurs in the name of a younger sibling), and might have served as the model for a diminutive use taken beyond the sphere of nomenclature. A parallel will be seen below (8).

A small selection of diminutive examples, both nominal and adjectival, is given here. Others may be found in Niedermann (1954b); see also Kay (2006: 208–9).

At *Mul. Chir.* 965 (*ciconinas iam paene uolantes in ollam . . . mittis*) *ciconina* in meaning is clearly a diminutive of *ciconia* 'stork' (see Niedermann 1954b: 333). The adjective *ciconinus* is attested in conventional uses (*TLL* III.1051.73ff., citing Sidon. *Epist.* 2.14.2 *usque ad aduentum . . . ciconinum*), but the bird name above must contain the diminutive suffix attached independently to the base.

For *uncinus* 'little hook' < *uncus* see ps.-Acron p. 86.19 (on *echinus*): *uas in modum echini marini; alii lignum cum uncinis, in quo suspenduntur calices*. For *uncinus* in Romance languages (e.g. It. *uncino*) see REW 9055; *uncus* does not survive.

An adjective with diminutive function is *miserinus*, which occurs several times in funerary inscriptions of tragic tone for small children (see Niedermann 1954: 330): e.g. *CIL* VIII.12794 *Nimp[h]ydia miserina, uixit anno uno m. viii diebus xx*. There are other instances of the same type.

At Soranus Lat. p. 43.1 Rose (*micinas in mulsa uel in condito aut in lacte infusas*) *micina* is from *mica* 'mouthful' (see Adams 2007: 535). It denotes the first solid food given to an infant.

Again in the context of infants there is Soranus Lat. p. 43.6 Rose *aliquando aquam aliquando uinum aquatius per uasculum uitreum ad similitudinem papillae formatum et pertusum, quod rustici ubuppam appellant aut titinam*. *Titina* is a baby's small glass drinking vessel (note the diminutive *uasculum* of the same object) shaped like a teat. *Titina* is sometimes attested of the breast itself (ps.-Theodorus Priscianus p. 276.27, *CGL* 1.307.10) (see Adams 2007: 540 with n. 88). Of note here is the remark that the term was used by rustics.

On the evidence just presented this diminutive formation must have been current among nurses, who by definition were down the social scale, and socially marginal figures traditionally classed as rustics. In Italian the suffix is used particularly in nursery language (see Rohlf's 1969a: 412).

An adjective in *-inus* that has only recently come to light is *calidinus* in the African medical work the *Liber tertius*, 70.16, p. 330 (K.-D. Fischer 2003) *baiae calidae, id est aquae calidinae* (see Adams 2007: 534–5), where the overlap of the affective diminutive with its base form is apparent (see below on *radicina/radix*).

A term with a distinctive distribution is *radicina*, which seems to have been a variant of the usual *radicula*, or of *radix* itself. *Radicina* is not recorded by Lewis and Short, but it occurs three times in Pelagonius (27, 91.1, 314.2) and three times in the *Antidotarium Bruxellense* (122, 126 twice) (see Souter 1949: 340). The second of these texts abounds in substandard usages. *Radicina* has been taken as a substantivised adjective (sc. *pars*) (Svennung 1935: 273, Adams 1995b: 587), but it is more likely to have been a directly formed nominal diminutive (cf. above on *ciconina* versus the adjective *ciconinus*), like *micina* (< *mica*) and *titina* (< *titta*). For the use of *radicina* in Pelagonius (overlapping with *radix*) see Adams (1995b: 587). At *FEW* x.20 it is observed that one of the instances in Pelagonius (at 27) refers to roots turned up by the plough, i.e. the roots of grass or plants, as distinct from trees, and that usage is consistent with a diminutive force. Vegetius twice replaced *radicina* by *radix* when he found it in his source Pelagonius (Veg. *Mul.* 1.56.25, 2.131.2 ~ Pel. 29, 91.1), and that is a sign of a non-standard character. *Radicina* survives in Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *racine*: see *REW* 6995, *FEW* x.20, Svennung 1935: 273, Adams 1995b: 587), and in Sardinia and northern France supplanted *radix* (on this point see *FEW* x.20; for Sardinian see Wagner 1960–4: 333).

The profile of these terms and of the others collected by Niedermann suggests that they were non-standard, and several can be attributed to

specific lower social groups (wet nurses, midwives). They are not to be found in the high literary language, though there is one case in Apuleius (see *Met.* 6.26 *rupina* and Adams 2007: 535). The flowering of the suffix with this function in late low-register texts (and its survival into Romance) suggests that it must have been well established in submerged Latin. In Italy many suffixes of Latin origin developed a diminutive use that had not been their normal function in the classical period (see Rohlfs 1969a: 362–3), and in the *-inus* suffix we see an early manifestation of that phenomenon (on the diversity of diminutive suffixes from Latin to Romance and in Romance see Bauer 2011: 535, 537–41). Another is to be found in a use of the masculine suffix *-io* (next section). In Greek too ‘one basic word may be fitted out with a variety of diminutive suffixes’ (L. R. Palmer 1946: 90).

8 *-io*

This suffix used with diminutive or pejorative force in the formation of masculine nouns is of less prominence in the history of Latin. It seems to have developed in Latin partly under the influence of Greek *-ίων* in the sphere of nomenclature (see Leumann 1977: 364–5, Gaide 1988: 198, Adams 2003b: 562; note Kajanto 1965: 122 ‘Greek nomenclature may have contributed to the popularity of *-io* in Latin cognomina’). Thus *Καίσαριων* ‘son of Caesar’ passed into Latin also (*TLL Onom.* 44.8ff. s.v. *Caesario*; also Kajanto 1965: 122, noting that Greek influence is ‘palpable’ in this word), and was open to the sort of reinterpretation seen in the previous section (‘son of Caesar’ > ‘little Caesar’). *-io* occurs in Latin names with a pejorative quality (e.g. *Glabrio*; cf. above, 3.2 on *Rufio*), and then spread to personal designations indicating despised occupations, such as *mulio* ‘muleteer’, *tenebrio* ‘one who engages in dishonest practices under cover of darkness’.

There is also a small group of masculine denominatives designating things, e.g. *pernio* ‘chillblain’ < *perna*, *cucullio* < *cucullus*, *matellio* < *matella* (see Gaide 1988: 189–99 for a comprehensive collection of evidence). On the last as diminutive note Paul. Fest. p. 113.7 Lindsay *matellio diminutivum a matula* (cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.119), but also Gaide (1988: 196), noting that in *matellio* ‘le suffixe marquerait . . . la ressemblance plus exactement que la diminution’. For the outcome of this suffix in Italian see Rohlfs (1969a: 417–18).

9 *-innus*

There are traces of a subliterate suffix *-innus*, again with diminutive force (on the suffix see Niedermann 1954b: 338–42: probably an expressive

variant, with consonantal doubling and vowel shortening, of the suffix *-inus*), seen particularly in the non-standard adjectives *pisinnus* and *pitinnus*. These (treated together at *TLL* x.1.2213.60ff.) were equivalent to *paruus*. They turn up in inscriptions and a few late texts prone to substandard usages, such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (9.2, 10.9, 24.5; see Löfstedt 1911: 197); note too *Appendix Probi* 146 *pusinnus*¹⁷ *non pisinnus*. There is also a literary example in the first-century (?) translator of Homer, Attius Labeo,¹⁸ who is twice disparaged by the scholia to Persius (1.4, where his translation technique is described as *ridicule satis*, and 1.50, where he is described as a *poeta indoctus* and as having composed *foedissime*). The line quoted at 1.4 is of some interest: *crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos* = *Il.* 4.35 ὦ μὸν βεβρώθοις Πριάμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας. *Manduco* renders βιβρώσκω, but just as striking is the use of *pisinnos* to render the neutral παῖδας. The appearance of *pisinnus* in a first-century text demonstrates that there was a submerged vocabulary throughout the history of Latin, and not merely in the late period. *Pisinnus* survives in Logudorese (*REW* 6550.2), and indeed in the sense ‘child’ found in the fragment of Labeo (see Wagner 1960–4: 287 s.v. *pittsinnu* ‘giovane, bimbo, ragazzo’). Either the *indoctus* poet was so incompetent that he did not appreciate register distinctions, or (more likely) he was trying to make some impression by the deliberate use of terms inappropriate to epic; perhaps they were chosen to suit the aggression of the utterance and the crudity of the act envisaged. Courtney (1993: 350) remarks that the ‘down-to-earth character’ of *manduco* ‘enhances the artistic effect’. Another word with this suffix is *pipinna* (Mart. 11.72.1), apparently a nursery term (of a child’s penis).

Rohlf (1969a: 424) observes that the suffix (which he ascribes to ‘latino volgare’) is found in many (Italian) dialectal words: ‘salentino *piccinnu*, calabrese *piccininnu*, sardo *pizzinnu*, *piccinnu*, sardo antico *pithinnu*, *pikinnu*, tutti quanti col significato di “piccolo”’. He also notes that a term *mininnus* is reflected in Pugliese and Portuguese. This is attested in the Latin period several times as a name (*CIL* VIII.9079 *Mininna*, XIV.1154 *Mininnus*) (Rohlf 1969a: 424 n. 1).

10 Back-formations

The genitive plural *subligariorum* is in a Vindolanda tablet (346). This must be derived from *subligarium*, not *subligar(e)* (the normal form) of which the

¹⁷ *Pusinnus* is attested both as an adjective and name: see Niedermann (1954b: 338–9).

¹⁸ On the problems of identification see Courtney (1993: 350).

genitive plural would be *subligarium*. *Subligarium* must have been coined from the neuter plural of *subligar(e)*, i.e. *subligaria*, by back-formation (see Adams 1975: 20, 1995a: 100). The form *subligar* is found at Juv. 6.70 and Mart. 3.87.4; the plural *subligaria* is at Plin. *Nat.* 12.59.

For other such cases see *Appendix Probi* 67 *cocleare non cocliarium*, CPL 314.18 *lumbarium* (TLL VII.2.1806.4ff.; the reading of the second example is not certain); for *lumbare* see e.g. Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.25, CGL V.603.21 *lumbare subligar*, TLL VII.2.1805.46ff.

Another pair are *collare* (TLL III.1576.79ff.; e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 357, Lucil. 854) and *collarium* (Priscian *GL* II.75.8, TLL III.1577.12ff.; note also CGL II.352.18 κολλάριον *collarium*, II.103.30 *collarium* περιτροχήλιον). B. Löfstedt (1959: 33) also cites *columbare* alongside *columbarium* (see TLL III.1733.43ff. for inscriptions with *columbare* of a repository of urns containing ashes; 1734.5ff. for the more common *columbarium* in the same sense).

II A special case: the suffix *-osus*

This suffix has attracted notice among both philologists (there is a monograph by Ernout, 1949) and literary scholars. There is a widespread view that much of the membership of this suffixal class was substandard in some way, and sweeping characterisations are often made of the stylistic level of the formation. Literary critics have tended to accept such views and to base on them stylistic judgments of poets or poetic genres. It is worthwhile to collect and comment on some of the assertions that have been made.

(i) *-osus* as vulgar

Baehrens (1922: 119) speaks of the ‘vulgäre Charakter der Endung *-osus*’, a character supposedly seen in the item of the *Appendix Probi* on which he was commenting: 211 *rabidus non rabiosus*. *Rabiosus* is a medical term of impeccable formation, based on *rabies*: cf. *saniosus/sanies*, *scabiosus/scabies* (on which see Langslow 2000: 344), *uermiciosus/uermicies* (see Adams 1995b: 325). It is attested from Plautus onwards, and is found in Cicero. *Rabiosus* was the technical term for ‘rabid’ (*OLD* s.v. 1, Langslow 2000: 343), whereas *rabidus* is rarely used in that sense (see *OLD* s.v. 1d) but means more generally ‘raging, ravening’: note K. M. Coleman (2006: 163): ‘*rabidus* describes uncontrollably wild creatures, ruled by violent urges, and prone to savage behaviour’.

Baehrens (1922: 119) supported his case by suggesting that Quintilian regarded *argumentosus* as a usage of the ‘Umgangssprache’. The passage

is: 5.10.10 *unde Vergili 'argumentum ingens', uulgoque paulo numerosius opus dicitur argumentosum* ('(hence Vergil's "mighty argument"), and the adjective *argumentosus* is commonly applied to a work which is somewhat complex', Russell, Loeb). Baehrens was misled by *uulgo*, which here as often does not refer to 'vulgar' usage but to a usage that is common (see above, 1.1). Russell (2001: II.371 n. 17) says of *argumentosus*: 'the context makes it clear that it is a word used of works of art, presumably those which have a lot of mythological detail, and, as it were, tell many stories'. Far from being a word of vulgar speech, *argumentosus* was an educated critical term, suggestive rather than explicit in meaning, and possibly a vogue usage among art critics. It does not turn up again until late Latin (a few times), and then with a different meaning (see Russell's note again). Baehrens' presentation of this case underlines a long-standing keenness of scholars to view terms in *-osus* as part of the stock of Vulgar Latin.

Similarly Olcott (1898: 205) says that the greatest extension of the use of adjectives in *-osus* 'is in the *sermo vulgaris*', but then undermines his opinion by stating that forty-three of the words he has collected of the formation in inscriptions out of a total of fifty-four (i.e. four fifths) 'are found in classical prose and poetry'. He concludes, less than persuasively: 'Their infrequency in *inscr.* is no disproof of their general use in the popular speech.'

(ii) *-osus* as plebeian

This idea is simply a variant of that above, but it is a persistent way of describing the suffix, which goes back to Cooper, who talks (1895: 122) of such adjectives 'abounding' in 'plebeian Latin', and states that the 'sonorous suffix' was 'well adapted to satisfy the plebeian craving for lengthened and intensified formations'.

Ross (1969: 59) asserts that 'their association with the *sermo plebeius* allowed certain of them to be used by Catullus in the lighter forms of neoteric poetry, in which they offered him a perfect means of conveying the very tone and effect such poems required – colloquial urbanity and wit derived from suggestion of the techniques and vocabulary of more serious neoteric verse'. He makes much of the supposed frequency of the formation in the polymetrics, which he puts down to its colloquial urbanity, and its absence from the epigrams, which is said to reflect the practice of 'pre-neoteric' epigram. But both corpora are small, and presence versus absence of a linguistic phenomenon cannot be studied in isolation. If a formation is absent from a corpus, that absence will only be significant if there is some alternative formation or means of expression that is used there instead. If there is not, then the writer's failure to use the formation may simply reflect

the subject matter. No attention is paid to this methodological point by those who attribute a uniform stylistic level to *-osus* adjectives and seek to find significance in their distribution. In fact *-osus* adjectives cannot be classified by a single formulation. Each must be treated as an individual case. Some may be colloquial, many are neutral, factual and technical, some are imitations of Greek epic terms, and so on.

(iii) *-osus* as rustic

Here is another categorisation from Cooper, who several times (1895: 122–3) speaks of the formation as characteristic of *sermo rusticus*.

This view has been taken up by writers on Latin poetry. Knox (1986: 92) refers to the ‘rustic associations’ of many adjectives in *-osus* as the reason why they were cultivated by Virgil in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. But adjectives with the semantic force ‘abounding in, provided with, resembling’ are inevitably often used in reference to features of topography (*aquosus*, *mont(u)osus*, *herbosus*, *harenosus* etc.), and the presence of (some of) those features in the countryside does not make the words themselves rustic. A city dweller might describe a mountainous area as *mont(u)osus*, a word that occurs in the literary language. A genuine rustic word (of which many are known: see e.g. Adams 2007: 804 s.v. ‘rustic’ Latin) by contrast may be stigmatised by the urbane educated classes, and replaced by something acceptable in higher, non-localised, social dialects. Adjectives in *-osus* tend to be labelled rustic for the wrong reason, i.e. not because the words themselves are regional, rustic terms, but because some of the features they describe happen to be located in the countryside. What does it mean to refer to ‘descriptive epithets associated with the *sermo rusticus*’ (Knox 1986: 97)? Is the *sermo rusticus* the speech of rustics, or language describing the countryside?

Knox (1986: 96) states: ‘Of the adjectives in *-osus* that Vergil may fairly be said to have imported from the descriptive vocabulary of rustic Latin, a great many found their way into Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.’ Included in this list of ‘rustic’ terms are quite a few that have no connection with rural life (e.g. *aquosus*, *maculosus*, *nimbosus*, *onerosus*, *sinuosus*, *tenebrosus*, *umbrosus*). They are ascribed to rustic Latin merely because of acceptance of the classifications of Cooper.

Similarly Ross (1969: 57) describes *morbosus* as being used by ‘rustic writers’. That is a misleading description of its distribution. It is true that it occurs in Cato and Varro, but that is because both mention disease; neither was a country bumpkin. It is also found in the annalist Coelius Antipater (36), in a number of jurists, in the grammarian Servius, in several

medical writers (Caelius Aurelianus, Oribasius Lat.) and in stylists such as Ammianus and Augustine (information from the *TLL*). The semantics of the word, not its stylistic level, determined its distribution. It means 'prone to illness, sickly' (see the *OLD* s.v.), and is thus more general than e.g. *aeger* and *aegrotus*, which could mean 'ill' on a particular occasion.

Knox (1986: 95) says in another connection: 'Vergil uses *saxosus* twice elsewhere . . . , but not in his epic, where he prefers *saxeus*.' But the basic sense of *saxosus* is 'abounding in rocks', that of *saxeus* 'made of rocks'. It is misleading to treat the two suffixes as interchangeable. Knox (1986: 96) makes a similar remark about two other adjectives. He refers to *cretosus* and 'the alternative *creteus*' as being rare in poetry. But whereas *cretosus* means 'abounding in clay, clayey', *creteus* means 'made of clay'. The failure to appreciate the functional distinctions between suffixes undermines this approach to stylistics.

(iv) *-osus* as 'unpoetic'

This is a view that surfaces in Axelson's remarks (1945: 60–1) about one member of the formation. He points out that in Virgil *formosus* occurs sixteen times in the *Eclogues*, once in the *Georgics* but never in the *Aeneid*. A generalisation about the suffix is offered. *Formosus* had, like so many other formations in *-osus*, a 'trivial character'. But the distribution is due to the subject matter of the different works, not to the stylistic level of the word itself. Note Ross (1969: 56 n. 124): '*formosus* refers to physical beauty (more fitting in the *Bucolics* than the *Aeneid*), *pulcher* to a moral or ethical sphere of beauty'.

11.1 Some specific types of *-osus* formations

11.1.1 Those based on nouns

Most adjectives in *-osus* are based on nouns and mean 'abounding in, rich in, resembling', e.g. *aquosus* 'rich in water, watery'. The noun-stem is often concrete in meaning but there are abstract bases as well. The formation is a multi-purpose one, suited to describing features of the landscape or the characteristics of disease (as *fistulosus* 'ulcerated': see Adams 1995b: 338–40, Langslow 2000: 340–5). Technical treatises inevitably have such terms, because the suffix was capable of expressing concrete features of phenomena. For Cooper (1895: 123) the fact that *-osus* adjectives are common in veterinary and medical texts is due not to their semantic properties and the subject matter of medicine, but to the 'many points in common' that medical vocabulary has with rustic Latin. However, the formation is not

restricted to down-to-earth practical texts, but is represented in the higher reaches of the literary language. According to Cooper (1895: 122) there are ninety-seven such terms in Cicero, a figure which is presented as low, given that it is preceded by 'only'. It was noted above that *-osus* adjectives are numerous in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Abnormally formed *-osus* adjectives have sometimes been classified as substandard because of their abnormality. That is particularly so of those formed on an adjectival base. Some of these were discussed above (4.3.6).

11.1.2 *Those based on adjectives*

Another word of this type is *bellicosus*, based on *bellicus*. *Bellicosus* is found in Classical Latin in e.g. Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Horace, Livy, Seneca and Tacitus, and it would not be justified to label it as non-standard simply because of its structure. *Bellicus* usually means in Classical Latin '[o]f or belonging to war, military' (*OLD* s.v. 1), and the meaning 'warlike' (s.v. 2) is mainly (in the period covered by the *OLD*) in poets and the odd writer of poeticising prose. *Bellicosus* is the standard word in prose genres with the latter meaning. It is not an exact synonym of the base form, just as the *-osus* derivatives based on adjectives discussed earlier usually differed in meaning from their stem-adjectives. The meaning 'warlike' for *bellicus* looks like a semantic back-formation from the derivative, belonging to literary language (cf. 4.3.2 on *decimus* = *decimanus*; also below on *tenebricus*).

Ross (1969: 57) states that *tenebricosus*, unlike *tenebrosus*, is an 'improper' formation, specifying 'improper' thus: 'that is, colloquial, from the adjective stem'. But such a generalisation cannot be accepted. Adjectives in *-osus* were sometimes based on adjectival bases in classical writers, as was seen in the previous paragraph (see Leumann 1977: 341–2). *Ebriosus*, for instance, is in Cicero's philosophical works and speeches and in other high-style works, such as the philosophical prose of Seneca. It generalises the meaning of *ebrius* (see above, 4.5; on the difference between *ebrius* and *ebriosus* see Sen. *Epist.* 83.11; also Schulze 1904: 285). It is possible that the model for such a form lay in medical terms in *-osus* meaning 'suffering from, prone to, a particular condition' permanently or for some time rather than momentarily (see Leumann 1977: 341; also Langslow 2000: 340–5 for the medical use), but with an extension from nominal to adjectival base.

Tenebricosus was not colloquial, as Ross states. It is found in Cicero, Varro, Seneca and Columella. Nor was Ross right about its structure. It cannot be based on *tenebricus*, which hardly exists except as a rare poeticism,

possibly coined as a back-formation from *tenebricosus* itself (Leumann 1977: 337, *OLD* s.v.). *Tenebricosus* was possibly modelled on *bellicosus* (Leumann 1977: 341–2, *OLD* s.v.), with *bellic-osus* resegmented to *bell-icosus*.

Leumann (1977: 342) also mentions *obnoxiosus* (Plautus) among *-osus* terms with an adjectival base (< *obnoxius*).

Ross (1969: 58), commenting on the nature of *-osus* formations in Catullus' polymetrics, alludes again to 'improper' formations: 'others, being technically improper formations or words never possible in higher poetry (such as *tenebricosus*, *morbosus*, *febriculosus*), suggest both their colloquial origin and the poetic potential of the termination'.

Similarly Knox (1986: 98) describes *-osus* terms with an adjectival base as 'illicit formations'.

II.1.3 *Those based on abstract nouns*

Knox (1986: 97) defines and classifies stylistically a particular type of noun-stem *-osus* adjective. Apart from 'descriptive epithets associated with the *sermo rusticus*', there is a type having a supposed connection with the *sermo plebeius*. This comprises adjectives derived from abstract nouns. That terms of abstract meaning should be particularly connected with plebeian speech is hard to believe, and a glance at the list (98) shows that they are all educated or literary words (e.g. *aerumnosus*, *curiosus*, *dolosus*, *gloriosus*, *imperiosus*). Knox (1986: 100) returns to the same idea. The exclusion of *formosus* from the *Aeneid* is explained as possibly due to 'the colloquial ring of adjectives in *-osus* derived from abstract nouns'.

II.1.4 *Those based on verbs*

Gellius (3.12.1) cites Nigidius Figulus (frg. 26) as using in his *grammatici commentarii* the terms *bibax* and *bibosus* of one *bibendi avidum*. Gellius takes him to task for admitting *bibosus*, because it has a verbal root and such adjectives do not have verbal bases: 3.12.3 *non enim simile est ut 'uinosus' aut 'uitiosus' ceteraque, quae hoc modo dicuntur, quoniam a uocabulis, non a uerbo, inclinata sunt*. Gellius cites Laber. 80 for *bibosa*: *non mammosa, non annosa, non bibosa, non procax*. On *bibosus* and possible deverbatives see Leumann (1977: 341). The few other possible instances are open to other interpretations (e.g. Lucil. 109 *labosus*, which may be based on *labes* or *labi*). *Bibosus* may be modelled on *ebriosus* and *uinosus*, with indifference to the root, or alternatively Laberius might have coined the term ad hoc 'to

follow the form of the preceding *mammosa*, *annosa*' (Langslow 2009: 71 = Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.49). See further Panayotakis (2010: 349–50).

11.2 Conclusions

The most distinctive feature of the *-osus* formation is its semantic, and indeed structural, uniformity. As Langslow (2000: 340) puts it, the 'suffix *-osus* forms adjectives on, nearly without exception, noun-stems, with the meaning "provided with, rich in" or "resembling"'. The distribution of the terms is dependent on this semantic characteristic. The majority of the base nouns are concrete, and the formation is suited to the description of concrete features of the visible world, particularly the landscape or bodily conditions. As such it is common in medical and agricultural writers, but also poets such as Virgil, in whom, as Ernout (1949: 82) puts it (cf. Langslow 2000: 340), it is an important element of picturesque description. Ernout (1949: 81), like Langslow (2000: 340), rightly rules out any attempt to assign the formation to any one register. A descriptive epithet for a feature of the landscape is not rustic merely because the feature, such as a mountain, is located in the countryside.

Some of the features that *-osus* adjectives designate are 'faults' (such as symptoms of disease), and for that reason they might be described as pejorative.¹⁹ But a pejorative term need not be substandard, and by no means all *-osus* adjectives are pejorative.

We have concentrated in this section on exceptions to the rule that most terms in *-osus* have noun (usually concrete) bases, but the exceptions are no more open to such classifications as 'vulgar, plebeian, rustic' than the others. Those based on adjectives, which go back into the Republic and continue to turn up occasionally in later Latin (see 4.3.6), have much the same semantic property as those with noun bases, with their uses derivable from the idea 'abounding in' (note particularly *ebriosus*). Those based on abstract nouns are identical in their semantics to those based on concrete nouns. It is unreasonable to assign them to the *sermo plebeius*. Finally there is the very rare type based on a verb stem, and perhaps represented only by *bibosus*. This was not a productive type in any variety of Latin. *Bibosus*

¹⁹ This is an idea that goes back to antiquity: note Nigidius Figulus frg. 4 (Gell. 4.9.1) *Nigidius Figulus . . . uersum ex antiquo carmine refert memoria hercle dignum: 'religentem esse oportet, religiosum ne fuas.' cuius autem id carmen sit, non scribit. atque in eodem loco Nigidius: 'hoc' inquit 'inclinationem semper huiusmodi uerborum, ut "uinosus mulierosus religiosus", significat copiam quandam immodicam rei, super qua dicitur. quocirca "religiosus" is appellabatur, qui nimia et superstitiosa religione sese alligauerat, eaque res uitio assignabatur.'*

was admitted by the grammarian Nigidius Figulus, but he probably took it from Laberius. It looks like a stray analogical coinage, probably by Laberius himself.

12 General conclusions: suffixation and social variation

The aim of this chapter has been to consider whether any suffixes, particularly adjectival, or any specific uses of suffixes, were considered substandard, and whether any suffixal derivatives that seem from their distribution to have been substandard had that character entirely because of their suffixes, or for other reasons.

An attempt has been made to resist the idea that, if a suffix often appears in terms referring to things that may be mundane, unpleasant or despised, that makes the suffix itself despised, vulgar or substandard. It may rather be a resource of the language, exploited by the educated when they wish to mention the mundane. Adjectives in *-osus* sometimes mean 'abounding in' something unpleasant, such as defects or symptoms of disease, but it is the referents that are unpleasant, not the suffix. *-osus* is common in all varieties of the language, including the writings of those regarded as models of classicism (e.g. Cicero and Virgil). Those, following Cooper, who would relegate it to entities such as rustic or plebeian Latin disregard its wide distribution. *-arius* has fared almost as badly as *-osus*. The substantival use was particularly productive in designating practitioners of trades, arts and professions (including those of the army), as a glance at the list assembled by Väänänen (1966: 92–4) from Pompeii shows. But if trades were little regarded by upper-class Romans (which was not even the reality, but only how they sought to present themselves), that does not mean that a standard suffixal method of denoting an artisan was also little regarded. A writer of high-style Latin will use such designations if he has to, though by definition trades come up in practical texts not in exalted poetry. One of Väänänen's Pompeian terms (1966: 93) is *librarius* 'secretary'. There is a substantial entry for this word at *TLL* VII.2.1347, which shows that it is found in Cicero's speeches and letters, and e.g. in laws, Varro, Nepos, Catullus, Seneca, Quintilian, Jerome and others. Yet in Cooper's highly selective and misleading list (1895: 72) of *-arius* nouns in Cicero, which consists entirely of words found in the letters (just five items), it fails to appear. It was a *vox propria* not a vulgarity. The components of Cooper's list seem to have been chosen to imply a substandard character for the formation, with nothing from the speeches or philosophica, and little even from the letters.

The *-arius* suffix abounds in Cicero (see Nichols 1929: 40: there are 82 such words in his works, providing 445 tokens).

Resegmentation and the consequent emergence of new suffixes may be an inevitable by-product of suffixation. Resegmentation took place in Latin throughout its history (there is selective material at 2), and the new suffixes usually became established in the language in general, not merely lower social dialects. There are, however, some reanalysed suffixes that appear only rarely and then in low-register texts, such as *-iatus* for *-atus* as an augmented form without participial force, and *-entus* for *-ulentus* (see 2). Some reanalyses must have been effected in lower social dialects without spreading across the social spectrum, but not much evidence for that has been found.

Analogy caused the appearance of some unexpected suffixal forms (see 3.1 *equale*, 4.1 *aestiualis*, 4.2 *crudiuus*, 4.3.5 *humaninus*), and these are largely found in low-register texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, Anthimus and the Oribasius translations, but that is no reason to assign them to a low social dialect. It is just as likely that most of them were isolated ad hoc creations by individuals and were not widespread. Of these terms only *aestiualis* survives in Romance.

A prominent feature of Latin suffixation is alternation between *-aris* and *-arius* (3.4.1). This is a phenomenon particularly of the Empire but it is already established in the Republic and Augustan period. *Auxiliaris* and *auxiliarius* are both found in the late Republic. Caesar, for example, has *auxiliaris* of auxiliary troops and Cicero has *auxiliarius* in the same application. *Alaris* and *alarius* are used interchangeably by Livy (see OLD for all these terms). These alternations are suggestive of free variation, not of a social or stylistic distinction between the two suffixes. In the Empire too it proves impossible to assign one formation to a higher social plane than the other. In some pairs one form predominates, in others the other, and it has to be concluded, despite a suggestive item in the *Appendix Probi* (a work whose credentials as a source of non-standard Latin have in any case been undermined), that there long continued an element of optional variation, based simply on the similarity of form (and identity in the neuter plural).

A suffixal derivative sometimes turns out to be substandard (in some uses) not because of its suffix, which may be regularly structured, but because of a semantic development that the word itself had undergone. That is so with *medianus* (4.3.2), a term that has often appeared in the literature on Vulgar Latin. Its structure, with adjectival base (< *medius*), is of not uncommon type (cf. *rusticus* > *rusticanus*). The suffixation conferred

a specialised sense that separated the word in part from *medius*, and in this sense it is Ciceronian and found in educated Latin over a long period. It seems to have been taken up by modern scholars as a vulgarism because of its relative frequency in a famous text, the *Peregrinatio Aetherae*, but there it preserves the classical meaning already attested in Cicero. However, in one late text *medianus* extended its meaning further into the territory of *medius*, and as this text (the Latin Oribasius) is regarded as low-register, the word may possibly be claimed as substandard after all, but only in the extended meaning. This development has nothing to do with suffixation as such. There also remains the possibility that this was an isolated lapse by the translator and not a reflection of current usage.

Extended adjectival forms (those in which an adjectival suffix has been added to an existing adjective) turn out not to be a unity (4). Augmentation cannot be classified in blanket terms as vulgar. Often, particularly in earlier Latin, the suffix is functional, in that it either modifies the meaning of the base form, or is adopted as appropriate to the register or genre in which it is used. Various *-arius* adjectives in Plautus seem to have belonged to technical registers, and in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* a group of terms in *-icius* with participial bases, all of them describing symptoms of disease, must owe their extended form (the participle base would have expressed the same idea) to an attempt to set up an impressive medical terminology. The suffix had long had a place in various technical registers.

We presented, however (see 5), some evidence for thinking that semantically empty augmentation became more frequent in very late Latin, particularly in low-register texts. *-aricius* was seen to be influential in the Romance languages, and *-osus* in some dialects of Italian (4.3.6). Already in Plautus there are signs of a comparable phenomenon (the empty use of *-(i)atus*), which can be paralleled in a freedman's speech in the *Cena Trimalchionis* (5). The tendency might always have been weakly present, but every potential instance must be assessed individually in case the extended form is semantically motivated.

Hybrid terms (with suffixes alien to Latin) were sometimes markedly substandard, particularly if the suffix was from a vernacular language (as distinct from Greek) (e.g. *ebriacus*). Greek-based hybrids resist simple classification, just as Greek loan-words were introduced at different social levels. Some such hybrids were literary or even artificial (e.g. Cicero's *facteon*), but others were seen that must have been created down the social scale.

Two substandard suffixal formations were identified, both of them with diminutive function. First, the diminutive use of *-inus* seems from its distribution to have been socially marginalised. Instances were noted from

nursery language, the language of rustics, and from certain medical and veterinary texts known for their substandard elements. One such term, *radicina*, was rejected by the purist Vegetius when he found it in his source. The use of the suffix to form nursery terms continues into Italian. Second, *-innus*, as in *pisinnus*, was even more markedly non-standard. It has a shadowy existence in extant Latin, where it is confined to low-register texts or special contexts, but remained productive in Romance dialects. The use of a diversity of suffixes (as distinct from the restricted classical diminutive formations) to impart a diminutive sense (cf. also *-io* above, 8) seems to be a foreshadowing of what we see in Italian (see Rohlfs 1969a: 362–3).

*Compound adverbs and prepositions***1 Introduction: compound adverbs/prepositions in Latin, Romance and Greek**

There are many compound adverbs and prepositions that appear for the first time in later Latin (particularly in Bible translations, but also in texts not based on Greek originals: cf. below, 6.10). Some terms are both adverbial and prepositional. Compounds are of some significance historically, in that, despite a restricted distribution in extant Latin, they frequently survive in the Romance languages. Here is a selective list of terms from the later period (a longer list, of about seventy-seven items, but itself not exhaustive, may be found at C. Hamp 1888: 368, and there are extensive collections of material in Rönisch 1875: 231–5, Salonius 1920: 218–28, Norberg 1944: 76–91, Bastardas Parera 1953: 99–103 (medieval examples), E. Löfstedt 1959: 163–71 and Mihăescu 1978: 262–6; Mihăescu lists almost eighty terms, which do not entirely overlap with those of Hamp):

abante, abintro, aforas, aforis, alonge, amodo, decirca, dedeorsum, deforas, deforis, deinter, deintus, delonge, demane, depost, deretro, detrans, exante, inante(a), insimul.

The outcome of the category in Romance is discussed by Sävborg (1941), and most of those who have commented on the Latin material have drawn some attention to Romance reflexes. The following selection, which could be extended, will give an idea of the mark left by such compounds:

abante > It. avanti, Fr. avant,¹ Prov. avans, Cat. abans (*FEW* 1.2, Coromines 1980–2001: 1.5).

*adsatis > It. assai, OProv. asatz, Fr. assez (*FEW* 1.39).²

¹ Fr. *devant* (earlier *davant*), It. *davanti* and Cat. *dabant* are from *de* + *abante*.

² The meanings of the reflexes of **adsatis* vary in line with the meanings of Lat. *satis* (in French 'quite' and in Italian 'very').

aforas/-is > Cat. afora, Sp. afuera, Pg. afora (*REW* 265, *FEW* III.705, Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II.971).

deab > It. da (Battisti and Alessio 1950–7: II.1201, Cortellazzo and Zolli 1999: 428, Svennung 1949–50).

deex > Fr. dès, OCat. des, Pg. dès (*FEW* III.27–8; for Sp. *desde* see Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II.459).³

deforas/-is > It. difuori (Battisti and Alessio 1950–7: II.1298), OFr. defors (*FEW* III.702), Fr. dehors (*FEW* III.705), Cat. defora (Coromines 1980–2001: IV.112) (see also *REW* 2520).

deintro > It., Sp., Pg. dentro (Battisti and Alessio 1950–7: II.1251, Cortellazzo and Zolli 1999: 447, Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II.444).

deintus > OFr. denz, OProv., Cat. dins (*FEW* III.31).

demane > It. domani, Fr. demain, Cat. demà (*FEW* III.36–7).

deretro > It. dietro, Fr. derrière (*FEW* III.47–9).

adretro > It. addietro, Fr. arrière (*REW* 198, *FEW* I.38–9).

inante > OIt. inante, OProv. enan, Cat. enant (*FEW* IV.615–16).

insimul > It. insieme, OFr. ensem, Fr. ensemble (*FEW* IV.716).

Though many compound adverbs/prepositions are not attested until late, the category itself goes back to the earliest period in Latin. *Abhinc*, *adhuc*, *circumcirca*, *deinde*, *deorsum*, *derepente*, *desubito*, *desuper*, *exinde*, *inibi*, *insuper*, *interibi*, *introuorsus*, *proinde* and *propalam* are all old (see Wackernagel 1926–8: II.225–34 = Langslow 2009: 681–93, Norberg 1944: 76).⁴ On the problematic form *demagis*, which will not be discussed here, see Adams (2007: 374–7).

The old formations fall into several categories, though the details are not all clear. First, some adverbs are fossilised case forms, and these could be used with the preposition appropriate to that case (*desubito*, possibly *derepente*, which might rather be modelled on *desubito*, perhaps *inibi* and *interibi* (Wackernagel 1926–8: II.225–6 = Langslow 2009: 682 with n. 3); cf. ἔξ ὧν, εἰσάντα and Wackernagel 1926–8: II.225 = Langslow 2009: 681). Second, according to Wackernagel (225; Langslow 681) *propalam* is a special case: it belongs to a small group in which the ‘preposition’ retains its old adverbial meaning, which specifies the adverb following, and emphasises in this case the idea of openness. There is another way of describing this compound. The two parts are near synonyms (‘forward, in a prominent position’, ‘in public, publicly’), and the word may

³ But see E. Löfstedt (1959: 171).

⁴ In Homeric Greek (and its imitators) a distinctive type of compound shows two prepositions combined, the second almost always being ἔξ or πρό, e.g. ἄπὸπρό (adverb and preposition), διαπρό, ἐπιπρό, διέξ, πρόρεξ: see Wackernagel (1926–8: II.231) = Langslow (2009: 688–9), Schwyzler and Debrunner (1950: 429–30), Chantraine (1963: 145–6).

belong in the sixth category below (this paragraph). Third, there are those examples in which an adverb, itself with separative or directional force, is recharacterised by a prepositional prefix which also expresses separation or direction towards, though sometimes the compound acquires a specialised sense (*exinde, deinde, adhuc*; cf. ἐξ ὁμόθεν, ἐξ (or ἀπ') οὐρανόθεν, and in Biblical Greek, e.g. Mark 5:6 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν for μακρόθεν;⁵ for recharacterising of a directional note εἰσοπίσω (Hom. ἐς περ ὀπίσω) alongside ὀπίσω; see Wackernagel 1926–8: II.226 = Langslow 2009: 682). Fourth, *desuper*, which is republican but not particularly early (Caesar onwards), represents a slight extension of this last type: it does not hypercharacterise but adds a separative sense that the base *super* does not have. Fifth, in the two terms with *uorsum* (-s) as second element, a directional sense is given to, or reinforced in, the first element by the second (*de-uorsum* 'towards down', *introuorsus* 'towards to-within'). There is also a pleonastic remotivating of the first, in *deorsum uersus* (Cato, Claudius Quadrigarius, Varro, *al.*: TLL v.1.559.44ff.): here *uorsum* of the base is repeated in *uersus*. The same pleonasm is to be seen in *sursum uorsum* (Plautus, Cato, *al.*: see OLD s.v. *sursum* 1b), in that *sursum* derives from *sub* + *uorsum*. Sixth, *circum-circa* seems to derive from an old habit of using in juxtaposition pairs of synonymous or near synonymous adverbials. Another pair (*trans contra* in Vitruvius) will come up in 2 below; cf. *propalam* and *deorsum uersus* above. On the pleonastic combination of synonymous pairs see Norberg (1944: 77, 77–8), E. Löfstedt (1959: 169), with bibliography.⁶

Developments in later Latin (and Greek)⁷ represent particularly an extension of the phenomena seen in the third and fourth categories (see below, 6).

Editors of late texts print the Latin terms that are the subject of this chapter variously as either compounds (*deintus*) or 'prepositional' (*de intus*). In this chapter terms that come up in the discussion are written as

⁵ See Wackernagel (1926–8: II.226) = Langslow (2009: 682); on (ἀπὸ) μακρόθεν also Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976: 82–3), = Att. πόρρωθεν; see too below, 6.3.

⁶ An indefinite type with reduplication is seen in *undeunde*, which is an adverb at Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.88 (= 'from wherever'). Such forms (e.g. *utut, ubiubi*) are usually generalising subordinating conjunctions rather than adverbial (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 561–2, Wills 1996: 88).

⁷ Later Greek will come up particularly at 6 below, especially 6.10. On compound adverbs (preposition + adverb) as characteristic of Hellenistic and later Greek see (with examples) Mayser (1934: 538–42), (1936: 205); also Jannaris (1897) §§1516, 1754, 1767, 1785, 1786. Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976: 174, §215 n. 3) cite ὑποκάτω κλίνης (Luke 8:16), which they equate with Att. ὑπὸ (τὴν) κλίνην, which is at Mark 4:21 (on ὑποκάτω, which is old but very common later, see Mayser 1934: 542). In the Vulgate version of the first passage the Latin is *sub lecto*. See also Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976: 93, §116.3). Note e.g. Luke 16:16 ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται = *ex eo regnum Dei euangelizatur*, 2 Kings 20:2 καὶ ἀνέβη πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ ὀπίσθεν Δαυίδ.

compounds, but in quotations of editions the spelling of the editor is usually retained. There are no phonetic grounds for making a distinction between, say, *deintus* and *de intus*. The accentuation was the same (*deintus*, *de íntus*), since prepositions were proclitic and formed a single accentual unit with the dependent term. The uncertainty caused even by the orthography of conventional prepositional usages comes out in some ancient documents with regular interpuncta: sometimes no point is put between preposition and dependent noun (Adams 1996: 208 with bibliography), though words of other types in the same texts are regularly separated in this way; but sometimes on the other hand a prepositional prefix (of a verb) is separated from the root by a point (e.g. *P. Oxy.* 44.3208 *de.mostrabit*). There are good historical reasons for treating terms such as *deintus* as single lexemes. They often had an outcome in Romance that was no longer divisible (in this case e.g. OFr. *denz*). It is reasonable to think that once a form comprising *de* + adverb became widely current it would be visualised as a unit and written as a single word, but consistency, as in other aspects of Latin orthography, is unlikely to have been achieved. We will see below (§ 3)) that it suited grammarians sometimes to maintain that a 'compound' was not really such, and if so it would have been a matter of principle for them to write it with the parts separated.

1.1 Some observations on the third type above

A term such as *exinde* has a redundant prefix, which reinforces the separative idea already present in the base form. Since this type along with the fourth type above proliferates in late Latin it may be worthwhile to dwell on its roots in the language.

Comparable forms of pleonasm to that seen in *exinde* are profoundly established in Latin. A notable phenomenon, particularly but not exclusively in the early period, is the redundant use of a local adverb alongside another local term (an adverb or prepositional expression). Univerbation is not a possibility in these cases, because the juxtaposed terms had separate accents. The second would sometimes have been felt to be appositional, and the first to be anticipatory and even followed by a pause (or, in comedy, accompanied by a gesture). But some such combinations are functionally similar to and even anticipations of later compounds.

Here is some Classical material: Plaut. *Mil.* 666 *hilarissimum conuiuiam hinc indidem expromam tibi* ('from here, from the same place'), *Pseud.* 1164 *memento ergo dimidium istinc mihi de praeda dare* (*istinc* intrudes within the partitive expression *dimidium de praeda*, and is in apposition to and

anticipatory of *de praeda*), *Most.* 405 *aedis occludam hinc foris* (*hinc foris* is comparable to the later compounds *deforis* and *aforis* (see 6.8); since *foris* could also have a static sense, *hinc* removes the ambiguity), *Amph.* 743 *egone aps te abii hinc?* (*hinc* is constantly associated in Plautus with *abeo* and *abscedo*; cf. *Rud.* 266 *hinc imus, hau longule ex hoc loco*, where *hinc ire*, which is frequent in Plautus, is not much different from *abire*), *Cist.* 546 *hinc ex hisce aedibus . . . | . . . uidi exeuntem mulierem*, *Mil.* 1136 *exeuntis uideo hinc ex proxumo* (cf. *Men.* 790, *Stich.* 431), *Mil.* 9 *sed ubi Artotrogus hic est?*, *Cic. S. Rosc.* 13 *ne hic ibidem ante oculos uestros trucidetur* (see Landgraf 1914: 37–8 on this passage, with a wealth of parallels). Such pleonasms containing *hinc* may be found at *TLL* v1.2–3.2807.50ff. Much of the material there is from comedy, but note too *Cic. Leg. agr.* 2.94 *hinc Roma qui ueneramus*, *Virg. Aen.* 7.209 *hinc illum Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum*.

From late Latin Norberg (1944: 76) cites *ibi . . . in ipso loco* (*Per. Aeth.* 2.2). Note too *Mul. Chir.* 92 *quodcunque iumentum in eo loco inter maxillas fistulam fecerit*, where *in eo loco* anticipates the phrase *inter maxillas*; the area *inter maxillas*, named in the previous section, is the *locus* referred to, and a comma might even be put after *loco*. Cf. also, from the *Hermeneumata Monacensia*, *CGL* III.214.5–6 *illuc descendit ad laurentum* (with Ferri 2008: 147). One of the Visigothic slate tablets (40.II.II) in Velázquez Soriano (2004) has *et pono te ibi in fragis*.

Livy three times has the phrase *iam inde antiquitus* (9.29.8, 22.61.1, 34.27.9; he also uses *antiquitus* three times without *inde*; for the combination *iam inde* see *TLL* VII.1.113.53ff.), where *inde*, forming an asyndeton with *antiquitus*, seems to reinforce an idea present in the adverb *antiquitus* ('from . . .'). In late Latin a compound *ab antiquitus* appears (Norberg 1944: 81–2), and that suggests an analogy between the pleonasm in asyndetic/appositional local phrases and that in certain compounds. Livy had a taste for pleonastic or near-pleonastic combinations of local adverbs (see Kühnast 1872: 273–4).

Another type of pleonasm attested at all periods consists in the use of an adverb alongside a compound verb, where the adverb repeats the force of the verbal prefix: e.g. *Lucr.* 4.310 *inde retro rursum redit* (a threefold pleonasm), *Cic. S. Rosc.* 41 *rursus . . . reuertamur*, *Per. Aeth.* 7.3 *retro reuertebantur*, 24.9 *intrat intro speluncam*, 12.4 *tunc nos gauisi satis statim egressi sumus foras* (the redundancy seen in *e- . . . foras* is not unlike that in *aforis/deforis* etc.), 14.2 *cum ergo descendissemus . . . de ecclesia deorsum* (an anticipation of the late compound *dedeorsum*, for which see below, 6.6), *Anthimus* p. 30.4 *intus ingressum*. For extensive material, much of it from Classical Latin, see

Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 798); also Landgraf (1914: 98–9). This type of redundancy is again marked in Livy (Kühnast 1872: 274). The double prefix of the verb *superimpono* is of similar type.

Perhaps the most striking phrases above for our purposes are *hinc foris* (cf. *aforis/deforis*), *inde antiquitus* (cf. *ab antiquitus*) and *de ecclesia deorsum* (cf. *dedeorsum*).

2 Between early and late Latin

It would be wrong to imply that compound adverbs/prepositions were coined on the one hand in the prehistoric period in Latin and on the other in late Latin. Some new compounds turn up in the late republican and early imperial periods, sometimes in interesting contexts. There are hints that the formation had a greater vitality as a source of new terms than the high literary language might lead one to think, though new compounds in this period do not fall into a single class. In some cases there are also textual uncertainties.

Of particular note is Quint. 1.5.38, where the ‘barbarism’ *desursum* is castigated centuries before it surfaces in texts (see below, 5 (1)).

Desub (with *saxo*) is transmitted at Sen. *Contr.* 1.3.11 in a passage disparaging someone’s usage, but it is usually emended away; M. Winterbottom (Loeb), for example, prints *desultrix*, a conjecture by Gertz. It is also transmitted in Columella (12.34 *sed mustum desub massa et limpidum sit*) and accepted by Hedberg (1968b). However, Rodgers (2010) obelises the phrase and also brackets several lines that enclose it as *delenda*. The next attestations are in the *gromatici* and *Vetus Latina* (TLL v.1.775.43ff.). The compound must have been coined, whenever that might have been, to give *sub*, which is static with the ablative (or occasionally directional: OLD s.v. *sub* 1d, Petron. 38.15) and directional with the accusative, a separative correspondent. At Veg. *Mul.* 1.25.6, for example, *desub* is used with a separative sense (*desub cirro sanguis detrahi debet*), and then in the next sentence *sub* is used in a static sense with the same noun (*quae uenae positae sunt inferius quam articuli tribus digitis sub cirro*). Late examples are still usually separative.⁸

Aforis, which is well attested in later Latin (Tertullian and much later: see TLL 1.1250.33ff., C. Hamp 1888: 344–5), is already in Pliny (*Nat.* 17.227 *quoniam in ulcus penetrat iniuria omnis a foris*; with separative force). It is reflected in a number of Romance languages (see above, 1). Wackernagel

⁸ On *desub* see C. Hamp (1888: 361–2), Salonijs (1920: 224), Sävborg (1941: 58), Norberg (1944: 86).

(1926–8: II.227) = Langslow (2009: 684) suggested that in Pliny it was modelled on Gk $\xi\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ (for *deforis* rendering $\xi\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ later see below, 6.7).

In the Augustan period Vitruvius has a *peregre*: 5.6.8 *secundum ea loca uersurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scaenam* (analogy of the antithetical prepositional expression *a foro*: see Wackernagel 1926–8: II.227 = Langslow 2009: 684, Norberg 1944: 78–9).

Note too the collocation *trans contra* at Vitr. 9.1.2 (*unum a terra inmani in summo mundo ac post ipsas stellas septentrionum, alterum trans contra sub terra in meridianis partibus*) and 9.2.2 (*inter solem uero et lunam cum distet totum mundi spatium et lunae orienti sol trans contra sit ad occidentem*). It is particularly clear in the second example that *trans* and *contra* are virtual synonyms ('on the other side, opposite'), juxtaposed. It is in such pleonastic juxtapositions that the origin of the compound *circumcirca* must lie. Did Vitruvius place the pair together ad hoc, as distinct from adopting an established collocation?

Varro has the local preposition *incircum*: Ling. 5.25 *a puteis oppidum ut Puteoli, quod incircum eum locum aquae frigidae et caldae multae. In and circum* (the latter can mean 'in the neighbourhood of', and not necessarily encircling: OLD s.v. *circum* 3) would be interchangeable in such a context; both *in eo loco* and *circum eum locum* might have been used to express 'in that area'. The combination is similar in type to *propalam* and *trans contra*. *Circum* does add something: it implies that a precise spot is not referred to but a wider area ('in (the area) around that place'). See further C. Hamp (1888: 334) on late compound participles such as *incircumscriptus*.

Insimul is found at Paul. Fest. pp. 34.13 Lindsay *qui locus a coeundo, id est insimul ueniendo est dictus*, 36.4 *committere proprie est insimul mittere*, where the prefix adds a directional force to an adverb (*simul*) that is static in Classical Latin. Whether it was used by Verrius Flaccus in the Augustan period or entered the definitions later is unknown. It became common in later Latin (C. Hamp 1888: 364–5, Norberg 1944: 80 with n. 2).

Insemel 'at one time' (cf. It. *insieme* and Fr. *ensemble*: REW 4465), which is treated as a separate word from *insimul* (see OLD), occurs in Statius (*Silv.* 1.6.36). Wackernagel (1926–8: II.227) = Langslow (2009: 684) might have been right to imply that there was a Greek model (εἰς ἅπαξ). Norberg (1944: 80 n. 2) adds an example from Florus (prooem. 3) and also compares the Greek. The TLL has no article under either *insimul* or *insemel* but has postponed them to the articles on *simul* and *semel*.

On the special case of expressions such as *usque ad pridie*, *ex/in ante diem* (modelled on the construction with nouns denoting days such as *Kalendae*) see Wackernagel (1926–8: II.227) = Langslow (2009: 684).

This small corpus of examples reveals a variety of influences: Greek, the analogy of prepositional expressions, the old habit of combining near-synonyms asyndetically, the need felt to add a separative or other local nuance to a static adverb. At least one piece of evidence implies a disapproval among the educated of separative combinations.

3 The adverbial system of Latin and the late flowering of separative compounds

Something must be said about the adverbial system of Latin as a background to the later proliferation of compounds.

First, there are some sets of three complementary local adverbs expressing location (the static meaning), direction ('whither?') and separation ('whence?'), but these are the exception. They include *ibi eo inde, hic huc hinc*, and *ubi quo unde*.

Second, there are some complementary pairs, such as *intus intro* and *foris foras*. The original meaning of *intus* was 'from within' (for the suffix cf. ἐντός and adverbs such as *antiquitus, penitus, subitus, funditus*), a meaning that is still well represented in Plautus (see e.g. *Mil.* 459, *OLD* s.v. 2, Lejeune 1939: 338). By a common development (see below, 4) it tended to lose this separative sense and become the static correspondent to the directional *intro*. In Greek ἐντός underwent the same development (Lejeune 1939: 338). Compounds such as *abintus, deintus, abintro* or *deintro*, all of which are attested (see C. Hamp 1888: 368, Mihăescu 1978: 263–4), may be seen (at least initially: see further below, 6 on later developments) as re-establishing a separative use and setting up a group (*intus, intro* and, say, *deintus*) expressing the three local ideas. Such 'systems' are, however, very transitory. Even in early Latin *intro* had intruded into the territory of *intus* and is used with static verbs (*OLD* s.v. *intro*, 2, Adams 2007: 15), and in later Latin the compounds just listed do not consistently maintain a separative sense (see below, 6). Moreover *intus* itself is not always static (or separative). From an early date it is used with verbs of motion as an equivalent of *intro* (*TLL* VII.2.106.42ff., from Lucretius 1.223 onwards and in high literature, such as Tac. *Hist.* 1.35.1, *Ann.* 4.62.2; see further above, xv.3), in keeping with a development (particularly marked in later Latin) whereby static adverbials come to replace directional with verbs of motion (Eng. 'come here' rather than 'come hither', Lat. *hic* or *Romae + uenio*) (above, xv.3–4).

The second pair above (*foris foras*) shows similar features to the other. *Foris* combines static and separative meanings (*OLD* s.v. 1, 3), which is not surprising since its ending looks ablative, and the Latin ablative

subsumes the functions of the locative and ablative (of separation). But as early as Pliny (*Nat.* 11.54, *OLD* 4, above, xv.3) it is used with verbs of motion to express motion towards (the '*hic uenio*' construction, just mentioned).

There are two tendencies seen in the last two paragraphs, which undermine the neat threefold functional distinction made at the start. Separative adverbs (*intus*, ἐντός) tend to lose their separative force; and static adverbs for their part tend to acquire a directional use. Both tendencies are well represented in the history of Latin, and not only in substandard usage. Compounding looks like a strategy to recharacterise one or other of the local uses. It is the separative prepositions *a* and especially *de* (on which see below) above all that turn up in compounds. A potential ambiguity arose particularly with verbs of motion when the adverbial complement had a directional meaning as well as a separative, as in expressions such as *intus uenio*, *longe aduenit*. The goal is the most common complement of a verb of motion (the case expressing goal is the unmarked case), and there was a sense that it was the point of departure that needed explicit marking.

Third, a single adverb form is sometimes used to convey all three functions in Classical Latin. *Longe*, for example, may be directional (*OLD* s.v. 1, e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 66 *navis longe in altum apscesserat*), static (*OLD* 2, e.g. *Bell. Afr.* 48.2 *haud ita longe ab Scipione consedit*) or separative (*OLD* 2b, e.g. Varro *Rust.* 1.16.3 *si longe sint importanda*; cf. *TLL* vii.2.1645.38ff.). *Delonge* appears for the first time in the early Latin Bible translations (below, 6.3).

The main determinant of prepositional compounds in later Latin was the need felt to give a static adverb a separative correspondent, or to mark additionally the separative force that an adverb had historically. That is why so many formations have separative rather than directional prefixes, reinforcing the meaning if it had faded. In the material in the index to C. Hamp (1888: 368) there are thirteen words with *a(b)*, twenty-five with *de* and six with *e(x)* (forty-four in total). There are nine with *ad* and fourteen with *in* (twenty-three). There are more with *de* alone than with *ad* and *in* together. Moreover *in*-compounds are not necessarily directional but may also be static. The reason why *de*-compounds outnumber those with the other separative prefixes is that *de* became in later Latin the separative prefix *par excellence*, ousting the other two (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1911: 103, Adams 2003b: 567, and above, xiii.6.4.3). Mihăescu (1978: 262–6) lists even more words in *de*- (39). There are in his list also twelve with *ab*, three with *ex*, thirteen with *ad* and eighteen with *in* (both static and directional).

4 Loss of separative force

While the motivation of the *de*-compounds may be clear, they did not always retain an exclusively separative meaning. Some acquired a static meaning alongside the separative, and others lost the separative entirely. The static uses are of greater significance in the development of the Romance languages than the original separative.

It would be a mistake to try to explain the acquisition by separative compounds of a static sense as a purely late phenomenon confined to this one group of words, or even as a specifically Latin phenomenon at all. Within Latin the blurring of the distinction between separative and static meanings in different contexts had been taking place from the earliest period. The partial falling together of the locative and ablative, such that *Athenis*, for example, could mean either 'from Athens' or 'at Athens', without any specifying preposition, is a development with origins lost in the prehistoric period. *Rure* is often equivalent to *ruri* ('in the country': see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 13.49.1) as well as expressing separation. Similarly *domo* may mean 'at home' (= *domi*) as well as 'from home' (see e.g. Adams 1977a: 38–9). Expressions such as *a tergo*, *a fronte*, *ab oriente*, *a septentrione*, *a cornu dextro*, *a parte*, *a dextra/la sinistra* (with or without *parte*), *ex aduerso* (Liv. 22.4.4), *e regione* are regularly static in Classical Latin (see Sävborg 1941: 6–7, 13–14, 15–16, 20–5). The adverb *antiquitus*, which has a suffix originally denoting separation (see 1.1, 3), had in Classical Latin a static as well as separative meaning, both attested first in Caesar. The *TLL* s.v. *alab* has a long section on formulae in which the preposition does not express separation (1.20.38ff.). So too s.v. *ex* there is a substantial section 'c. vi originali evanida' (v.2.1120.40ff.).

In Greek also there are adverbs that were separative in origin but have a static use as well from an early period: e.g. *ἀνωθεν*, *κάτωθεν* (on which pair see Lejeune 1939: 328), *ἐντός*, *ἐκτός* (see Lejeune 1939: 338–9), *ἔσωθεν*, *ἔξωθεν* (see Lejeune 1939: 330). The phenomenon is noted in general terms by Lejeune (1939: 177; cf. 303–4); see also Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf (1976: 82–3) on adverbs in *-θεν* in which the suffix has lost its force. An interesting case is *ἡῶθεν* (see Lejeune 1939: 88–9). It ought to mean 'à partir du matin', but is used indifferently in the meanings 'dès le matin' and 'au matin', and may even be translatable as 'le lendemain'. Note Hom. *Od.* 3.151–3 *νύκτα μὲν ἀέσαμεν . . . ἡῶθεν δ' οἱ μὲν νέας ἔλκομεν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν* ('during the night we rested . . . but in the morning/the next day some of us launched our ships on the bright sea'). The semantic development of

ἡῶθεν is replicated much later in Latin by that of *demane* (see below, 6.1; cf. Germ. *Morgen*).

In particular contexts the static and separative ideas that may be attached to an adverb are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Note Virg. *Aen.* 10.721 *hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina uidit*. S. J. Harrison (1991: 45) translates: 'When from a distance Mezentius saw him throwing the midst of the ranks into confusion.' But the verb phrase might be translated 'when he saw him far off throwing. . .', i.e. locating the person who is the object of the verb far off, rather than locating the subject as being far from the object (see above, 3 on the different uses of *longe*). The nature of the event and the relationship between the two referents are not affected by the interpretation given to *longe*, but the focus is different. Such ambiguities are the background to the semantic shift 'from' > 'at'.

The sentence *Jones saw Smith from afar* has a different focus from *Jones saw Smith far off*. The second primarily locates Smith, in the distance. The first primarily locates Jones, as being at a remove from Smith. Both sentences describe exactly the same act, and the difference of perspective is a subtle one. If a language had different adverbs for 'far (off)' and 'from afar', with verbs of seeing they might interchange without affecting the meaning.

With other verbs the two adverbs might express very different meanings. For example, *Smith is from afar* might be uttered when Smith is present, by someone introducing him. *Smith is far off* on the other hand means that Smith is not present but a long way away.

With verbs of motion (e.g. *Smith arrived from afar at Shanghai* versus *Smith arrived far off at Shanghai*) separative adverbials versus static may imply a difference of perspective, but not such as to change the meaning. If these sentences were part of a literary narrative in the third person the narrator of the first would be imagining himself at Smith's point of arrival. The narrator of the second would imagine himself at Smith's point of departure. But a third-person narrator, whether he be a novelist or a historian, is not usually a participant in the action at all, and the perspective he chooses to adopt is arbitrary and may be variable. In the later Latin period he might have chosen *longe* or *delonge* indifferently. In first person narrative the difference of perspective may be even less important. In *I have come from afar* (versus *I have come far*) it might be said that there is an explicit acknowledgment of a starting point, but there is an implied starting point in the second sentence too.

In military phrases of the type that are common in Latin (*a tergo*, *a sinistra parte*) there is no difference of perspective at all. *The enemy attacked*

on the left and *The enemy attacked from the left* are interchangeable. By contrast the sentences *The enemy attacked far off* and *The enemy attacked from afar* have different meanings. The narrator may see the second attack as affecting him and those around him, whereas the first attack is in the remote distance and the narrator not directly affected.

Various contexts opened the way for separative compounds to lose their separative force. This type of semantic change, however it is to be explained, or the combination of what might seem to an English speaker conflicting local ideas present e.g. in *intus* and *longe*, was a deeply entrenched feature of Latin (and Greek). If *intus* 'from within' could acquire a static meaning, it is not surprising that *deintus* should have done so as well at a much later date.

5 Attitudes of grammarians

The justification for including compound adverbs/prepositions in a book on social variation in Latin lies partly in the attitude of grammarians to them. They are constantly condemned, from as early as Quintilian onwards. The distribution of the later compounds also points to some unease about them among the educated. Quite a few, though surviving in Romance, are all but submerged in Latin itself, and when they do turn up they tend to be in low-register texts. The *Mulomedicina Chironis* and its relationship to Vegetius and Pelagonius in the use of such terms will be discussed below, 7.

The low status that grammarians wanted to see in the new formations raised a difficulty for them. How could they condemn new compounds when the language had some old compounds that were sanctioned by use in respected literary authors? The question is sometimes addressed. In Greek too compounds were castigated, by Atticists. Wackernagel (1926–8: II.227) = Langslow (2009: 683 with n. 7) cites Phrynichus' remarks against several such terms (29 and 95 Fischer). Some grammatical *testimonia* are set out below in a numbered list.

(1) Quintilian (I.5.38), dealing with 'barbarism by *adiectio*', cites *desu(r)sum* (usually printed by editors as two words, *de susum*) as one such example. *Sursum* means 'upwards' (directional) or 'above' (static), and the compound added a separative correspondent to the pair (i.e. to Quintilian *desusum* = *de*, 'down from above', with *susum* superfluous: see Ax 2011: 194). The examples cited by *TLL* v.I.791.76ff. seem to be separative. According to Norberg (1944: 84) there is a static example at Jer. *Epist.* 22.19.3 *consuant tunicas qui inconsutam desursum tunicam perdiderunt*,

but this interpretation may not be correct. Labourt (Budé) renders ‘cette tunique . . . qui venait d’En-haut’.

Despite the evidence of Quintilian that the combination was current at his time, it does not turn up in texts until the *Vetus Latina*, and must have been rejected by the educated, at least in writing. When it does appear it has a distribution that repeats itself in the case of other compounds. It is quite common in the *Vetus Latina* (eight examples are cited by the *TLL*, above), but in the Vulgate version of the OT (translated mainly from the Hebrew) Jerome hardly uses it (but see Psalms 49:4). In the contexts in which it is adopted in the old Latin versions of the OT (usually rendering ἄνωθεν in the Septuagint) Jerome in the Vulgate uses *desuper*, *sursum* or some other phrasing (details may be found in the *TLL* article). On the other hand there are a few instances in the Vulgate version of the NT (four, all separative: e.g. John 3:31 *qui desursum uenit* = ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος; see *TLL* v.1.792.12–13). In the NT Jerome was usually prepared to follow the wording of older versions. Thereafter there is a scattering in late texts, mainly Christian (but see Anthimus p. 2.1).

Note too Donatus *GL* iv.387.13–15 *praepositio separatim aduerbiis non adplicabitur, quamuis legerimus de repente, de sursum, de subito et ex inde et ab usque et de hinc*. The point of *separatim* will be seen below, (3); see also below, (3), p. 597 for Servius *GL* iv.440.11 on *desursum*.

(2) Pompeius *GL* v.248.16–22 comments on *deintus*:

de loco quo modo est? ‘intus exeo’, ‘foris uenio’. noli iungere praepositiones.⁹ non enim possum dicere ‘de intus uenio’. multi enim quasi causa communis elocutionis ita locuntur, ‘de intus uenio’, et dicunt, ideo debet ‘de’ iungi, ut significet de loco. sed ideo tu noli iungere: nam stultum est. quid enim opus est ut ‘de’ iungas, ut significes de loco? quia ‘uenio’ non est in loco. hoc ipsum ‘uenio’ significat tibi quoniam non est in loco sed de loco.

Pompeius says ‘I cannot say *deintus uenio*’, but then reveals that it is a common idiom (*communis elocutio*), defended by some because *de* is needed to mark ‘from a place’ (*de loco*). The combination *deintus* is ‘foolish’, because the verb *uenio* is not static but itself expresses the idea *de loco*. This last argument is feeble, because *uenio* could be used with directional complements as well as separative. Pompeius might instead have argued that *intus* was itself separative, as his own example *intus exeo* shows (see above, 3). The discussion is prescriptive, and is an attempt to resist a common practice still viewed by grammarians as substandard.

⁹ This sentence means in the context ‘do not join prepositions (to adverbs)’. He has just referred to the adverbs *intus* and *foris* as ambiguous (separative and static), and now condemns a method of resolving the ambiguity.

The passage continues (248.37–249.10):

non tamen debemus iungere praepositiones. nam si uolueris iungere (temp-
tauerunt enim plerique sic loqui), cogo te iungere cum iis cum quibus non
uis. dicis mihi, debeo dicere 'de intus', 'de foris', ut iungas praepositiones.
ergo usurpa illud et aliqua sic dic, 'ad intro' et 'ad foras'. cogo te ergo et sic
loqui, si iungere uolueris praepositiones . . . sed hoc nequaquam possumus
facere, et utimur sine praepositione.

Pompeius says that if people insist on saying *deintus* and *deforis*, which, he tells us, many (*plerique*) do, he will compel them to be consistent, by saying as well *adintro* and *adforas*. He repeats the demand several times, and then in the final sentence quoted rests his case: we cannot add *ad*, and therefore we should not add *de* either. It is clear from this passage that it was the compounds with *de* that were particularly commonplace, those expressing 'motion from'. Despite Pompeius' claim *adforas* is attested (Mihăescu 1987: 263), but the argument is interesting as betraying the grammarian's sense that the language was being flooded by separative compounds in particular. The evidence bears this out (see the statistics above, 3). Pompeius was not, say, castigating the static use as, for example, a debasement, but was bothered by the original separative use. In the passage quoted at the start of this section he treats *deintus* as separative; in extant Latin it is mainly static (see below, 6.7).

Pompeius was writing a commentary on the *Ars* of Donatus, mainly the *Ars maior*, but he drew heavily on the lost commentary of Servius on the same work, perhaps using an interpolated version. It is possible that he did not use Donatus directly at all (see Kaster 1988: 343–4; 146). Various other extant treatises also derive from the Servius commentary ('Sergius' *Explanationes in artem Donati*, Cledonius: see Kaster 1988: 140), and in these works too there are remarks about compound adverbs/prepositions that go back to the same source (see below for the passages).

(3) Pompeius returns to the subject (*GL* v.273.25–7):

est talis regula, praepositio praepositioni non iungitur. hoc dicunt, puta 'apud penes' non potes facere unam partem orationis. item qui male loquuntur modo ita dicunt 'depost illum ambulat'.

There is a rule that a preposition is not joined to a preposition. By this they mean, for example, that you cannot make *apud* and *penes* into a single lexeme.¹⁰ So those who speak badly now say *depost illum ambulat*.

¹⁰ Was he referring to a late compound of the *circumcirca* type, composed of synonymous parts (for which see above, 1)? On this point see E. Löfstedt (1959: 170).

Depost is substandard in the eyes of Pompeius: it is used by those *qui male loquuntur*.

Pompeius then raises the problem of *ad usque*, which is supported by the authority of Virgil (*Aen.* 11.262, cited at 273.31). *Ad* is a preposition (273.31) and *usque* is a preposition (273.31–2). But two prepositions do not belong together (a point made in the third passage of Pompeius quoted above), *non licet* (273.28). He therefore suggests that *usque* may be an adverb not a preposition. But (274.3–5), *si est aduerbium, multo minus iungis praepositionem. nam legimus praepositionem aduerbio non iungi. numquid possum dicere ‘de mane’ et similia?* (‘If it is an adverb, much less do you join a preposition (to it), for we read that a preposition is not joined to an adverb. Surely I cannot say *de mane* and suchlike?’).

Pompeius goes on to say that neither rule is *firmissimum* (274.12–14).¹¹ A preposition can be joined to a preposition, as in *circumcirca* (17–18). A preposition can also be joined to an adverb, as in *deinde* (23). The argument seems to be advanced (20–31) that it is acceptable to join a preposition to a preposition or to an adverb if the pair form a single word: thus *adusque* is acceptable (20–1), as is *deinde* (23). It is not acceptable to use the two parts separately. This argument is put more clearly by Servius *GL* IV.440.7–8 *numquam separatim praepositionem aduerbiis posse coniungi, ueluti ‘de mane’*. The idea seems to be that *de mane* is not acceptable but *desursum*, *deorsum* and *deinceps* (11) are. These comprise two parts of speech, but forming a single word with a single accent (11–12 *ita enim constant duae partes orationis, ut uno ambae nitantur accentu*). See also above, (1), on the use of *separatim* in a passage of Donatus.

The passage of Servius just quoted is followed by a comment on *de trans*: 440.13–15 *praepositio etiam ‘de’ non potest adiungi nomini interueniente aduerbio, ut ‘de trans Tiberim uenio’* (‘also the preposition *de* cannot be joined to a noun with an adverb intervening, as in *de trans Tiberim uenio*’). The word division adopted by Keil here (with *de* and *trans* separated) must be correct. Servius takes *de* alone as the preposition governing the noun (though he appears not to notice that the case is wrong), with *trans* as an adverb ‘intervening’. His remark has to be read in the light of that just quoted. A compound is acceptable if the parts have coalesced such that they jointly bear a single accent. If they are separate the combination is not acceptable. *De* and *trans* are conceived of as separate.

The argument is an attempt on the one hand to condemn compounds such as *de mane* and *de trans*, and on the other to account for compounds

¹¹ On this passage see Kaster (1988: 150), finding signs of originality in Pompeius’ argument.

such as *circumcirca* and *deinde* sanctioned by long literary usage. An artificial distinction is set up, between compounds such as the latter two bearing a single accent, and those such as the former two, in which the parts were supposedly still separate. The distinction does not ring true. *Demane* would not have been pronounced with a single accent but *de mane* with a double, given the way *de* behaved both as a verbal prefix and preposition. A verbal compound with *de* had a single accent, and *de* as a preposition was proclitic. Grammarians were confronted with a large number of new adverbial/prepositional compounds in popular use of which they did not approve, but they could not straightforwardly reject them without rejecting as well old words such as *deinde*. They chose it seems to visualise terms such as *demane* and *detrans* in the form *de mane* and *de trans*. It is of note that Servius (GL IV.440.8–11) castigates *de mane* (for the first part of the passage see the last paragraph but one) but accepts (e.g.) *desursum* (*quod autem inuenimus indocte et infrequenter, sunt quidem praepositiones, sed non separatim, sicut sunt etiam illae particulae, quas ipse ponit artigraphus, desursum deorsum deinceps*), which Quintilian had found fault with. There is a hint here that the older *desursum* was now visualised as a unit, but the more recent *de mane* was regarded as comprising two parts that had not fully coalesced. We should print *de* and *sursum* separately in Quintilian.

(4) Cledonius GL V.64.22–3 ‘*de intus*’ et ‘*de foris uenio*’ non possumus dicere, quia praepositio aduerbiis numquam iungitur (cf. V.21.22, same point, with the same examples).

(5) Maximus (?) Victorinus GL VI.202.16–17 *aduerbiis praepositiones adici [posse] negant omnes technici oportere, quamuis licenter ueteres usi sint* (citing *derepente* and *desubito* from Terence and Lucilius). On this Victorinus see Kaster (1988: 437–8).

(6) ‘Sergius’ *Explan. in Don.* GL IV.517.22–5 ‘*usque*’ talis est inter prae-positiones, ut sola possit recipere alteram praepositionem. nemo enim dicit ‘*de post forum*’, nemo enim ‘*ab ante*’; at uero dicimus ‘*ad usque*’ et ‘*ab usque*’. On ‘Sergius’ see Kaster (1988: 429).

Vsque, it is stated, is the only preposition which can be governed by another preposition. When the writer says *nemo dicit* he can only mean that no educated person should say *depost* or *abante*; both compounds were common, but disapproved of by grammarians.

(7) Augustine *Ad Iud.* 3.21 (PL 34, 542) ‘*sumpsit Aioth gladium desuper femore suo dextro*’, sic interpretari potuit, quod Graecus habet ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν, nam locutio minus Latina est (see Sävborg 1941: 52 n. 8). The Septuagint has ἔλαβε τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ μηροῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ἐνέπηξεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ κοιλῇ αὐτοῦ (‘he took the dagger off his right

thigh and plunged it into his belly'). The Greek adverb ἐπ'άνωθεν, an old one (Thucydides), means the same as *desuper*, 'from above'. Augustine had a different Greek text (with ἀπό), and his observation on *desuper*, which he describes as a *locutio minus Latina*, is misguided, because *desuper* was a good old literary word in Latin, with a prepositional use already in CL. He must be reflecting the purists' and grammarians' attitude to the new compounds in *de*, without registering that *desuper* was different. The Vulgate text is not the same: *tulit sicam de dextro femore suo infixitque eam in uentre eius*.

(8) For Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 335 see below, 6.3.

6 Some late compounds

There follows a discussion of nine compounds chosen at random, which appear for the first time in later Latin. The aim is to bring out their semantic features and distribution in extant texts.

6.1 *demane*

The *TLL* v.1.475.50ff. cites just one example of *demane*, from the Vulgate (OT), Jer. 35:14 (*ego autem locutus sum ad uos de mane consurgens*),¹² which is given the meaning 'valde mane', with the prefix supposedly intensifying. Two other examples, at Pompeius *GL* v.274.5 and Servius *GL* iv.440.8, were cited above (5 (3)). The *OLD* s.v. *de-* notes that the prefix was added to adjectives as an intensifier and cites *deparcus* 'thoroughly mean'; there are also verbal compounds in which it appears to have this function, as *depostulo*, *deposco*. But it is unlikely that that is the explanation of *demane*. Three examples of *de mane* (uncompounded) are cited in square brackets by the *TLL* with the note 'falso huc trahuntur': e.g. Aug. *Conf.* 11.30 *quanto peragere sol totum ambitum de mane in mane adsolet*. Here *de* has separative force and the combination has the look of a prepositional phrase (i.e. not yet a compound) contrasting with the juxtaposed *in*-expression. Here must lie the origin of *demane*. *De* retains its full local force and is prefixed to *mane* to establish a distinction between the static *mane* 'in the morning' and the separative *de mane* 'from the morning onwards'. The prefix would then have suffered weakening and *demane* have become interchangeable with *mane*. That is the case in the passage from the Vulgate quoted above.

¹² Several times Plautus has the phrase (*usque*) *a mani ad uesperum* (*Amph.* 253, *Mil.* 503; cf. *Most.* 534). On the syntax of *mani* see Wackernagel (1926–8: 11.227) with Langslow (2009: 683 n. 9).

Precisely this semantic development was seen above in Homeric ἡῶθεν (4, p. 591).

If *de* was conceived of as ‘detached’ from *mane* in the above context (a separateness that would scarcely, however, have been marked by a double accent), it is easy to imagine similar contexts in which the combination would readily have been felt to be a unit (*sol demane surgere solet*). In such a context too the separative interpretation would not be obligatory. The distinction between the example in Jeremias (printed by the *TLL* as a single word) and that in Augustine lies primarily not in the arbitrary word division adopted in a written text, or in pronunciation (*demane* and *de mane* would have been pronounced with the same accentuation), but in the microcontext. In Augustine *de* retains a full prepositional character because of the contrast with *in*.

Demane was to be important in the Romance languages. Over a wide area of Italy and France it produced the word for ‘tomorrow’ (It. *domani*, Fr. *demain*: see Rohlfs 1954: 31 with map 14). This meaning is not attested in Latin, but a context was noted above (4, p. 591) in Homer in which the semantic equivalent of *demane*, ἡῶθεν, can be seen to be taking on the meaning ‘on the next day’. The compound adverbs/prepositions of later Latin often survived in Romance (see above, 1), but semantically the Romance outcomes may be at a remove from the original Latin sense, and there may be no attestations in Latin texts to illustrate developments. Many of these terms are all but invisible in the Latin record (*demane* not least), and that fact along with the disapproval of grammarians suggests that they had a stigmatised status.

6.2 *depost*

Depost is cited by the *TLL* v.1.592.67ff. mainly from the *Vetus Latina*, in places where the Vulgate has an alternative, and from a few late texts. No examples are quoted from the Vulgate by B. Fischer’s (1977) index (but see Psalms 77:70).¹³ It was seen above (5 (3)) that Pompeius says that ‘those who speak badly’ use the term.

Norberg (1944: 88) states that the prepositional use of *depost* occurs in a static as well as separative meaning in the *Itala* and often later. Despite

¹³ B. Fischer (1977) is not accurate in presenting compound prepositions from the Vulgate. For example, no instances are cited of *demane* or *detrans* but both occur (see 6.1, 6.5). At II.1146 there is a list of the *de*-compounds supposedly in the Vulgate. If classical terms or phrases are omitted the list comprises *decontra* (twice, OT), *deforis* (seven times, three OT), *deintus* (twice, NT), *delonge* (twenty-three times, twenty-one OT), *desursum* (six times, four NT).

this generalisation he cites a few static cases but no separative. In fact separative uses are hard to find, to judge from *TLL* v.1.592.67ff. and C. Hamp (1888: 340–1). Hamp (341) observes that the original separative sense is not always retained, without citing any clear-cut examples of it. An example at *Vitae patrum* 6.2.8 (*et ecce una uidua colligebat spicas depost nos*) might at a pinch be translated as separative but this interpretation is not obligatory. An Old Latin version of 2 Kings 2:30 cited at *TLL* v.1.592.72 has *reuersus est depost Abner* = Septuagint καὶ Ἰωὰβ ἀνέστρεψεν ὀπίσθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρ ('and Joab returned from following Abenner'). This example seems to be separative ('returned from after/behind'), but the interpretation is problematic. The Vulgate has different phrasing: *porro Ioab reuersus omissa Abner*. If *depost* started as separative, that meaning seems scarcely to have lasted (the *TLL* article gives only the meaning 'post', l. 70),

A directional sense is also found: see *Vet. Lat.* Mark 8:33 (cod. *k*) *uade depost me*, where the Vulgate has *retro me* and the Greek ὀπίσω μου.

The examples in the *TLL* are all local, with one exception (cf. C. Hamp 1888: 341), which is temporal: *CIL* VIII.9162 *ob memoriam Sulpiciae L. l. Victoriae Gaius Iulius Felix maritus eius sepulcrum fecit quasi amantissimae ac karissimae et dulcissimae quondam coniugi suae, de post cuius morte fili superstites n(umero) v et nepotes x tenfrsi (?) sunt*.

The frequency (to judge from the *TLL* citations) of the compound in the *Vetus Latina* compared with its virtual absence from the Vulgate is consistent with the implication of Pompeius that it was stigmatised. The example quoted from Mark above was not determined by the form of the Greek original.

6.3 delonge

This compound is also attested in the early Latin Bible versions (*TLL* v.1.469.39ff.), but is used as well twenty-three times in the Vulgate (mostly OT: see n. 13). It is mainly separative. Note Deut. 28:49 (Lugd.) *adducat... gentem de longe a nouissimo terrae* (Septuagint ἐπ' ὀξεί... ἔθνους μακρόθεν ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς), Vulg. Mark 8:3 *quidam enim ex eis de longe uenerunt* (Gk ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἦκασιν), 15:40 *erant autem et mulieres de longe aspicientes* ('looking/seeing from afar' is a common context for the adverb; the Greek has ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι), Veg. *Mil.* 3.18.10 *imperatorum enim uel ignauorum est uociferari de longe, cum hostes magis terreantur si cum telorum ictu clamoris horror accesserit* (the battle cry (*barritus*) should be uttered when the enemy are close at hand not at a distance,

from which it will be less terrifying; 'it is a mark of the inexperienced and of cowards to shout out from a distance', i.e. from the perspective of the enemy), *Hist. Apoll.* 37 RA *quem uidens Stranguillio de longe*, RB *quem ut uidit Stranguillio a longe*. There are two recensions of this work (Kortekaas 1984: 61), that designated RA being more 'vulgar'. Here both compounds (neither of which is discussed by C. Hamp 1888) are separative.

The static use of *delonge* is in Anthimus: p. 6.1 *uerbicinas uero carnis . . . aptae sunt . . . in assatura, ut delonge a foco coquat* (' . . . provided that it is cooked far from the fire'). Cf. pp. 6.3, 12.16.

It was seen above (3) that *longe* is used in CL with all three functions. *Delonge* was coined to specify the ablative idea, but characteristically tended to shift to the static meaning. It does not seem to have taken on a directional sense. The two examples quoted above from the NT both render a recharacterised separative compound of the original (ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, for which see above, 1). On the other hand the example from the OT (*Vetus Latina*) seems to render a non-compound of the Septuagint (μακρόθεν).

Alonge is an equivalent of *delonge*: see *TLL* 1.40.43ff. (again in the *Vetus Latina*, and also the Vulgate, as at Mark 5:6, with *uidens*, and again rendering ἀπὸ μακρόθεν), VII.2.1651.56f. Note too VII.2.1645.40: Terence at *Eun.* 335 has *longe* in a separative sense, for which he was praised by Donatus, because 'he could not have' used a compound: *bene 'longe' dixit, quia '<a>longe' non potuit* (but *de* might just as well be inserted). This is the familiar grammarian's refusal to recognise a compound form.

Cf. Sävborg (1941: 147), *FEW* v.402 (Fr. *de loin* (*Chanson de Roland*), OProv. *de lonh*).

6.4 amodo

For this compound see *TLL* 1.1960.10ff., VIII.1311.84ff. It is common in Latin versions of the Bible, where it not infrequently bears a close relation to the Greek original. It often renders ἀπ' ἄρτι, and replicates its structure:¹⁴ e.g. Vulg. John 13:19 *amodo dico uobis* = ἀπ' ἄρτι λέγω ὑμῖν, John 14:7 *et amodo cognoscitis eum* = καὶ ἀπ' ἄρτι γινώσκετε αὐτόν, Matth. 26:29 *non bibam amodo de hoc genimine uitis* = οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου, Matth. 23:39 *non me uidebitis amodo, donec dicatis . . .* (rendering the same Greek expression). In the last passage in both the Greek and Latin versions the adverb is separative ('from now on'), but in the first it is static. LSJ gives both the separative and static meanings

¹⁴ It also sometimes renders ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (see the two *TLL* articles).

(s.v. ἀπαρτί), citing some of the above passages; the separative sense is old (Aristophanes, Plato). On *amodo* see Rönsch (1875: 232), Salonius (1920: 220–1). Salonius notes that *amodo* may be interchangeable with *modo* (i.e. it tends to lose its separative force), comparing *Vitae patrum* 7.24.2 *scis, frater, quia est mihi salus uel amodo?* ('even now') with 3.217 (ps.-Rufinus) . . . *uel modo*.

Amodo survives in Romance varieties, such as Romanian and Ladin (REW 5360). It does not therefore look like mere translationese, though it is possible that it began as such before becoming more widely established.

6.5 detrans

This compound is one of those castigated by a grammarian (Servius, above, 5 (3)). Its distribution follows a common pattern (*gromatici*, Bible translations, particularly the *Vetus Latina*, and then a few late texts): see TLL v.1.834.9ff., C. Hamp (1888: 352–3). For Romance reflexes see FEW xiii.197, 199 on OFr. *detrés*, *detras*, OProv. *detrás*, Coromines (1980–2001: viii.718) on Cat. *detràs* (reflexes also in Sp., Pg.).

Josephson (1940: 204–5) notes that it is difficult to determine whether an instance in the *gromatici* (p. 311.30–1 Lachmann *de trans alueum*) is separative or static. The separative use is certainly attested, and most examples seem to have this function: note e.g. Vulg. Matth. 4:25 *et secutae sunt eum turbae multae de Galilaea et Decapoli et Hierosolymis et Iudaea et de trans Iordanem* (Gk καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας . . . καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). Most examples are again in low-register texts. The example quoted from the Vulgate was not determined by the phrase structure of the Greek.

Trans in Classical Latin combines the static and directional senses (OLD s.v. 1, b), and the compound in this case completes the semantic system.

6.6 dedeorsum

Deorsum 'in a downward direction' is composed of *de* + *uorsum* (see above, 1). It is often used in its expected directional meaning (OLD s.v. 1, TLL v.1.559.41ff.), but already in early Latin (Plautus, Cato) has a static sense 'down below' as well (OLD 2, TLL v.1.560.11ff.). *Dedeorsum*, a double compound, is illustrated by several citations at TLL v.1.560.41ff. (mainly from low-register texts), and four at TLL v.1.256.23ff., three of them from the *Vetus Latina* and one from the Vulgate (NT). The last is in a context that reveals the motivation of the double prefix: Vulg. John 8:23 *uos de*

deorsum estis, ego de supernis sum 'you are from below, I am from above' (Gk ἐκ τῶν κάτω . . . ἐκ τῶν ἄνω). The base is *deorsum* in its static sense, and the prefix converts the static adverb into one indicating source or origin. The compound is a good rendering of the Greek, but the Greek expression is not of the same structure and did not determine the choice of a compound adverb in the Latin. At Deut. 33:13 (Septuagint ἀπ' εὐλογίας Κυρίου ἢ γῆ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὠρῶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ δρόσου, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβύσσων πηγῶν κάτωθεν) one version (Lugd.) of the *Vetus Latina* has *ab abyssis fontium dedeosum* (Vulg. *abyssio subiacente*). The compound here might be separative but can be taken as static. The Greek adverb κάτωθεν has a separative suffix (though it tended to lose its literal sense) but no prefix that might have influenced the shape of the Latin rendering.

Another new compound with the same prefix and base emerged by a different route. Palatalisation (see VI.7.2) converted *deo(r)sum* into *iosum* (*Mul. Chir.* 583 *supra genu et iosum*; cf. *diossum* at e.g. 89, where the palatalisation(?) is represented in a different way), and a new compound *deiosum* appeared (Oder 1901: 355–6). An example of this at Anthimus p. 14.5 is separative (*unus illorum sanguinem deiuso produxit nimium*, 'brought forth from below'), whereas that at *Mul. Chir.* 229 is directional (*digitos subicies interius deiossum uersus*). In this last passage there is double suffixation as well, with *uersus* repeating the *uorsus* contained originally in the preceding word (see above, 1).

Double compounds are of different types. A case such as *perperuersus* at Audollent (1904) 250B.9 (*peruersus sit, perperuersus sit Maurussus*; see *TLL* x.I.1623.53ff.) is a deliberate intensification. Curse tablets often have intensifying compounds following on a word of the same root. On the other hand in a form such as *concosuo* (Terentianus 468.9 *concosu[tu]m*; see B. Löfstedt 1983: 461 for *concolligo, concoagulo, concomitto*, all in late Latin and in the *TLL*; also Wackernagel 1926–8: 11.229 = Langslow 2009: 686, citing e.g. *adalligare* from Pliny the Elder, Prinz 1949–50: 109 n. 3, citing also *adagnoscere* and It. *scegliere* < **exeligere*) the compound is not so much intensified as recharacterised, perhaps because the original prefix was no longer felt to be such. Double adverbial compounds, either with *de* + *de* or *de* + another preposition, are not of the same type as *perperuersus*. They either add a separative sense that was not there before, or reinforce one that might have faded. Some parallels are collected by Norberg (1944: 90) and in scattered places by Sävborg (1941). It was noted above (I n. 1) that *ab* + *ante* received a prefix *de*. The resultant *dauante* was further characterised by another *de* (*Pact. Alam.* 5.2, *MGH, Leg. sect.* I.v.I, p. 26.9 *si carruca inuolat aut rumpit de rotas de dauante*; see Norberg 1944: 90), and *de* *devant*

is found in Old French (Sävborg 1941: 241) and also modern French (e.g. *la fenêtre de devant*; cf. e.g. It. *I denti di davanti*). OFr. *delez*, a reflex of the phrase *de latus* (see Sävborg 1941: 136), which had developed an adverbial and prepositional use in Latin (Josephson 1940: 193–200), was remotivated in the form *de delez* (see Sävborg 1941: 138). There is a group of such double compounds in Old French, all of them discussed by Sävborg (see Norberg 1944: 90 for details): *de devers*, *de desor*, *de dessus*, *de dessous*. Mihăescu (1978: 264) cites *de deinde* > Arum. *di dinde*. Another Latin double compound (with a different second element) is *de + in + ante*: see *Comp. Luc.* κ 3 *et a terra pertusso, unde mittantur ligna, et denante, unde mittatur aurum* (Norberg 1944: 90).

6.7 deintus

For grammarians on this combination as to be avoided see above, 5 (2), (4), and for Romance reflexes see above, 1. It turns up first in Bible translations and is found in later texts that are mainly low-register (*TLL* v.1.412.70ff.). It is usually static (see Norberg 1944: 82) but the separative use does occur. The grammarian Pompeius (above, 5 (2)) treated the term as separative. Separative and static examples are quoted by C. Hamp (1888: 346). Here are a few cases of both types:

Vulg. Luke 11:7 *et ille de intus respondens dicat* (separative) = Gk *καὶ κεῖνος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς*.

11.39–40 *nunc uos Pharisei quod de foris est calicis et catini mundatis; quod autem intus est uestrum plenum est rapina et iniquitate. stulti, nonne qui fecit quod de foris est etiam id quod de intus est fecit?* (static, and interchangeable with *intus* in the previous sentence) = Gk *νῦν ὑμεῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος καθαρίζετε, τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας. ἄφρονες, οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν*.

Anthimus p. 6.2 *nam si proxima fuerit foco, ardet caro deforis et deintus deuenit cruda* (static).

Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 136 *citonias conplures expurgas deintus et deforis* (probably static).

In the two passages from the Vulgate *deintus* renders a compound adverb in the Greek (*ἔσωθεν*), which is separative in the first but static in the second. The Greek term owes the separative force that it still sometimes has not to its prefix, which is not separative, but to its suffix. In the second passage *intus* is used to render the same word. Also *deforis* renders *ἔξωθεν*,

which has both a separative prefix and suffix but is not necessarily separative in meaning.

6.8 *deforis*

Deforis seems to be mainly static (see the previous section for a few examples, and *TLL* v.1.367.15ff., C. Hamp 1888: 344). Hamp (1888: 344) cites a few separative cases, and the grammarian Cledonius (above, 5 (4)) seems to have taken it in that way. There is a late separative instance at Isid. *Etyim.* 19.22.21 *exotica uestis peregrina deforis ueniens*. At Veg. *Mul.* 1.15.4 it could be translated as static or separative: *lumbi ipsius oleo laurino uino calido permixto confricandi sunt uehementer et saepe, ut deforis et intrinsecus acerbissima passio possit euinci*. The distribution of the term is much the same as that of the other words discussed here.

6.9 *deretro*

Most of the few examples of *deretro* (with the familiar distribution) quoted at *TLL* v.1.629.35ff. seem to be static. At *Vet. Lat.* (cod. *a*) Luke 8:44 it is surely separative: *accedens deretro* ('approaching from behind') = Gk προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν (which continues: ἦψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ). The Vulgate however has *accessit retro* ('she came up behind'), and that suggests that Jerome took ὀπισθεν in its standard static sense. Bauer, Arndt and Gingrich (1957: 578) assign ὀπισθεν a separative meaning at Luke 8:44 above, and also at Matth. 9:20 and Mark 5:27, but LSJ do not acknowledge this sense. *Deretro* in the passage quoted renders a Greek adverb that does not itself have a separative prefix.

6.10 *Some conclusions*

The nine terms above were chosen for their prefixes (mostly *de-*, one case of *ab-*). It was noted earlier (3) that most such late terms have *de-* or one of the other separative prefixes. They were formed, it was suggested, to provide a separative correspondent to a static and/or directional adverb, but that distinctive sense tended to fade into a static meaning, which usually then coexisted with the separative. The data above confirm that impression. All nine terms have a separative meaning, and eight of the nine had also acquired the static (*detrans* seems to be an exception). *Depost*, *deforis* and *deretro* are predominantly static.

It has been repeatedly stated here that a term occurs for the first time or mainly in Bible translations. Since, with the exception of the Vulgate

version of the OT, the translations were based on Greek originals, the question arises whether Latin compounds were merely calqued from compounds in the Greek. If they were the category might seem artificial in Latin, mere translationese. The abundance of reflexes in Romance languages makes that unlikely, but it is worthwhile to look at the relationship between the words discussed above and the Greek terms translated.

In three cases the Latin compound renders a similar compound in Greek. *Delonge* several times translates ἀπὸ μακρόθεν (6.3), a hypercharacterised variant of μακρόθεν. However, a passage was also quoted from the *Vetus Latina* where *delonge* corresponds to μακρόθεν in the Septuagint. *Amodo* renders ἀπ' ἄρτι (6.4), but it does have Romance reflexes and must have had an independent existence in Latin. Finally, a passage from Luke was seen in which *deforis* renders ἔξωθεν (6.7). But again the Latin word is well represented in Romance.

Often a Latin term renders a separative adverb of Greek, but not one with a separative prefix; the Latin rendering is not a calque. See 6.2 for *depost* = ὀπίσθεν, 6.3 for *delonge* = μακρόθεν, 6.6 for *dedeorsum* = κάτωθεν, 6.7 for *deintus* = ἔσωθεν, and 6.9 for *deretro* = ὀπίσθεν. Such adverbs in Greek tended in any case to lose their separative meaning. Sometimes the relationship between the Greek and the Latin is even weaker. See 6.2 for *depost* = ὀπίσω, 6.5 for *detrans* = πέραν, and 6.6 for *dedeorsum* = ἐκ τῶν κάτω.

From this it is clear that, though later Greek had similar separative compounds to those of Latin, it was not their presence in the Septuagint or NT that determined the use of compounds in the Latin Bible translations.¹⁵ The translators were reflecting current trends in Latin (as is in any case obvious from the *testimonia* of grammarians, and from attestations in other texts), and only occasionally was there a chance morpheme-by-morpheme match between a Latin term and the Greek term of the original.

7 A case study: veterinary texts

There are three veterinary treatises of roughly the fourth century, the anonymous *Mulomedicina Chironis*, and works by Vegetius and Pelagonius. Vegetius used the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and attempted to improve the Latin he took over from his source, and also drew on Pelagonius, and

¹⁵ Rönsch (1875: 231–5) lists more than fifty compounds from Latin Bible translations, and usually notes the Greek terms translated. From this it is obvious that the Latin compounds are not on the whole modelled exactly on compounds in the original. Exceptional cases of translationese are *a nunc* and *ex nunc* for ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.

Pelagonius for his part used a lost source also used by the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. The three works are thus closely related, directly and indirectly (for details see Adams 1995b: 3–9, 10). The Latin of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* is markedly substandard, and it is possible by comparing it with that of Vegetius in the corresponding passages to identify features considered by Vegetius to be best avoided. Pelagonius had greater stylistic pretensions than the author of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, but his Latin too has substandard features. In the use of compound adverbs/prepositions the *Mulomedicina Chironis* is at a remove from the other two works.

The following compounds are found in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (excluding classical words such as *desuper*, *insuper*; the numbers of occurrences are in brackets) (see Ahlquist 1909: 55–7 and the index to Oder 1901):

abinterius (1), abintro (3), abintus (1), adubi (4),¹⁶ decontra (1), deforis/deforas (4 in total), deintro (1), deiossum (11), deiuxta (1) (hardly attested: one other example, in Venantius Fortunatus), deretro (3), desub (17 times, and in Vegetius), desubtus (1), desupra (1), incontra (3) (see *TLL*: in the *Vetus Latina* and late texts, and reflected in Romance), in ulterius (1).¹⁷

There are sixteen words, many of them used more than once (fifty-three tokens).

By contrast in Vegetius there are just three terms, making up nine tokens: *deintus* (1), *deforis* (3), *desub* (5).¹⁸ Pelagonius has no such words (see the indexes to the Teubner editions). These distributions suggest that the category was non-standard in the fourth century. Moreover a comparison of Vegetius with his source reveals that he eliminated some terms.

Mul. Chir. 19 *quae uenae positae sunt in brachiolis dextra sinistra abinterius* corresponds to Veg. *Mul.* 1.25.5 *quae uenae positae sunt interius, ubi. . .*

Two examples of *incontra* in a single passage of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* were not taken over by Vegetius: *Mul. Chir.* 52 *qui sibi nascuntur locis commissuralibus uel media camba incontra uel post genu super neruos uel incontra supra coronam in base* = Veg. *Mul.* 2.51 *impetigines quoque in articulis uel genibus inter neruos commissuralibus locis aliquando nascuntur*.

A case of *decontra* in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* was dropped by Vegetius: *Mul. Chir.* 391 *alii uero urent eos decontra in articulis palmatim* = Veg. *Mul.* 2.54.5 *alii uero urendos censent palmatim in articulis*.

¹⁶ On which see Ahlquist (1909: 56), Adams (1976a: 75–6).

¹⁷ See *Mul. Chir.* 92 and *TLL* VII.2.240.49ff. s.v. *inultra*.

¹⁸ However, of note in Vegetius' other work is the following: *Mil.* 1.20.22 *sinistros pedes in ante milites habere debere*.

In ulterius, found at 92, is not at Veg. *Mul.* 2.26.1.

The Greek source (Apsyrtus) of *Mul. Chir.* 455 and Pel. 150 is extant. The *Mulomedicina Chironis* used a compound (*desubtus*) to replicate the (original) separative force of the Greek term (κάτωθεν). Pelagonius used a non-compound (*subtus*), and Vegetius dropped the adverb: *Mul. Chir.* 455 *dicit enim quod dissuria sanat eo quod desubtus pedes ipsa ramenta pedum conterere, commusta immiscere in uino cotula. suffundas per nares et meiet;* Veg. *Mul.* 2.79.19 *ad urinam inuentus est qui affirmaret priores ungulas equi ipsius radi et teri cum uini sextario et per nares infundi;* Pel. 150 *dicit enim debere de prioribus pedibus ungulas subter ipsius equi radi et teri cum uini sext. et naribus infundi;* Apsyrtus *Hipp. Berol.* 33.8 (CHG 1.168.20) κάτωθεν ὑποξύσαντα.

Several times Vegetius was happy to take over *deforis*. Examples of *deforas* and *deforis* at *Mul. Chir.* 196 have a correspondent at Veg. *Mul.* 1.9.4, in a single case of *deforis*. *Deforis* at *Mul. Chir.* 65 is retained by Veg. *Mul.* 2.15.2. Vegetius was not wholly resistant to such forms but he admitted them only sparingly.

8 Conclusions: compounds, Vulgar Latin and later Greek

Compound adverbs are not a new phenomenon in late Latin, nor, if the whole history of the language were surveyed, could it be claimed that they were inherently substandard. They are not excluded from high literary varieties (despite some resistance to them in the later period: see below), and some of them are old. *Desuper*, for example, is a literary word of the Republic and beyond (Caesar, Tacitus, poetry, including epic). It had exactly the same motivation as, say, the late term *delonge*, and showed the same semantic development (it did not remain exclusively separative but acquired a static meaning as well). It also, like so many of the terms considered here, has reflexes in Romance languages (*REW* 2607a, Mihăescu 1978: 265). One term was acceptable in high literature, the other not, though there is no structural difference between them. Should we conclude that no general tendencies can be extracted from the material of this chapter, and that every lexical item must be considered as a special case? That would be an extreme position. There was a development in the late period of which grammarians were conscious.

The terms noted in this chapter with which grammarians found fault are: *desursum*, *deintus*, *deforis*, *depost*, *detrans*, *demane*, *abante*, *de-/alonge*, *desuper* (an odd inclusion, by Augustine). Every term is separative in structure, and almost every one has the prefix *de-*. Pompeius even went so far as to

suggest that *adintro* and *adforas* did not exist. It is the *de*-compounds of which he is particularly aware, and which cause disapproval. Exactly the same disapproval had been expressed centuries earlier by Quintilian, of *desursum*.

With very few prepositions even in CL did the case ending matter: *in* and *sub* could take the ablative or accusative, with the meaning varying according to the case, but they were exceptional. With the spread of the accusative as the prepositional case the ending of the dependent word lost all function and the meaning came to be expressed by the preposition alone. That development probably enhanced the readiness of speakers to attach prepositions to invariable forms such as adverbs (cf. Wackernagel 1926–8: II.226 = Langslow 2009: 682),¹⁹ though such formations were by no means new. The shortage in Latin of adverbial forms expressing the idea ‘from’ that might have entered into a contrast with a static or directional correspondent, and the ambiguity of some adverbs used historically to convey two or more of the functions ‘at’, ‘to’ and ‘from’ (e.g. *intus* and *longe*), led to the coining of numerous compounds in *de*-, the imperial date of which is betrayed by the choice of prefix: *de* replaced *ex* and *ab* in the history of Latin. A factor influencing later Greek was the loss of a clear separative function by the suffix -θεν, and the consequent sense that such adverbs needed to be recharacterised.

The only difference between *desuper* and, say, *deintus* (apart from the retention by the former of the idea ‘down’, which marks it out as early) is that *desuper* was old and *deintus* late, and *desuper* had had time to become accepted by purists. Grammarians were at first resistant to the flood of imperial compounds in *de*-, whereas, if they had reflected on them, they would have had to acknowledge that they did not differ in type from old words such as *desuper*. Pompeius (or his source) was well aware of that, but he still could not stomach the new terms and tried to make an artificial distinction between them and the old terms. Any stigmatised character that imperial compounds might have possessed was determined not by any inherent features that they had, but by the arbitrary decision of purists to resist a widespread trend in the language. That the new might in time become acceptable even to grammarians is shown by the case of *desursum*, which had been condemned as a barbarism by Quintilian but is treated

¹⁹ In this connection two notable compound adverbs in the late text the *Compositiones Lucenses* may be cited: 115 *sed tornatur de intro in foras*. Historically both adverbs here have significant endings, expressing direction, but the original function of the endings is disregarded and the semantic weight is now carried entirely by the preposition: in the first the directional sense is overridden by the preposition and in the second the ending is treated as inadequate on its own.

as normal some centuries later by Servius (*GL* iv.440.11; see above, 5 (3)), alongside the still unacceptable *detrans*.

Compound adverbs and their history furnish a salutary warning against assuming that, if a grammarian condemns a usage, that usage must have belonged mainly to lower social dialects. There are clear signs that late compounds were current among the educated, whatever grammarians might have us believe. The passage of Pompeius numbered (2) at 5 above is particularly revealing. Pompeius first says that he 'cannot say' *deintus*, and then reveals that it is a common idiom (*communis elocutio*), and moreover that the 'many' who use it defend the prefix as something that ought to be used. It is inconceivable that defenders of a compound formation were other than members of the educated class, and it follows that the spread of separative compounds was a feature of the language itself, and not of a restricted social dialect. Grammarians were adopting a position against a formation that they heard used around them by educated speakers, and some of these speakers were obviously prepared to support the acceptability of the formation against grammarians. The survival of so many compounds in Romance languages further shows that they were widespread at all social levels. Here then is a development that is located in 'Latin', not 'Vulgar Latin'.

There is a similarity between late Latin and later Greek. Developments in Greek did not, however, influence Latin, if we leave aside a few cases of translationese in the Latin Bible (see n. 14). It was noted at 6.10 that, though compounds in Latin Bible versions sometimes correspond to compounds in the Greek version, that was by no means always the case. The abundance of such terms in the translations reflects the state of the Latin language itself.

Nor would it do to suggest that Latin influenced Greek. New separative compounds are already found in the Septuagint (see 1 n. 7), before the time when Latin might have been influential, and that is to say nothing of classical Greek, about which it is difficult to get systematic information (see 5 (7) for ἐπάνωθεν). There is also a difference between a number of the (later) Greek terms and the Latin. A notable type in Greek consists of the attachment of ἀπό to a separative adverb with the separative suffix -θεν (see above). Jannaris (1897) §1516 notes ἀπό + ἐντεῦθεν, ὀπισθεν, μακρόθεν, ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκεῖθεν, and Dieterich (1898: 183–4) lists those as well as ἀπό + κάτωθεν and ἄνωθεν. These form a coherent group, showing a recharacterisation motivated by the loss of function of the suffix. Latin by contrast did not have a productive adverbial separative suffix, and the numerous *de*-compounds show the prefix attached to a term that was usually not separative at all. Superficially the Greek and Latin terms are

similar, in that they express separation, but structurally they are different and have slightly different motivations, with the one group reinforcing a suffix long recognised as separative but now felt to have been weakened, and the other producing for the first time a clear-cut separative correspondent to a static adverb. The Greek terms have a recognisable purpose within the history of Greek, and it would be superfluous to suggest outside influence. One should speak in this case of parallel development of Greek and Latin (on this see xxxiii.7), not of the one language influencing the other.

PART 5

Aspects of verbal morphology and syntax

Past participle + habeo

1 Classical Latin and Romance

In Classical Latin the perfect tense on the traditional view expresses both a present state arising from an event completed in the past (the perfect, *passato prossimo*) and a completed event in the past (the aorist, preterite, *passato remoto*). Thus *uēnit* is thought to admit of the translations 'he has come' (and is here now) and 'he came' (e.g. yesterday, but may no longer be present). In Romance there emerged analytic structures of the type It. *ho cantato* (Lat. *habeo cantatum*) and also *è arrivato* (deriving from *esse* + past participle) alongside reflexes of the Latin synthetic perfect forms, such as It. *cantai*, *arrivò* (see Elcock 1960: 136–42 on the Latin synthetic forms and their survival in different branches of Romance; also Vincent 1988a: 51). The development of the analytic (periphrastic) formations, particularly that with *habeo* (see further below), potentially allowed a distinction to be made between the genuine perfect (expressed by *habeo* or sometimes *sum* + past participle) and the aorist or preterite (expressed by the synthetic forms). Note Maiden (1995: 146): 'In modern Italian the distinction may be broadly described as that between completed actions and events seen as having present reality, or retaining direct relevance to the present (a category which naturally tends to include recent events, whence the conventional, but misleading, label *passato prossimo*) and past perfective verbs, continuing the CL past perfect, whose actions are not viewed in this way (labelled in Italian *passato remoto*, though remoteness in time is not the determinant factor)'; see further Rohlfs (1969a: 47–9). The distinction between the reflexes of the *habeo*- (or *teneo*-)construction and of the Latin synthetic perfect is however much more varied than this if viewed across the full range of modern languages (see the overview of Harris 1982). In French, for example, the *habeo*-type (e.g. *a fait* < *habet factum*) took over the (aorist) functions of the other type (e.g. *fit* < *fecit*) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the so-called preterite now restricted to

formal written registers (Harris 1988: 228), and even in these it is found with any frequency only in the third person (Harris 1982: 58). For the complexities of Spanish including that of Latin America see Penny (2000: 158–61). For some features of the periphrasis in Old French and Old Italian see below, 5.

This chapter is concerned exclusively with *habeo*-constructions. Vincent (1982: 71) refers to the atomistic tendency of scholars who deal with the different auxiliaries in isolation, but the development of periphrases with *esse* is mainly of interest from the Romance perspective. In Latin *esse* was always used as an auxiliary with deponent verbs, whereas the supposed auxiliary use of *habeo* would be a new development within Latin itself. It has had some place in accounts of Vulgar Latin (see below, 5).

From the earliest period (e.g. the Twelve Tables, Plautus) constructions comprising *habeo* + object + past participle are well attested, and some obvious questions arise. What are the semantics of the constructions? Is it justifiable to see any of the earlier uses as anticipations of Romance uses? How, if at all, did the type of construction equivalent to a perfect develop? Were proto-Romance uses (if indeed such exist in Latin itself) located in a particular variety of the language, as for example lower sociolects? There is an extensive literature on the constructions in Latin, a good deal of which will be drawn on or alluded to here. Some notable works are those of Thielmann (1885b), Bennett (1910–14: 1.439), Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.763–4), Benveniste (1962), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 319–20), Happ (1967), Seiler (1973), Vincent (1982), Haiim Rosén (1980), Pinkster (1987) and Jacob (1995). There is also a large collection of material by Bulhart at *TLL* VI.2–3.2452–3.

In Plautus there are about fifty examples of the combination *habeo* + past participle (Happ 1967: 96), most (perhaps all) of which can be analysed thus: *habeo* + (object + participle). The participle is mainly predicative, and is in agreement with the object of *habere*. In its Romance outcomes in French and Italian the object no longer depends on the reflex of *habere* but on the lexical participle.

Reference has been made above to ‘constructions’, not to a single construction. Several uses of *habeo* + past participle can be identified, which will be distinguished below at 2.1–4.

2 Meanings and functions of *habeo*

Discussions of *habeo* + past participle have been dominated by Thielmann’s (1885b) massive collection of evidence and by his narrative of the

development of the construction, though Benveniste (1962: 56 n. 2) remarks that it is an 'étude souvent citée, rarement lue'. It will be suggested below (3) that Thielmann's narrative is not entirely convincing. He identified three stages in the history of *habeo* + participle (so Happ 1967: 94–5), though arguably his material can be split into four stages (see further below, 3). The treatment of the early period (Republic and early Empire down to about Columella and Curtius) is better than that of the period from about the second to the sixth century, and the sudden change in the use of the construction supposedly attested in Gaul in the sixth century does not ring true (see below, 3). The great merit of Thielmann's study lies in its collection of material, and in the discussion of numerous specific cases. Various uses of the combination are distinguished, but not systematically, and in the historical overview that comes at the end of the study there is no clear attempt to distinguish the perfect periphrasis (that is, cases of *habeo* + participle which seem to have coalesced to such an extent that the pair would be replaceable in the context by the perfectum of the verb from which the participle derives) from expressions in which *habeo* is still free-standing (i.e. has full semantic force, of whatever kind: see below, 2.1–4), and the participle predicative. The distinction might be illustrated by the verb phrase *domum emptam habet*. Could this mean 'he has bought a house', or would the context permit or even require the translation 'he has [i.e. possesses] a house that was bought' (e.g. five years ago)? Much depends in any context on the force of *habeo*, and before one can interpret a passage with any confidence it is essential to identify the uses of *habeo* that may occur in conjunction with a participle. A question that must be addressed is whether a translation of the first type above ('he has bought a house') is ever unambiguously required by the context in a Latin text, whether early or late.

The agent understood with the participle is relevant to the interpretation of such constructions. If the 'subject' of the participle is the same as that of *habeo* (i.e. 'he has a house that was bought by him/he himself bought'), in principle the *habeo*-construction may be a perfect periphrasis. If on the other hand the subject of the participle is different from that of *habeo*, equivalence to an ordinary perfect is out of the question (i.e. 'he has a house that was bought by someone else'). The point is several times made by Thielmann (e.g. 1885b: 390–1, 408), and by others (e.g. Pinkster 1987: 201, Maiden 1995: 148). For example, at Jer. *Epist.* 23.1 *quod in Latinis codicibus non ita habemus expressum* (cited by Thielmann 1885b: 541) the meaning is not 'which . . . we have not so translated', but 'which . . . we do not find so translated', sc. 'by others'.

In what follows the expression 'perfect periphrasis' will generally be used of a *habeo*-construction that may seem to be replaceable by a CL perfectum, but other, self-explanatory, phrases will also be used to suggest such an equivalence.

2.1 *Habeo meaning 'hold, keep'*

The clearest exposition of the uses of *habeo* with the past participle in Classical Latin is by Benveniste (1962: 56–61). According to this, in earlier Latin the constructions *habeo* + past participle fall into two groups. The same classification is adopted for the Plautine material by Happ (1967: 95–6, 101). Benveniste was drawing on the classification of Thielmann (1885b), which is however set out more diffusely, and on Thielmann's collection of evidence, particularly that in the first part of his paper (from 1885b: 375 onwards). Benveniste arguably oversimplified the diversity of the uses of *habeo*, and at least one category will be added here (see 2.4), but his few pages provide a good introduction to the problems.

The first group (by far the bigger one for the whole period), which in the case of Plautus comprises about forty of the fifty examples (Happ 1967: 96), consists of constructions in which *habeo* corresponds in meaning to Fr. *tenir*, 'hold', describing a state in which the object of the verb is kept or held. The emphasis on the duration of the state is sometimes made explicit by temporal complements such as *semper*, *tamdiu* or *triduo* (Thielmann 1885b: 376), and the force of *habeo* is further brought out by its tendency to alternate with *teneo* (Thielmann 1885b: 376, 378, 393, 403). There is a difference between a construction in which *habeo* means 'keep, hold, maintain' and a perfect periphrasis. *Templum exornatum habebant* (see Benveniste 1962: 57) does not express the same idea as *templum exornauerant*. For the former expression see Livy 26.11.9 *multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant* 'they kept this decorated with much gold and silver' (see Thielmann 1885b: 389). The focus is on the object: the state of the object is the only thing described, and that of the implied subject of *habebant* not considered. In such an expression the subject of *habeo* is not necessarily identical to that of the action referred to in the participle.

In early Latin inscriptions (legal in subject) *habeo*-constructions are never equivalent to a perfectum, Benveniste says (1962: 57 with n. 1); *habeo* always means 'hold, keep'. The combination is sometimes used in such texts in prescriptions, with *habeo* in either the subjunctive or imperative, a fact which rules out any equivalence to a perfectum (Benveniste 1962: 57). *Habeo* + participle retained a place in the legal language (not least that

of the later jurists) for centuries. The semantic range of *habeo* in juristic expressions will be illustrated in a later section (2.3).

The Plautine examples are set out by Lodge (1924–33: 1.664), and many of them certainly fall into this first category described by Benveniste. Note e.g. *Merc.* 360 *nequiquam abdidi, abscondidi, abstrusam habebam*, of keeping someone hidden (see Thielmann 1885b: 395–6). A large number of examples from a wide range of authors from the early period through to the Empire is quoted in the first part of Thielmann's paper, and by others as well, e.g.:

Leg. xii Tab. 3.4 qui eum uinctum habebit ('who shall hold him in bonds'; for expressions of this type see Thielmann 1885b: 400–3).

Cato *Agr.* 143.2 cibum tibi et familiae curet uti coctum habeat ('she must keep a supply of cooked food on hand for you and the servants'; see Pinkster 1987: 200 on this passage, and cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 398 *ancilla... quae habeat cottidianum familiae coctum cibum*).

Cic. *Att.* 16.16B.9 quod si feceris, me... maximo beneficio deuinctum habebis.

Varro *Ling.* 5.84 (flamines)... semper caput cinctum habebant filo.

Caes. *Gall.* 1.15.1 (equitatum) quem ex omni prouincia... coactum habebat ('(the cavalry) which he was holding, gathered from all over the province'; cf. Ulp. *Dig.* 8.3.3.1, quoted by Thielmann 1885b: 417, *ut fructus in uicini uilla cogantur coactique habeantur*, which makes the predicative potential of *coactus* with *habeo* clear: 'so that the fruits are gathered in the villa of a neighbour, and when gathered, kept').

Val. Max. 3.3.ext.4 multorum aures illa lingua et in primis Alexandri regis admiratione sui attonitas habuerat, dum terrae condicionem, habitum maris, siderum motus... prudentissime et facundissime expromit (Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.764).

Col. 9.11.1 tum demum includere (apes) et... triduo fere clausas habere ('then finally (you can) shut (the bees) in and keep them shut in for roughly three days'; for expressions of the type 'keep shut up' see Thielmann 1885b: 397–8).

The translation 'hold' has been adopted in the passage of Caesar above, but it may be a matter simply of having, possessing (despite the example from Ulpian). It is not always possible to distinguish the two meanings clearly; on the distinction see Thielmann (1885b: 375; also 405, 416). The expressions *paratum habere* and *instructum habere*, both of which belonged to military language (see Thielmann 1885b: 392, 3), seem to mean indifferently 'keep at the ready/drawn up', or 'have at the ready/drawn up'. The weaker meaning 'possess' will be discussed separately below (2.3).

It is difficult to see any connection between examples where *habeo* unambiguously means ‘keep, hold’ and the Romance perfect construction.¹ Benveniste indeed (1962: 56) refers to a tenacious tendency in descriptions of the Latin data to confuse two distinct stages in the history of the language, that of early Latin through to the classical period on the one hand, and that of the late period, as represented by for example Gregory of Tours, on the other. The difference between the two periods, he says, is not one of degree but of nature. Manuals are taken to task that present the facts of early Latin as a ‘prelude’ to usages of late Latin, and the Latin of Plautus in this respect as showing the ‘beginning’ of the Romance perfect. This view of things is clearly influenced by Thielmann, who is cited with approval (1962: 56 n. 2). The idea that Plautus in some respects offers us a variety of Latin that has proto-Romance features is a familiar one, which has been several times questioned in this book (see xxxiii.4). On the other hand Benveniste’s view of the novelty of the examples in Gregory is itself open to question (see below, 3).

2.2 Benveniste’s second category

The second construction shows participles of particular types, with which according to Benveniste (1962: 58) it is equivalent to a true perfectum: *reperitum habeo* ‘j’ai trouvé’; *compertum habeo* ‘j’ai acquis la certitude’; *partum habeo* ‘j’ai acquis (un bien)’; *impetratum habeo* ‘j’ai obtenu’; *exploratum habeo* ‘je me suis assuré de . . .’, etc.’ He observes (61) that the participles imply an acquisition, either material (as e.g. in *parare*, *parere*) or mental. It is in this class of verbs that a periphrastic substitute for the perfect first starts to appear (61 ‘Un substitut périphrastique du perfectum commence à se manifester dans les verbes de cette classe sémantique’).² *Habeo* already plays the role of an auxiliary (‘Ici *habere* joue déjà le rôle d’un auxiliaire’).

¹ That would not appear to be the view of Jacob (1995: 375). He quotes one of the passages cited above (Cic. *Att.* 16.168.9 *deuinctum habebis*) among a group of examples which he believes ‘peut être considéré comme le vrai ancêtre du passé composé des langues romanes’. In these examples ‘le participe désigne un acte dont découle une *responsabilité*, un *droit*, un *mérite*, une *culpabilité* pour son auteur, un acte qui *engage* d’une manière ou d’une autre la personne désignée par le sujet de la phrase, ou bien un acte par lequel la personne *s’acquitte* d’un tel engagement’. This formulation is not clear. The examples (numbered 23–8) which Jacob puts into this group almost all have a free-standing *habeo* in various meanings, with the participle predicative, and Jacob has employed jargon instead of analysing his examples in context.

² See Jacob (1995: 374). Most scholars, he says, have seen the type in which the participle belongs to the class of verbs of perception as ‘le noyau de la formation du passé composé avec *avoir*’, and there is a list of scholars at n. 20, including Thielmann (1885b: 509), Happ (1967: 101–2), Haiim Rosén (1980), Vincent (1982: 77–8), Pinkster (1987: 204–5, 213). Note e.g. Pinkster (1987: 205), stating that it is ‘in this type of expression [i.e. with perception and cognition verbs] that the amalgamation of *habere* and

Benveniste seems to hold open the possibility that there might be a distinction between e.g. *cognitum habeo* and *cognoui*, but leaves this for further study. He goes on to list various features of his second construction. The sense of *habeo* is always 'have' not 'hold', the focus is on the subject not the object, and the main verb is never in the imperative or a mood of prescription. The first of these three features is worth stressing. There is more to be said about *habeo* in the mundane sense 'have' in conjunction with participles (see 2.3), but in these examples it is not only the meaning of *habeo* that is distinctive, but also that of the participles.

Benveniste (1962: 58) illustrates the difference between his two types from Plaut. *Men.* 581–4, where *habeo* is first found in the sense 'hold' (*solicitos patronos habent*, 'ils tiennent leurs patrons dans l'inquiétude'), and then in an expression of material acquisition (*qui aut faenore aut peiuriis habent rem paratam*, 'qui ont acquis leur fortune par usure ou parjure'). The unambiguous translation of the second passage must, however, be questioned. *Habeo* may here be treated as a full verb of possession. The translation 'who possess a fortune acquired by usury or perjury' is acceptable. This example highlights a feature of many of the supposed perfect periphrases in Latin itself, and not only those of the earlier period: they are constantly open to another interpretation whereby *habeo* is free-standing.

It is the type expressing mental, as distinct from material, acquisition that is more distinctive. Thielmann (1885b: 509), remarking particularly on *cognitum habeo*, discusses the features of these participles of mental activity that make the combination with *habeo* into something approaching a perfect periphrasis. Notably, in a phrase such as *cognitum habeo* the participle indicates a state that cannot be 'possessed' by another than the subject of *habeo* (cf. Lucot 1940: 249, Vincent 1982: 84–5, Maiden 1995: 153).

Thielmann (1885b: 517) notes that it is Classical Latin, especially that of Cicero, which shows a particular frequency of periphrases comprising *habeo* and participles of this type (on their rarity, even non-existence, in Plautus see below), and, like Benveniste and others after him (see n. 2), he sees in these (1885b: 517–18) the starting point of the Romance construction. He cites (1885b: 518) the following as stylistic variants: Cic. *Fam.* 13.17.2 *quem si tu iam forte cognosti* ('if you happen already to have got to know him') and §3 *sin autem . . . nondum eum satis habes cognitum* ('but if you have not yet got to know him sufficiently'). Cicero had a taste for *habeo cognitum* (with

PPP into a complex form develops first'. Benveniste was not, however, restricting his generalisation to the participles of mental acquisition, but was accepting expressions of material acquisition as well as the starting point of the development.

the words usually in that order), whereas his correspondents, and Caesar, Sallust and also Livy, hardly have it. In these others *est mihi cognitum* is found (Thielmann 1885b: 521; for the *est mihi* construction see below, 2.2.1), a variation that points to the distinctiveness of Cicero's Latinity and suggests the limits to standardisation in the classical period.

For *compertum habeo* as a 'logisches Perfekt' Thielmann (1885b: 525–6) cites two Ciceronian examples, *Font.* 29 *cum ea dicimus iurati, quae comperta habemus, quae ipsi uidimus* (where the function of the periphrasis might seem to be the same as that of the parallel perfect *uidimus*, but see further below) and *Cluent.* 127 *aliquid sese, quod de his duobus habuerint compertum, de ceteris comperisse*, where the periphrasis and *comperisse* are taken to be lexical variants (perhaps 'they had discovered about the others something which they had discovered about those two'). However, an old commentary on the *pro Cluentio* (Peterson 1914: 210) asserts of *habuerint compertum*: 'This construction (with *teneo* as well as with *habeo*) is not a mere circumlocution for the perfect': it lays a particular emphasis on the maintenance of the result.³ There may be some truth in this. The first passage above might be translated 'when we say those things on oath which we have as ascertained fact and which we have seen with our own eyes', of the possession of knowledge (on this use of *habeo* see the next paragraph). In the second passage there may be a contrast between the act of discovering something (*comperisse*) 'about the others', and possessing information some time since (*habuerint compertum*) 'about those two'. If one looks it is constantly possible to see some nuance that distinguishes the *habeo*-construction from the synthetic perfect, and that is to be expected in the early stages of the construction, long before it was grammaticalised. A periphrasis might in some contexts have been replaced by a perfect without changing the meaning, but that does not mean that the writer did not have some subtle distinction in mind when he wrote *habeo*. The fact that in an expression such as *cognitum habeo* the subject of both participle and verb must be the same does not make the perfect interpretation obligatory. *Habeo* may still be felt to be strongly possessive and free-standing.

The ambiguities inherent even in these examples from the sphere of mental activity/perception may be seen from Cic. *Att.* 5.21.13 *hoc quid intersit, si tuos digitos noui, certe habes subductum* ('if I know your arithmetical powers, you have already reckoned up the difference', Shackleton Bailey). *Subducere* in this context means 'reckon up, calculate' (*OLD* s.v. 8). The force is that, given Atticus' mental arithmetic, he already knows the

³ Peterson was citing Gildersleeve and Lodge (1895: 160).

answer. He has it in his possession (see the last paragraph). For *habeo* in the sense of being in possession of facts or information see *OLD* s.v. 11. Shackleton Bailey translates as if *habes subductum* were a perfect periphrasis, but the sense is just as likely to be 'you have the difference already reckoned up'.

There are however cases which come much closer to perfect periphrases. More striking than the above case of *habuerint compertum* in Cicero is Scrib. Larg. 106 *omnia enim auxilia adhibenda sunt, quae ex usu prodesse eis comperta habemus* ('for all remedies are to be used which we have found out from experience benefit those conditions') (see Thielmann 1885b: 526). The acc. + inf. cannot be dependent on *habemus*, and separating *habemus* from the rest of the construction and making the acc. + inf. depend on the past participle *comperta* alone would be semantically hard to justify. The acc. + inf. is dependent on the combination *comperta habemus*, which is equivalent to *comperimus*. The distinctiveness of this passage is made clear by several other constructions in the same text. At 98 Scribonius writes *semper habeo id compositum*, where *habeo* means 'keep' and *compositum* is predicative ('I always keep that made up'). At 104, describing a symptom, Scribonius has *stomachumque ita solutum habent* ('they have bowels so loose that . . .'). Here *habent* does not mean 'keep' but indicates possession, a common use of the verb in the description of symptoms (see 2.3, p. 628), and *solutum* is predicative. In the first passage above it is almost impossible to treat *comperta* as predicative.

The regular order incidentally of this phrase in Caesar, Sallust and Livy is *compertum habeo* (Thielmann 1885b: 528). It was noted above that the order in another expression (*habeo cognitum*) was usually the reverse in Cicero (who has both orders with *compertum*). These two expressions were tending to assume a fixed form, but not one that was uniformly an anticipation of the Romance order 'have' + participle (on which see further below, 5).

Pinkster (1987: 203) cites Plancus ap. Cic. *Fam.* 10.24.3 *quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum nimium saepe expertum habemus*, translated by Shackleton Bailey (Loeb) 'We have seen only too often how much reliance can be placed on raw troops in battle.' The adverbial *nimium saepe* makes the perfect interpretation look plausible.

The examples cited so far in this section have all been from Classical Latin, and that is not by chance. The type in which a participle denotes cognition and the combination at least comes near to a perfect periphrasis in meaning is not genuinely found in Plautus. Happ (1967: 101) does offer from Plautus a second category of evidence (in addition to that where *habeo* means 'keep, hold': see 2.1), consisting of a few (about eight)

examples where the focus is not on the object but the subject, and where the participles supposedly express mental processes, speaking or material possession.

Those to do with mental acquisition amount to nothing (cf. Thielmann 1885b: 516, Happ 1967: 102). Under verbs of mental processes Happ (1967: 101) mentions just two passages. That at *Pseud.* 677 (*iam instituta, ornata cuncta in ordine, . . . | certa, deformata habebam*), may be translated 'I already had it worked out, all arranged in order, . . . fixed and formed', with *habeo* possessive, of a scheme all planned. *Mil.* 886 (*nam ego multos saepe uidi | regionem fugere consili prius quam repertam haberent*, 'for I have often seen many men flee the land of good advice before they had found it') does not belong in this category at all. In a *priusquam* clause a pluperfect subjunctive is possible (see Woodcock 1959: 186), and *repertam haberent* might have been replaced by *repperisset*. But this is not really a phrase to do with mental acquisition. The writer is referring to the acquiring of good advice, but the idea is expressed in an extended metaphor and the act likened to a physical discovery (of a region). It is very close indeed to a perfect periphrasis, and hard to dismiss as merely a case in which *habeo* is used independently to express possession.⁴ A bipartite translation might be attempted, 'before it was discovered and they possessed it', but this seems forced. This is a stray example interchangeable with a perfect, and it is a phrase that has no further history (see Thielmann 1885b: 417).

For material acquisition Happ (1967: 101) cites *Men.* 584 *qui aut faenore aut peiuriis habent rem paratam*, which was discussed above and rejected as a perfect periphrasis. Various other examples put into this class are open to other interpretations, as Happ usually allows. Bennett (1910–14: 1.439) merely cites most of the same examples without discussion as cases of the 'present perfect'. Note e.g. *Cist.* 319 *hasce aedis conductas habet meus gnatus*, which may be translated 'my son has rented this house', but is as likely to mean 'my son has this house on hire'; cf. *Cic. Verr.* 3.93 *conductum (agrum) habebat HS sex milibus* ('he had (the farm) rented at . . .'); this latter case follows *arabat is agrum conductum in Segestano* ('he was working a rented farm/farm rented in the Segestan area'). Happ quotes only part of *Trin.* 347 *multa bona bene parta habemus*. On the independent character of *habemus* in this passage, which reads in full *deum uirtute dicam, pater, et maiorum et tua | multa bona bene parta habemus* see Thielmann (1885b: 416): 'we possess' something acquired through the efforts of others. Contrast

⁴ It is cited by Bennett (1910–14: 1.439) as an instance of *habeo* with a past participle with 'the force of the present perfect'.

Trin. 838 *satis partum habeo | quibus aerumnis deluctaui, filio dum diuitias quaero*. Here the acquisition is through the efforts of the subject of *habeo*, but the expression may nevertheless be translated ‘I have enough laid by’ (so Nixon, Loeb), with the participle predicative.

For cases where the participle is from the semantic field ‘speak’, see below, 2.4, pp. 639, 640.

In Plautus (and early Latin) *habeo* + past participle is all but non-existent as a perfect periphrasis, and any isolated example that may be taken as such must be seen as an ad hoc extension of the possessive use of *habeo* with a predicative participle rather than as a sign that *habeo* + participle was encroaching on the perfect. *Habeo* is only one of a number of verbs construed in Plautine Latin with perfect participles and stressing a state achieved or to be achieved.⁵

It is in Classical Latin that a new development is in evidence. Participles of cognition, mental activity and acquisition used in conjunction with *habeo*, with the subject of both participle and *habeo* identical, often appear to be equivalent to a perfect. It is this type of combination (for further remarks about its origin see the next section) that is the earliest anticipation of the later Romance perfect, though to what extent expressions of the *cognitum habeo* type remained current beyond Classical Latin is unclear, and continuity between Classical Latin and Romance cannot be assumed. There is scope for further research into the imperial period. If usages of this type became defunct it would have to be allowed that the construction enjoyed a second wind later, and that there was not necessarily a direct link between the classical period and Romance.

There are also lingering doubts about the correct interpretation even of *cognitum habeo* et sim. in Classical Latin. We have seen cases where *habeo* can be given possessive force and taken as free-standing. It is possible that Latin speakers of the classical period viewed such combinations differently

⁵ Brix and Niemeyer (1901) on *Mil.* 886 (discussed above) refer the reader to their note on *Capt.* 345 (Brix and Niemeyer 1897: 39). Note e.g. *Capt.* 345 *hic transactum reddit omne*, *Amph.* 1145 *ibo ad uxorem intro, missum facio Teresiam senem*, *Asin.* 122 *moriri sese misere mauolet | quam non perfectum reddat quod promiserit*, *Cas.* 439 *factum et curatum dabo*, *Cist.* 595 *perfectum ego hoc dabo negotium*, *Ter. Andr.* 683 *hoc tibi inuentum dabo*, 684 *inuentum tibi curabo*, *Plaut. Curc.* 385 *ego hoc efectum lepide tibi tradam*, *Pseud.* 386 *qui imperata efecta reddit*. Lindsay (1900: 208) describes *transactum reddit* at *Capt.* 345 as a periphrasis for *transiget*, but though *transiget* would have been possible in the context, the periphrastic expression stresses that the act will be in a state of completion in the future, just as in early Latin perfect tenses are not infrequently used in reference to future time to stress that the subject will not only do something in the future but will have it completed (cf. the legal formula *ne quis fecisse uelit*: let no one be in a state in future of having completed an act). These periphrases with *do*, *reddo*, *trado*, *curo*, *facio* all express undertakings to see something completed (for further details see Bennett 1910–14: 1.438–9).

from English speakers, who may be too prone to take the easy course of rendering them into the English 'have'-perfect. A systematic treatment of the subject would require a collection of the classical periphrases and an examination of their meanings in context.

2.2.1 Remarks on an alternative periphrasis expressing mental and other types of acquisition

These expressions of 'acquisition', particularly mental, in Cicero and a few others have an interesting characteristic. They tend to have participles belonging to semantic fields that are also found from the early period onwards with the 'possessive' agent-construction *est mihi* (see Thielmann 1885b: 379–80, 515–16, Seiler 1973: 848–52, Haiim Rosén 1980: 311). The relationship between e.g. *est mihi emptus* and *habeo emptum* is the same as that between *est mihi liber* and *habeo librum* (on this point, apart from the bibliography just cited, see B. Löfstedt [1963] 2000: 17, Pinkster 1987: 197, 219 n. 7; contrast, without discussion, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 320). The *est mihi* construction is old (for a collection of examples of *est mihi* + participle in early Latin see Bennett 1910–14: II.169–70; also Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.324–5), and the *habeo*-construction may be either a parallel to it or a development out of it. The absence of the *habeo*-construction with participles of mental acquisition and the like from Plautus (see above) probably reflects the chronological priority of the *est mihi* construction.

Another verbal usage in which the two possessive constructions alternate is in expressions of agency with the gerundive (see Thielmann 1885b: 380). *Est* + dat. is the norm in Classical Latin (*mihi dicendum est*), but from the early imperial period *habeo* intrudes into the construction as a substitute for *est mihi* (Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.732; particularly frequent in Tacitus). Here there is a clear chronology. The *habeo*-variant is later than *est mihi* and must be a remodelling of it.

On exponents of possession acting as perfect auxiliaries see Allen (1964). Note e.g. 337 'It is well known that in a number of European languages the perfect form of the verb employs an auxiliary identical with the verb used for predicating possession.' He goes on to say that 'it has also become clear that in transitive sentences the similarity between perfect and "possessive" expressions is not confined to cases involving an auxiliary "to have"'. So it is in Latin that there is *est mihi* alongside *habeo*. Since the *habeo*-construction belongs to a type, equivalent semantically to *est mihi* and paralleled in the imperial literary language by *habeo dicendum* alongside *est mihi dicendum*, it is as well to resist any temptation to see *habeo* + participle at its inception as a vulgar phenomenon. It reflects an entrenched feature of the language.

There follows a selection mainly from the republican period of overlapping uses of *est mihi* + participle and *habeo* + participle:

Lucil. 88o nam mihi erant de illo explorata omnia.

Cic. *Fam.* 6.14.1 quid autem sperem, aut confidam aut exploratum habeam, de salute tua (exploratum habeo is found from Cicero and Caesar onwards (OLD s.v. *exploro* 2d); see also Thielmann 1885b: 515, 529).

Enn. *scaen.* 197 (Jocelyn) nam cui quod agat institutum est †in illis† negotium, | id agit.

Cic. *Tusc.* 2.10 est igitur ambulantibus ad hunc modum sermo ille nobis institutus.

Plaut. *Pseud.* 676 iam instituta, ornata cuncta in ordine, animo ut uolueram, | certa, deformata habebam.

Epid. 154 qui ubi tibi istam emptam esse scibit atque hanc adductam alteram, | continuo te orabit ultro ut illam tramittas sibi.

467 argenti quinquaginta mihi illa empta est minis.

Varro *Rust.* 2.2.5 de reliquo antiqua fere formula utuntur, cum emptor dixit: ‘tanti sunt mi emptae?’

Scaev. *Dig.* 19.1.48 uendidit ita: ‘fundus Sempronianus, quidquid Sempronii iuris fuit, erit tibi emptus tot nummis’.

Cic. *Tull.* 16 eum (fundum) autem emptum habebat cum socio Cn. Acronio.

Varro *Rust.* 3.1.8 aut conductos aut emptos habent saltus (here the participles are predicative).

Gaius *Dig.* 18.1.35.1 illud constat imperfectum esse negotium, cum emere uolenti sic uenditor dicit: ‘quanti uelis, quanti aequum putaueris, quanti aestimaueris, habebis emptum’.

Plaut. *Persa* 171 me quidem iam satis tibi spectatam censebam esse et meos mores.

Cic. *Div. Caec.* 11 quam (meam fidem) habent spectatam iam et diu cognitam.

Plaut. *Aul.* 574 ego te hodie reddam madidum, si uiuo, probe, | tibi quoi decretum est bibere aquam.

Cf. e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 4.2.4 si habes iam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes (see TLL vi.2–3.2452.78ff.).

Sall. *Jug.* 46.3 Metello iam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum.

Cic. *Fam.* 10.12.1 qui et te nossem . . . et haberem a Furnio nostro tua penitus consilia cognita (see Thielmann 1885b: 518–21).

These correspondences leave no doubt that the classical appearance of *habeo* in periphrases close to perfects represents the intrusion of the full verb of possession into a syntagm that had long admitted the equivalent

possessive *est mihi*. The result of an acquisition is possession, and the two possessive exponents occur typically in the early period with participles of acquisition. In at least some of the above cases the periphrasis may be translated with a 'have'-perfect, and seems replaceable by an ordinary Latin perfect (e.g. *habes . . . statutum* by *statuisti* at Cic. *Fam.* 4.2.4 in the second last group of passages; Shackleton Bailey (Loeb) translates 'if you have already settled what you think you ought to do'). It is however worth noting that the same expression (*habeo statutum*) is interpreted at Cic. *Verr.* 3.95 by Gildersleeve and Lodge (1895: 160) in the sense 'I have resolved, and hold to my resolution' (with the 'maintenance of the result' stressed: see above, 2.2, p. 622), and one is again reminded that an examination of the late republican examples in context is a desideratum, to determine just how genuine the 'perfect periphrasis' is at this period. It was noted above that at Varro *Rust.* 3.1.8 *conductos aut emptos* is predicative.

2.3 Further expressions with *habeo* as a possessive

Habeo 'have, possess' (as distinct from 'keep', 'hold', Fr. *tenir*) is not restricted to participial expressions in which the participle is a verb of (mental) acquisition. It is attested in this emptier meaning with a range of participles, some of which have already been seen (see above, 2.1, p. 619 on Caes. *Gall.* 1.15.1, and 2.2, p. 623 on Scrib. Larg. 104, a description of symptoms).

This second usage, in Scribonius, is of a type that is common in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. There *habeo* is often used with a condition, disease or symptom as object, as at 110 *quodcunque iumentum marmor in genibus habuerit*. The reference is to possession of a knee condition (*marmor*). Frequently the noun is accompanied by a participle specifying the condition of a body part, as at 526 *si cerebrum percussum habuerit* 'if it has a struck brain/a brain that has been struck'. The agent understood with *percussum* may differ from the subject of *habuerit* (e.g. *a tauro*: note 703 *si quod iumentum in palo incubuerit aut bobis percusserit latus aut ab aliqua causa percussura fuerit*; also 672 *a tauro percussus*), or be unclear, and the construction cannot be equated with a periphrastic perfect, but it is not impossible that the animal might be regarded as having bumped its own head. See further:

380 *ceruicem inclinatam habebit in dextram partem.*

439 *pedes posteriores implicitos habebit.*

456 *qui praefocatum uentrem habet.*

481 *tergus durum et contractum habebit.*

581 *pronus ambulabit et armos astrictos habebit.*

589 *si iumentum genua contusa habuerit.*

636 *si quod iumentum pedem contusum habuerit.*

664 *si quod iumentum ungulas fissas habuerit usque ad coronas.*

At 481 the coordination of *durum* and *contusum* shows that *contusum* is not part of a verbal periphrasis with *habebit* but is a predicative epithet of *tergus*. The same must be true of *contusum* at 636, but there is at least the possibility of a reanalysis ('if an animal shall have a bruised foot' > 'shall have bruised its foot'). In descriptions of symptoms these participial constructions pose no problems of interpretation. They are not perfect periphrases. The verb indicates possession, and the participle is predicative. It is of interest to see how Vegetius modifies *Mul. Chir.* 160 *posteriora crura inligata habebit* ('he will have his rear legs twisted together'). This becomes (Veg. *Mul.* 1.38.10) *posteriora crura quasi inligata habebit*, where the addition of *quasi* makes the predicative character of the participle clear.

There are however many cases throughout Latin of the combination *habeo* + participle where the role of *habeo* is difficult to interpret. Is it a free-standing verb of possession, or are there places where *habeo* and the participle have so coalesced that they form a perfect-equivalent? The ambiguities are considerable, and that fact is itself important, because it would be necessary to establish that unambiguous perfects are certainly attested before one could contemplate the possibility that there was in the Latin period itself, perhaps largely submerged, a periphrastic construction in competition with the synthetic perfect. In this section numerous examples (where *habeo* does not mean 'hold', *tenir*), many of them already with a place in the literature, will be discussed, with the aim of determining whether any of them must obligatorily be taken as perfects. The examples have been chosen mainly because they are familiar to many. A systematic account of the problem would have to start with a complete collection of the evidence, which is beyond the scope of the present work, and include a discussion of every example in context. Examples are in random order.

Bennett (1910–14: 1.439) cites Plaut. *Bacch.* 550 as a case of the present perfect: *ille, quod in se fuit, accuratum habuit quod posset mali | faceret in me*. This may be translated 'as far as he was able, he had whatever evil he could do against me arranged', and need not be taken as a perfect periphrasis. Another instance classified in the same way by Bennett is at *Poen.* 594: *hic trecentos nummos numeratos habet*. *Habet* may be taken as possessive ('he has 300 sesterces counted out'). For another example of the same phrase (in Augustine) taken in much the same way see Pinkster (1987: 201–2).

When the participle belongs to a verb of the semantic field 'divide, separate' (see Thielmann 1885b: 405), with the idea of the action (leading to the state) prominent, the combination may come close to a periphrastic perfect. Note for example Varro *Rust.* 3.5.5:

cum opus sunt, ex hoc auario ut sumantur idoneae, excludantur in minusculum auarium, quod est coniunctum cum maiore ostio, lumine illustriore, quod seclusorium appellant. ibi cum eum numerum habet exclusum, quem sumere uult, omnes occidit.

When it becomes necessary to remove from this aviary birds which are fit for the market, they should be taken out and put into a smaller aviary, called the *seclusorium* (coop), which is connected by a door with the larger aviary and better lighted. When he has the number which he desires shut up there, he kills them all (Loeb).

The translation above takes *habet* as a free-standing verb, with *exclusum* predicative, but *exclussit* could be substituted for *habet exclusum* without changing the meaning. But the fact remains that *habet* can readily be given a literal meaning. The word order also seems to favour such a rendering, with the primary object *eum numerum* coming first and separated from the (predicative) participle. See too the other passages discussed by Thielmann (1885b: 405).

Another case which Thielmann (1885b: 413) takes as close to a periphrastic perfectum (in this case pluperfect) is at Caes. Civ. 3.89.2 *cohortis in acie LXXX constitutas habebat, quae summa erat milium XXII*. The passage has a series of pluperfects, as *nonam in sinistro collocauerat* (1), *iusserat* (1), *reliquerat* (2) and *praeposuerat* (3), and *constituerat* for the *habeo*-construction would seem to be a possible substitution. Despite that, *habebat* is a full verb of possession. The sentence is a generalisation about the numbers of cohorts and men the subject had in position, and is not definitely a statement about the act of their positioning.

Aug. Doctr. Christ. 2.39.58 *maxime si habent etiam cum daemonibus initam societatem* is translated by Pinkster (1987: 203) 'they have even made a deal with demons'. However, this clause could also be translated 'if they have a contract entered into even with demons'. Again the word order is suggestive: *etiam cum daemonibus initam* looks like a long adjectival colon qualifying *societatem*, and the separation of *initam* from *habent* does not offer support for a close connection between verb and participle.

Ulp. Dig. 29.1.19.pr. *si miles, qui habebat iam factum testamentum, aliud fecisset*, for which see Thielmann (1885b: 537–8) and Pinkster (1987: 203), is translated by Pinkster (similarly A. Watson 1985) 'if a soldier who had already made a testament would have made another one'. Pinkster states that here the PPP cannot easily be understood as a state resulting from an action. It is possible to translate 'if a soldier who had a will already done should have done another'. If the will were drawn up by another

(which is likely) *factum* would allow a complement such as *ab alio*. On this view of *factum* the construction is not a perfect periphrasis, but it is easy to see how a reanalysis could be made in such a context, particularly since the text continues (after *fecisset*) *et in eo comprehendisset* ('and had included in that'), a clause which envisages the soldier as composing the will. Thielmann (1885b: 537–8) allows that *habebat factum* might have been replaced by *fecerat* but goes on to show that *factum habet* is not always the same as *fecit* in the *Digest* (cf. Kalb 1912: 32): Ulp. *Dig.* 43.8.2.37 *hoc interdicto non is tenetur, qui in uia publica aliquid fecit, sed is qui factum habet. proinde si alius fecit, alius factum habet, is tenetur qui factum habet* ('by this edict, it is not the person who did something in the public road who is liable, but the person who has/possesses what has been done. Accordingly, if one person did it and another has what has been done, it is the latter who is liable'). For *factum habet* in jurists see further below, this section, p. 637.

The examples cited so far in this section show that marginal cases (that is, cases in which *habeo* is probably still free-standing but the combination is also open to a secondary perfect analysis) are not confined to expressions containing participles of cognition/mental acquisition. The variety of participles becomes particularly clear in the imperial period.

According to Thielmann (1885b: 538) Vitruvius cultivated a special type of the periphrasis, with a pluperfect (or imperfect) subjunctive in temporal clauses introduced by *cum*, as at 6.praef.4 *cum ergo et parentium cura et praeceptorum doctrinis auctas haberem copias disciplinarum*, which is translated in the Loeb as 'When therefore both the care of my parents and the instruction of my teachers had increased my stock of knowledge.' But the possessive meaning of *haberem* with *copias* as object is palpable here (so Thielmann), = 'when I had a stock of knowledge that had been increased by . . . ' The agent with *auctas* is different from the subject of *habeo*.

Thielmann makes a distinction between this example and that at 7.praef.5 *rex, cum iam sex ciuitatis lectos habuisset nec tam cito septimum idoneum inueniret*, where he equates *lectos habuisset* with *legisset*. Since on this interpretation *haberet* might have been expected, Thielmann suggests that here we may see the beginnings of the Romance encroachment of the pluperfect subjunctive on the imperfect (for which in Latin see Adams 2007: 520 and the bibliography cited below). There are doubts about the equation of the expression with *legisset*. If *lectos* is taken closely with *habuisset* the primary object would have to be *sex ciuitatis*, with a genitive dependent on the numeral. It is preferable to have *sex ciuitatis lectos* as the object, 'six chosen men of the city'. *Habeo* is sometimes used of receiving/taking

as well as merely possessing (*TLL* VI.2–3.2432.33ff., especially 2433.31ff.), but one would expect the equivalent of English ‘when he had got/had six chosen men of the city’ to be the imperfect *haberem* (on the analogy e.g. of Cic. *Att.* 12.51.1 *Tironem habeo citius quam uerebar*, ‘I have (received) Tiro more quickly than I feared might be the case’: see *TLL* VI.2–3.2433.34f.), and on those grounds Thielmann was probably right in thinking that there is a loose use of the pluperfect for imperfect here. There are already signs of the pluperfect subjunctive used for the imperfect in Classical Latin (for instance in Livy (e.g. 32.26.2), a contemporary of Vitruvius), particularly in the forms *habuisset* and *fuisset*: see e.g. Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.141, citing also three instances from Vitruvius himself, one in the form *habuisset*. It would not however follow that *lectos habuisset* forms a periphrasis of the perfectum. Translate ‘when he had (got) six chosen men from the city but could not so quickly find a seventh’.

An example at Vitruvius 4.3.1 (*is cum paratam habuisset marmoris copiam*) could be translated ‘when he had a quantity of marble supplied’ (again with pluperfect subjunctive for imperfect), and the remaining example cited by Thielmann (Vitruvius 4.2.2) is of similar type.

Columella is also given special treatment by Thielmann (1885b: 538–9). He points out (1885b: 538) that, as in Vitruvius, so in Columella the combination *habeo* + past participle tends to occur in a certain structure (different from that in Vitruvius). *Habuerit* (future perfect) + participle turns up in clauses introduced by *cum*, *ubi* or *si*, with a simple future or imperative in the main clause. The examples quoted (1885b: 538–9) several times have the participle *paratum*. Idiolect was clearly an influence on both writers. Both had developed a quirky way of using the combination, with the main verb usually open to the interpretation that it retained a possessive idea. Such idiosyncratic uses do not establish the existence of a perfect periphrasis in the language in general.

Note the problematic case Col. 5.10.16 *si iam arborem satam habueris, scillam . . . serito*. The manuscripts have *sitam* not *satam*, which is from Col. *Arb.* 23.2 *at si iam arborem satam habueris* and is not printed by standard editions (Hedberg 1968a, Rodgers 2010). *Situs* is an adjective (‘positioned, in place’), and the combination with *habueris* is not relevant to the perfect periphrasis. In the literature on the perfect the variant *satam* has become entrenched, but even if that form is accepted a perfect interpretation is not straightforward. The sentence (with *satam*) is translated by Pinkster (1987: 204) ‘if you have already planted the tree, sow a squill’ (the Loeb has the same rendering of *satam habueris*). The verb *habueris* is future perfect. Thielmann (1885b: 539) first glosses *satam habueris* with *seueris* and

then explains the combination (plausibly) as a contamination of *seueris* and *satam habebis*. The latter expression need not be taken as a (future) perfect periphrasis but would be translatable as ‘if you shall already have a tree planted’. Thielmann elsewhere (1885b: 536) draws attention to an agricultural formula *consitum habeo*, which occurs in Cato (*Agr.* 3.1 *tum aedificare oportet, si agrum consitum habeas*, translated by the Loeb ‘you should build, if you have your land planted’), Varro (*Rust.* 1.16.6 *refert etiam ad fundi fructus, quem ad modum uicinus in confinio consitum agrum habeat*, ‘[t]he manner in which your neighbour keeps the land on the boundary planted is also of importance to your profits’, Loeb) and Columella (11.3.53 *alternis ordinibus ferulas, alternis rubos in hortis consitas habere*, ‘(he advises us) to have fennels and brambles planted in alternate rows’). In this expression the participle is predicative. The expression *satam habueris* above, if *satam* were to be accepted into the text, is slightly different from this, in that it is a plant rather than the land that is object, but the expression *consitum habeo* shows how a participle of this semantic field may be predicative with the possessive use of *habeo*.

An interesting example (Pinkster 1987: 203; cf. Thielmann 1885b: 537) is at Livy 39.16.3 *necdum omnia in quae coniurarunt edita facinora habent*, on which see Briscoe (2008: 277), translating the periphrasis as ‘in a position of having committed’ (with a note on the sense of *edita*), i.e. ‘they do not yet have committed all the crimes for which they conspired’. The periphrasis may emphasise the danger to the state that existed because the Bacchants had an unfinished agenda, and may not be a mere alternative to *ediderunt*.⁶ This example is described by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 319) as ‘kühn’, and it is certainly translatable as a perfect periphrasis but cannot unambiguously be taken as one.

Pinkster (1987: 204) states that there are ‘a few examples of *habere* + PPP where an appropriate Object governed by *habere* is lacking altogether’, and adds that these cases ‘prove that *habere* is a mere auxiliary’. One of them is at Vitruvius 9.1.14 *non puto aliter oportere iudicari, nisi quemadmodum de ea re supra scriptum habemus*. But if *habemus* were a pure auxiliary, *scriptum habemus* would be semantically equivalent to *scripsimus*. It is instructive to observe how Vitruvius refers elsewhere to something written ‘above’. (*ut*) *supra scripsimus/scripsi* occurs nowhere in the work. By contrast (*ut*) *supra scriptum est* (with variations of number and gender, *ut scripta sunt* etc.) occurs forty times. It is therefore unlikely that *quemadmodum supra scriptum habemus* is a variant for *quemadmodum supra scripsimus*, and the suggested

⁶ I owe this interpretation to John Briscoe.

auxiliary status of *habeo* becomes hard to sustain. Rather, the sense is ‘as we find written on the subject above’. The plural here is ‘sociative’ or ‘authorial’ (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 19–20, Langslow 2009: 136), whereby the author associates himself with his readers as jointly having available information written above: ‘we have (it) set out for us above’. For a discussion of the commonplace expression *scriptum habeo* see Thielmann (1885b: 421–2). It means to ‘have, possess something in written form’, which may have been written by another, as at Plaut. *Rud.* 21 *bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet* (*Iuppiter*) ‘(the good he has entered up on other tablets)’, where there is no requirement from the context to assume that Jupiter did the writing himself. The fact that there is no object expressed (see above) does not convert *habeo* into an auxiliary. We will see below a passage of Ulpian (*Dig.* 42.12.1.19–22) where the legal phrase *factum uel immissum habet* (without object) is interpreted by Ulpian himself as having predicative participles.

Col. 12.52.3 (*quamuis praeceptum habeamus <ut> uniuscuiusque diei fructus molis et prelo statim subiciatur*) on the face of it may be translated (so Pinkster 1987: 204) ‘though we already have given instructions that . . .’, but the expression may be rendered ‘we [you, the reader, and I] have it laid down for us already (by me)’. This is the same use of *habe(a)mus* as that in the previous paragraph.

At Caes. *Gall.* 7.29.6 (*atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere; idque se prope iam effectum habere*, ‘and he would establish one policy for the whole of Gaul, whose unanimity not even the world could resist; and already he had that almost achieved’) (see Thielmann 1885b: 537) *effecisse* for *effectum habere* would not have changed the sense materially, but the clause might be taken to mean that he had it under his control as almost achieved.

Thielmann (1885b: 410) cites Livy 27.40.11 *mouerat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat* ‘(On hearing of the approach of the enemy, Quintus Claudius, who had his camps established near the various cities of the Sallentine territory, had left his winter quarters’, Loeb). There is no need to take the expression as close to a pluperfect. *Habebat* is open to translation as a full verb of possession, as it is taken by the Loeb translator.

It is appropriate here to deal with legal language, which has had a prominent part in discussions of the construction since Thielmann. *Habeo* does not necessarily refer to possession in the weaker sense that is the main subject of this section, but it would be pointless to split up discussions of legal uses.

In legal language, that is laws, works of jurists and in classical writers drawing on legal formulae, constructions showing *habeo* + past participle are common, a fact that emerges clearly from Thielmann's material (e.g. 1885b: 402, 408–9, 420, 422–3, 536–7; also Kalb 1888: 17, 1912: 32, Langslow 2005: 296). It would be a mistake, however, to think that these were usually or often perfect periphrases (see the remarks on the difference between *factum habet* and *fecit* above, p. 631). It is usually possible to interpret *habeo* as free-standing and to give it one of the meanings discussed in this chapter, particularly 'keep'. In the Twelve Tables the expression *uinctum habere* (above, 2.1) has *uinctum* in its full sense 'keep'. *Scriptum habere*, which is already found in the *Lex repetund.* (*CIL* 1².583.58 *quaestor accipito et in taboleis publice scriptum habeto*), means 'keep, have in written form' (see Thielmann 1885b: 421–2, cited above, p. 634, and particularly Benveniste 1962: 57–8, stressing that in early inscriptions, by which he meant largely laws, *habeo* + past participle is never a perfectum; rather, *habeo* is equivalent to Fr. *tenir*). The imperative in the law rules out the perfect interpretation (Benveniste 1962: 57–8). See further *Lex Vrsion.* III.5.14 (*CIL* 1².594) (cited by Benveniste) *ne quis limites decumanosque opsaeptos neue quit immolitus neue quit ibi opsaeptum habeto* ('keep'). Q. Cic. *Comm. pet.* 30 *totam Italiam fac ut in animo ac memoria tributim discriptam comprehensamque habeas*, which is not a perfect periphrasis (= 'keep'), alludes to the legal language seen e.g. at *CIL* 1².583.14 *tributimque discriptos hab[eto]* (Thielmann 1885b: 422). Similarly Varro *Rust.* 1.36 *quae dixi scripta et proposita habere in uilla oportet* ('keep') alludes to that of the sort seen in the same law, *CIL* 1².583.38 *proscripta propositaque . . . [habeto]* (Thielmann 1885b: 422). The lawgiver or official has something such as a proposal or record kept in a certain state.

Thielmann (1885b: 536) lists various juristic formulae from Cicero. Sometimes it may appear possible to paraphrase as if they were perfect equivalents, but it should not be too hastily assumed that they are simply substitutes for the perfect. Note e.g. Cic. *Att.* 1.18.5 *sed imminuit auctoritatem suam quod habet dicis causa promulgatum illud idem de Clodio* ('he has lost face because he has that same proposal promulgated about Clodius, as a matter of form'). He currently has the proposal before the public. Cf. *Vat.* 16 *omnes habuerunt leges promulgatas, in eis multas meus necessarius, etiam de mea sententia, C. Cosconius, iudex noster . . .* ('all of them had laws promulgated . . .', rather than 'all of them had promulgated laws'). Here *habeo* has rather its weaker sense 'have'.

Some passages from the *Digest* cited by Thielmann (1885b: 408–9) bring out the potential force of *habeo* in legal documents. The following are quoted with the translation of A. Watson (1985):

Julian. *Dig.* 8.2.32.1 si aedes meae seruiant aedibus Lucii Titii et aedibus Publii Maevii, ne altius aedificare mihi liceat, et a Titio precario petierim, ut altius tollerem, atque ita (i.e. *altius*) per statutum tempus aedificatum habuero.

Suppose my house is subservient to the house of Lucius Titius and the house of Publius Maevius to the effect that I may not raise its height. I request Titius to allow me to raise the height of my house, and I keep it in this position for the prescribed period.

Gaius *Dig.* 8.2.6 si... ego per statutum tempus fenestras meas praefixas habuero uel obstruxero, ita demum ius meum amitto, si tu per hoc tempus aedes tuas altius sublatas habueris.

Suppose further that I keep an obstruction in front of my windows or keep them blocked up for the prescribed period. I lose my right only if you have raised and kept raised the height of your house throughout the same period.

In these passages the durative expressions *per statutum tempus* and *per hoc tempus* accompany the participial construction, and the reference is to keeping a building at a certain height during the stated period. These examples should be contrasted with the ordinary (future) perfect in the following passage:

Ulp. *Dig.* 8.5.6.pr. et si forte qui medius est, quia seruitutem non debebat, altius extulerit aedificia sua.

If it should happen that the man who owns the intervening property, seeing that he is not bound to observe a servitude, raises the height of his house.

Here there is no durative expression, and the reference is to the act of raising the height. In the other passages the force of *habeo* is the same as that discussed for earlier Latin by Benveniste (1962). The example from Gaius above (*altius sublatas habueris*) if compared superficially with the last (*altius extulerit*) might tempt one to conclude that *sublatas habueris* was equivalent to a future perfect, but there is a semantic distinction between the two cases, with the force of *habueris* ('keep') brought out by the temporal expression *per hoc tempus*.

Even more revealing is a passage of Ulpian (*Dig.* 43.12.1.19–22) referred to by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 319) and quoted with translation by Pinkster (1987: 198). The jurist interprets some words of the praetor, and in the process brings out the error of our thinking that, if a *habeo*-construction can be translated into (say) English as a perfect equivalent, therefore in the eyes of a native speaker it must have been a perfect periphrasis. The passage begins with a quotation of the words of the praetor:

deinde ait praetor: 'quod in flumine publico ripaue eius fiat siue quid in id flumen ripamue eius immissum habes . . . restituas.'

Moreover the praetor says: 'You are to make good . . . whatever may be done in the public river or on its bank, or anything that you have which has been introduced to that river or its bank.'

Out of context the expression *immissum habes* may look ambiguous, with *habes* either expressing possession or acting as a perfect auxiliary, = 'if you have introduced anything'.

The jurist continues (21):

iubetur autem is, qui factum uel immissum habet, restituere quod habet.

But he who has (something) that has been done or introduced is ordered to make good what he has.

There then follows an interpretation of *factum habes* and *immissum habes* (22):

haec uerba 'factum habes' uel 'immissum habes' ostendunt non eum teneri, qui fecit uel immisit, sed qui factum immissum habet.

The words 'you have what has been done' or 'you have what has been introduced' show that he is not liable who did or introduced (something), but he who possesses what has been done or introduced.

Ulpian has taken the subject of *factum* and *immissum* to be different from that of *habes*, and has given *habes* a possessive sense.

There is no space here to survey the whole juristic corpus, but it is doubtful whether one would find full-blown periphrastic perfects. The jurists can be seen to be using *habeo* with particular nuances.

2.3.1 Some conclusions

In the last two sections (2.2, 2.3) numerous passages have been discussed in which *habeo* accompanied by a participial construction can be described as possessive in sense. Only in section 2.2, on expressions of mental and physical acquisition, were there serious candidates for consideration as perfect periphrases (but even these may be ambiguous), and of these the majority refer to mental acquisition. Expressions of mental acquisition, though they may loosely be interpreted as containing an anticipation of the auxiliary use of the reflexes of *habeo* in Romance languages, are a special case. Not only are they restricted semantically, but they are also a remodelling of an earlier type of possessive expression, *est mihi* + participle, which occurs from the early period with the same types of participles as the

later *habeo*-construction. These particular *habeo*-constructions represent an idiom, which may well have been transitory, with its high point in the classical period, and if that is so such examples arguably reflect a passing phase of the language rather than the starting point of the Romance periphrastic perfect. There is a need for a systematic new collection of data from the second century onwards.

In the second section (2.3) examples from different periods with a wider variety of participles were considered. Almost invariably *habeo* could be taken as free-standing. There are many such constructions in the jurists, a small selection of which was considered here, and in these *habeo* seems always to have a significant role, expressing either the idea 'keep, maintain' or possession. It is essential to examine such cases closely, as distinct from adopting a perfect interpretation without regard to the context.

Pinkster (1987: 199) thought it not 'very likely that the first undisputable example of a periphrastic perfect form should pop up more than 700 years after the time in which the *habere* + Praedicativum construction was already in full use', and he discussed a number of cases which he was inclined to see as perfect periphrases at relatively early periods. It has been suggested in the previous section that ambiguities are very persistent, and it will be seen in a later section that they continued into early Romance. Nevertheless ambiguous cases are of interest. If there is ambiguity, it is possible that a reanalysis may take place, and that is what must have happened over time. In the ambiguous examples of the imperial period seen in the last section there is semantically a wide range of participles, with the cognition verbs of the Ciceronian period no longer the most conspicuous. That represents a development, which must be one step along the road towards the grammaticalisation of the construction as a perfect.

2.4 *Habeo in the sense 'hold, regard'*

There is a case of *habeo* with a participle at Plaut. *Stich.* 362 that has attracted comment: *non ecastor, ut ego opinor, satis erae morem geris. | :: immo res omnis relictas habeo prae quod tu uelis* ('It certainly does seem to me that you give your mistress very little consideration. :: The idea! When I've neglected everything else to accommodate you', Nixon, Loeb). The agent with *relictas*, if one were expressed, would be identical to the subject of *habeo*, and that fact at least leaves open the possibility that the expression is a periphrastic perfect. It is taken as such, it seems, by the translator, and

also by Petersmann (1973b: 150) and R. Coleman (1975: 113; see further below, 5, p. 650).

The use of *relinquo* is idiomatic, of leaving something aside to concentrate on something else: cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 1212 *eum roga ut relinquat alias res et huc ueniat* ('ask him to leave other things aside and to come here'), *Cist.* 6 *omnibus relictis rebus mihi . . . operam dedistis* ('you dropped everything and devoted your attention to me'), *Epid.* 605 *ego relictis rebus Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo* ('I shall drop things and devote myself to seeking Epidicus'). The expression *res omnis relictas habeo* might seem merely to be a rewriting of the ablative absolute *omnibus relictis rebus* in a slightly different context from that in which the latter might have been used, and on that view it would look like a perfect periphrasis.

Thielmann (1885b: 535) notes that a possessive sense for *habeo* is out of the question in this passage, and that the lack of logic of the expression if *habeo* were possessive would make it necessary to accept that the periphrasis had undergone a notable extension already by the time of Plautus such that it was a perfect equivalent. Loss by the auxiliary of any possessive force is a characteristic of the Romance construction (e.g. It. *ho abbandonato il cappello* 'I have abandoned the hat', on which see Maiden 1995: 149), but since there is no other indication of this development in Plautus Thielmann (1885b: 535–6) takes *relictas habeo* as present in meaning and corresponding to the idioms *contemptum*, *neglectum habeo*. On this (plausible) view the sense is 'I regard everything else as dropped to accommodate you'. This meaning of *habeo* is a commonplace one, and it fits the context well. If the expression were interpreted as equivalent to a perfect periphrasis it would be quite unlike the other expressions in republican Latin (of the *cognitum/compertum habeo* type) that come near to having such a function, and it is therefore better to take *habeo* in one of its banal meanings. Bennett (1910–14: 1.439) puts this example in the same paragraph as *habeo despiciatam* (on which see below), but paraphrases oddly as = *relinquo*, without comment. On the other hand he aptly cites (1910–14: 1.439) Plaut. *Poen.* 542 *per iocum dictum habeto* for *habeo* in the meaning 'regard'. In this expression the imperative *habeto* cannot be taken in any other way ('consider this as said in jest'). It is likely therefore that *Persa* 214 (*satis iam dictum habeo*) also means 'I think enough has now been said' (despite Happ 1967: 101, who translates 'ich hab schon genug gesagt').

There is another instance of *habeo* with a participle in Plautus that admits of the same interpretation (= 'I regard'): *Pseud.* 602 *nouo consilio nunc mi opus est*, | *noua res haec subito mi obiectast*: | *hoc praeuortar principio*; *illaec omnia missa habeo quae ante agere occepi* ('now I need a new plan, this

new possibility has suddenly turned up for me: I shall attend to this for a start; all of those which previously I began to adopt I have abandoned'). It is translated here *exempli gratia* as if it resembled a perfect periphrasis, but such a translation is not obligatory. Better is the sense 'I consider dropped'. The speaker has just made a decision to abandon all else, and the second translation captures the idea well. Thielmann too (1885b: 535–6) was disinclined to take the expression as a perfect periphrasis, and he likened it (536) to *missum facio*. Bennett (1910–14: 1.439), again without comment, equates the phrase with *mitto*.

Cic. *Phil.* 5.52 *quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habeo* is translated by the recent Loeb, of Shackleton Bailey, Ramsey and Manuwald (cf. Pinkster 1987: 204), not as 'I shall have said enough already at this time', but 'Accordingly, I shall take it that enough has been said about Caesar at this time.'

Bennett (1910–14: 1.439) lists (though not as 'present perfects') examples of *habeo despiciatam*. This does not mean 'I have despised' but 'I despise' (= *despico*; cf. Thielmann 1885b: 376), and it is the same type of construction as (e.g.) *habeo contemptum*, *inuisum*, *suspectum*, with *habeo* meaning something like 'I hold as, regard as'. See further Thielmann (1885b: 379–85), and note Fordyce (1961: 235) on Catull. 60.5 *contemptam haberes*: "regard with indifference"; the effect of the periphrasis, expressing permanent state, is to emphasize the deliberateness of the act' (with examples of comparable phrases from comedy).

3 Thielmann's historical overview

Thielmann (1885b: 534–49) gives a historical overview of the use of *habeo* + past participle. It must be stressed again (cf. 1 above) that semantically the examples seen above and collected by Thielmann are not a unity, and it would be a mistake therefore to speak of the history of the 'construction', unless one specified exactly which use of the combination one was investigating. The real interest of *habeo* + past participle lies in the fact that it produces a perfect periphrasis in Romance languages, and most discussions of the Latin data are undertaken with that in mind, though it is all too easy to lose sight of the diversity of the examples, many of which do not begin to approach a perfect periphrasis and could not have been subject to reanalysis. Thielmann was perhaps not systematic enough in making distinctions.

He stresses, first, that the structure is common in comedy, and that originally therefore it was a characteristic of 'Volkssprache' (1885b: 535).

The appearance of a usage in Plautus does not necessarily mean that it was popular, and we have also seen that there is a considerable semantic variety to the Plautine examples. Thielmann did, however, as was noted in the last section, go on (535–6) to rule out two readily misinterpreted constructions (*illa omnia missa habeo* and *omnis res relictas habeo*) as possible perfect periphrases, and the reader is not left with the impression that the perfect usage was a feature of Plautine Latin (see especially 535).

In summaries of Thielmann's historical account it has been conventional to suggest that he identified three stages in the use of the construction (see e.g. Happ 1967: 94–5, Langslow 2005: 296 n. 29), but it is perhaps more accurate to see four. On this view the second stage is represented by the classical age from Varro, Cicero and Caesar through to Columella and Curtius (Thielmann 1885b: 536–9). In this period the construction reached its peak, we are told (538), in Cicero and Caesar, and thereafter declined and became increasingly formulaic.

The third stage (Thielmann 1885b: 539–41) comprises the period after Columella and Curtius through to the fifth century. After Columella and Curtius the decline of the construction is said to accelerate, with most examples in the second century found in the jurists (539). In African writers there are said to be only a few examples (540), and for the whole of the third to fifth centuries the construction merely lingers on in a few formulae. It is noted (1885b: 541) that examples in Marcellus of Bordeaux offer nothing new, because they come from Marcellus' source Scribonius.

Thielmann's account of this period is sketchy. No statistics are given, and it is doubtful whether he has been systematic. For example, the construction is not infrequent in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (see above, 2.3), a text which however had not been edited when he wrote. In this work the participle tends to be predicative (with the occasional ambiguity), but then the same is true of many of the examples Thielmann considers in his overview. The whole period calls out for investigation by someone making use of computerised databases. It might well turn out from such a survey that genuine perfect periphrases are difficult or impossible to find, but that would not necessarily mean that the construction was in decline. It might simply indicate that it had not been grammaticalised as a perfectum, at least in the literary language, and that is so as well both in the first two stages distinguished above, and arguably in the fourth (see below).

Thielmann's final stage, the fourth by the counting adopted here, begins in the fifth or sixth century (1885b: 541, 543). According to this view the perfect periphrasis took on a new life in Gallic Vulgar Latin of the fifth

and sixth centuries (see especially 543), with Gregory of Tours the most distinctive representative of developments. There is a difference between the new and the old periphrasis, Thielmann suggests (543). Earlier the periphrasis tended to be confined to certain formulae, whereas in the late Gallic material it shows signs of vitality. Earlier in most cases *habeo* retained a free-standing character, whereas later we have a pure perfect periphrasis, in which *habeo* can only be interpreted as an auxiliary verb (543). Examples are quoted particularly from Gregory of Tours (in whom, it is said (541–2), instances fall into two groups, those in juristic formulae and those in direct speech) and from Merovingian writers and law codes. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 319–20) similarly argue (citing Thielmann) that genuine perfect periphrases are very late indeed, appearing first in the sixth century in Gregory of Tours. They cite (1965: 320) e.g. after Thielmann (1885b: 542) Greg. *Vit. patr.* 3.1 *episcopum . . . inuitatum habes*, rendering into French as ‘tu as invité’. This passage has a well-established place in discussions of the history of the periphrasis. It is quoted by Bonnet (1890: 690) as part of a demonstration that ‘le nouveau parfait’ already virtually existed, and Pinkster (1987: 198) cites it with the translation ‘you have invited the bishop’. It appears too in Väänänen’s discussion of the emergence of the new perfect (1981a: 131), and is translated by Herman (2000: 78) as ‘you’ve invited the bishop’ (so Haverling 2010: 373). Herman states that there ‘cannot be much doubt about the essential unity of the two parts of the periphrasis’.

It may be questioned whether there is any real change in Gregory. There are two grounds for doubt. First, some of the examples cited do not bear close examination, or at least may be interpreted in other ways, in the manner of a good deal of the evidence discussed by Thielmann and others from Plautus onwards. Second, a glance at the full range of evidence assembled by Thielmann (1885b: 542), Bonnet (1890: 689–90) and particularly B. Krusch and W. Levison in the index to *MGH, Script. rer. Merov.* 1.1 (p. 606) does not suggest that there is anything new about the ways in which the construction is used. These two points may be taken in turn.

(1) A useful starting point is the passage of Gregory’s *Vitae patrum* (3.1) that was just seen to have had such a place in discussions of the question. Here is the whole sentence: *Vit. patr.* 3.1, p. 673.3–4 *ecce episcopum cum duce et ciuibus inuitatum habes, et uix nobis supersunt quattuor uini amphorae*. This passage is usually quoted without the initial *ecce*, and without the words between *episcopum* and *inuitatum*. *Inuitatum habes* is not a simple equivalent to *inuitauisti*, a statement of fact, ‘you have invited’. *Ecce* has a

distinctive role. A monk has been ordered to provide wine for a large crowd of people, and he complains that there is little wine available. *Ecce habes* is an idiom, for which see e.g. Pompeius *GL* v.184.28 *ecce habes pentaptotum*, 209.25 *ecce habes ergo ubi non inuenitur uocatiuus casus*, 260.33 *ne dicas mihi, ecce habes uerbum*. It means ‘there you have’, and draws the listener’s attention to something, with strong deictic force. The monk points to the crowd, protesting: ‘there you have the bishop invited along with the duke and citizens, and we have scarcely four amphorae of wine left’.⁷

Note too Greg. Tur. *Vit. patr.* 6.3, p. 682.17 *tunc etiam et Aprunculus Treuerorum episcopus transiit; congregatique clerici ciuitatis illius, ad Theodoricum regem sanctum Gallum petebant episcopum. quibus ille ait: ‘abscedite et alium requerite; Gallum enim diaconum alibi habeo destinatum’* (‘Then also Aprunculus bishop of the Treveri passed away. The clerics of that city gathered, and before Theodoric the king they asked for the holy man Gallus as bishop. The king said to them: “Go away and look for someone else. I already have him appointed as deacon elsewhere”). The sense of *destino* here is ‘appoint’ (see *TLL* v.1.759.21f. and the passages in the whole section). The phrase may be translated ‘I have already appointed him as deacon elsewhere’, but the translation just offered is also possible, with *habeo* indicating possession (the deacon is under the control of the king, who has him in place elsewhere).

In neither of these examples is the translation as a perfectum obligatory, and the ambiguity is a feature that we have seen as typifying the whole history of the construction in Latin. The lingering ambiguity suggests that even by the time of Gregory the perfect periphrasis was not fully grammaticalised, and it might be added that in Gregory the ordinary perfect is standard and widespread.

A better candidate for a perfect-equivalent is *Hist. Franc.* 9.16, p. 431.10 *promissum enim habemus de maioribus causis nihil sine eius consilio agere*, ‘we have promised to carry out no major business without his advice’, though even here there is a possible ambiguity. *Promissum* is widespread as a noun, and *habemus* might just be given its banal sense ‘keep, hold to’, ‘we are holding to/keeping a promise to do nothing . . .’ The same phrase occurs in another Gallic text several centuries later, the *Annales regni Francorum* (a major source of Einhard’s *Vita Caroli*), the first edition of which is in substandard Latin untouched by the Carolingian revival (for details see Adams 1977b). For the (rare) *habeo*-construction in this work see p. 78,

⁷ On the correct interpretation of this passage see now also Țăra (2012: 381) (a work published after the present book went to press).

AD 787 *quod sub iure iurando promissum habebat*, p. 80, AD 788 *sicut iuratum habuit*. Here *promissum habebat*, accompanied by *sub iure iurando*, must be a perfectum. In the *Annales* the synthetic perfect is still preferred (Adams 1977b: 281).

(2) The supposed new vitality of the *habeo*-construction in late Gallic Latin is not borne out by the range of its uses. Krusch and Levison in the index to *MGH, Script. rer. Merov.* 1.1 (p. 606) list only the following participles as used (in the *Hist. Franc.*) with *habeo*: *commendatus*, *deliberatus*, *desponsatus*, *exosus*, *initus*, *promissus*, *scriptus*, *statutus*. Most of these have a familiar look, and might be paralleled either specifically or in type in much earlier Latin.

Both *deliberatum* and *statutum* + *habeo* are Ciceronian (see Thielmann 1885b: 414–15), and both are found in the same sentence at *Verr.* 3.95 *sic habuisti statutum cum animo ac deliberatum, omnes qui habitarent in Sicilia, aut qui Siciliam te praetore attigissent, iudices reicere ut...* ('did you have such a fixed resolve and decision to reject as jurors everyone who lived in Sicily or who had landed in Sicily during your praetorship, that...'; i.e. did you have it so resolved in your mind and decided that...; the phrases may be translated as perfects but are open to another translation, which gives full possessive force to *habuisti*: on this passage see Gildersleeve and Lodge 1895: 160 and above, 2.2.1, p. 628). For Gregory see *Hist. Franc.* 10.28, p. 521.13 *promissionem quam in nepotem meum Childeberthum regem statutam habeo, non obmitto*, 7.22, p. 342.17 *deliberatum, inquit, habui, ut, si me rex ab hoc loco iuberit extrahi, ab una manu pallas altaris tenerem*.

Commendatum habeo is widespread from republican Latin onwards (Thielmann 1885b: 511–14).

Scriptum habeo, which goes back to Plautus and is commonplace, has come up already (2.3, p. 633).

Exosum habeo, which is cited by Thielmann (1885b: 383) from the Vulgate and some other works, is a variant on the early expression *inuissum habeo aliquem* (Thielmann 1885b: 382), which itself is used by Gregory (see Bonnet 1910: 690), and is not a perfect equivalent (see Bonnet 1890: 690 n. 1).

Initum habeo (for which in Gregory see Thielmann 1885b: 542) is not unambiguously a perfect periphrasis: see *Hist. Franc.* 5.25, p. 231.12 *scis enim quod foedus inter nos initum habemus*, 'you know that we have a treaty that has been entered into together'. Nor is it new to Gregory. We saw above (2.3) *Aug. Doctr. Christ.* 2.39.58 *si habent etiam cum daemonibus initam societatem*, which can be translated 'if they have a contract entered into even with demons'.

Destinatum habeo, which was quoted above from Gregory's *Vitae patrum*, is also attested elsewhere (see Thielmann 1885b: 415, citing an example from

Ulpian and another jurist), though with a slightly different meaning for the participle.

This evidence does not support the idea that the periphrasis had taken on a new life by the time of Gregory. If it may truly be said of the period from the second to the fourth century that the construction tends to be formulaic, it may equally be said that Gregory usually has it in traditional phrases. Even Bonnet (1890: 689), who accepted that there are perfect periphrases in Gregory, also pointed out that often in such phrases in Gregory *habeo* has its full force. He cites e.g. *Hist. Franc.* 2.16, p. 64.22 (*ecclesia*) *parietes . . . exornatos habet*, another old usage discussed above (2.1), and 1.47, p. 31.16 *dotis, quam promissam habeo ab sponso domino meo Iesu Christo*, where the subject of *habeo* is different from that of *promissam*, a fact which rules out a perfect interpretation.

It is difficult to know what to make of the frequent appearance of *habeo*-constructions in Gregory in speeches (see Thielmann 1885b: 541, 542). It is as well, however, to avoid making the assumption that the speeches in this respect reflect a more colloquial level of the language. The *Hist. Franc.* is full of speeches, and these are regularly in a pompous flowery style, far removed from non-standard Latin.

4 Agreement of participle and object

A periphrasis from the late period (Italy, of the sixth century or beyond) may be cited to introduce a topic (agreement between participle and object) that has not come up yet but is of significance in the history of the perfectum: *Comp. Luc.* s 21 *quod uos legitis, nos omnia probatum habemus*, 'what you read, we have tested all of it' (see Svennung 1941: 158). The construction can be translated as a perfect, though there is the usual ambiguity. But notable here is the lack of agreement between *omnia* and *probatum* (Thielmann 1885b: 528 cites an almost identical case from the Oribasius translations, another text of Italian provenance). Whereas in Latin *habeo*-constructions the noun is object of *habeo* and the participle in agreement with the noun (*litteras habeo scriptas*), in some Romance varieties (e.g. modern Italian) the noun 'is the direct object of a verb form comprising *avere* and past participle' (Maiden 1995: 148). Hence 'the participle does not agree with the noun: *ho scritto le lettere*, not *ho scritte le lettere*' (Maiden loc. cit.), though Maiden adds that remnants of participial agreement with the object noun survived into the medieval language, and also vestigially into modern Italian (see further Maiden 1995: 149–50). The modern languages present a complicated picture in this respect. Though participial agreement has been lost also in Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian, there are varieties in which it is still

robust (see e.g. J. C. Smith 1995: 162, Ledgeway 2011: 457–8, 468–9, Salvi 2011: 341 with bibliography, and particularly the comprehensive account of Loporcaro 1998). The construction in the *Compositiones Lucenses* may perhaps be seen as the starting point of a development that affected some Romance languages (cf. Svennung 1935: 264). *Omnia* is, however, a special case, as it tended to be fossilised as a collective and to be used in agreement with neuter singulars (e.g. in the pattern *omnia quod*: see Norberg 1944: 55–6, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 431–2). Nevertheless the juxtaposition of *omnia* and *probatum* is striking, and such cases might have played an early part in undermining the classical agreement. But change to the Romance pattern was slow, and had not been completed in early Romance (see Salvi 2011: 341, Loporcaro 1998: 196–9).

5 Final conclusions

The predominant theme of this chapter has been the ambiguity of possible perfect periphrases containing *habeo* and a perfect participle. Cases that look like perfects are open to other interpretations, with *habeo* having full force. Hardly any examples have been discussed which must be translated as perfect periphrases, particularly in Plautus or the imperial Latin. The best candidates are in expressions of mental acquisition in the Ciceronian period. These are often taken to be the starting point of the development that was to lead to a compound perfect in Romance languages. There may be some truth in that assumption, but it has to be said that these expressions are very much an idiom, confined to a small number of participles, and perhaps without much currency after Cicero. It is possible that the reanalysis that seems to be in evidence in the idiom was transitory as the idiom faded from use. It may be preferable to think of many centuries of ambiguity in *habeo*-expressions with a variety of participles, before grammaticalisation finally took place. We have remarked on the wider range of the participles in ambiguous examples in the post-Ciceronian period (2.3, p. 631, 2.3.1). The language retained constructions comprising *habeo* + participle from the earliest period (e.g. the Twelve Tables) throughout its history, and occasionally these will bear reanalysis as perfect equivalents. There is no sign of grammaticalisation within the Latin record, and it is pointless to speculate about when and why it occurred.

The relevance of the *habeo*-constructions to an entity Vulgar Latin is dubious. *Habeo* + past participle inevitably gets into handbooks of Vulgar Latin, but without justification. It is seen as a proto-Romance

construction, and proto-Romance is traditionally derived in such books from Vulgar Latin (see 1.3). Grandgent (1907: 171) adopts an extreme position, in asserting that the Latin perfect in its perfect sense 'was replaced, in the Vulgar Latin period, by a compound' of *habeo* + past participle. In extant Latin the synthetic perfect is never replaced. Other accounts in such works are more circumspect, as for example that by Herman (2000: 77–8), which is indebted to Thielmann, and Väänänen (1981a: 131). Thielmann himself had encouraged the idea that the construction might have had a place in Vulgar Latin. He suggested from its frequency in comedy that it must have been a feature of 'Volkssprache' (1885b: 535), and found it emerging in 'Gallic Vulgar Latin' from the fifth century (543). The reality is that in Plautus there are very few examples that come anywhere near perfect periphrases, and that in Gregory of Tours the novelty of the few possible cases has been exaggerated. That is to say nothing of the fact that the Latin of Plautus is far from 'popular', and that of Gregory is in many ways high-register. In Cicero the construction with participles of mental acquisition is not confined to the (colloquial) letters, and from Petronius the combination *habeo* + perfect participle is lacking entirely with a function approaching that of a perfectum (Petersmann 1977: 189; see also Pinkster 1987: 205). There are no candidates for perfect periphrases in subliterate texts such as ostraca and writing tablets. It is also a striking fact that there are no clear-cut examples in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a text which abounds in verbs in perfect tenses. *Habeo* + past participle is found in that work, as we have seen (2.3), but the participle is always predicative (or adjectival), and sometimes may be construed as having a different subject from that of the main verb. It has been suggested that the perfect periphrasis might have been submerged (i.e. common in speech) (see e.g. Pinkster 1987: 205, Herman 2000: 78 'it is likely that the development of such a system of compound verbs would have been more advanced in speech than the texts lead us to suppose'), but the absence of any hints of it in conventional sources for non-standard Latin may just as well be taken to mean that the language in its entirety lacked for centuries a grammaticalised periphrastic perfectum. It is unsatisfactory to set up a lower-class use based on no evidence at all.

Early Romance has a part to play in the interpretation of the Latin data, and the recent grammar of Old French by Buridant (2000) provides a good account of the periphrasis. The evidence set out by Buridant (2000: 376–8) shows that in Old French the periphrasis had not taken on a fixed form and that the participle was still felt up to a point to be predicative. The elements auxiliary, object and participle may occur in Old French

in six possible patterns (Buridant 2000: 376). Of one of these, Buridant's first sequence, which has the order aux.–O–P, Buridant remarks (376): 'elle témoigne au mieux que le participe peut encore être senti comme un prédicat du régime avec un verbe *avoir* ayant son sémantisme plein, dans une séquence se rattachant à l'ordre SOV et fréquente encore au XII^e siècle'. He cites e.g. *Chanson de Roland* 236 *Vos li avez tuz ses castelz toluz* ('Vous lui avez enlevé toutes ses forteresses'), *Huon de Bordeaux* 6409 *J'ai le François encore emprisonné* ('Je tiens le Français encore dans ma prison') and *Ami et Amile* 1340 *Si com elle ot sa proiere fenie* ('Quand elle eut fini sa prière'). Various points may be made about these examples. First, although at least two of the periphrases may be translated as perfects, it is possible to assign *avoir* its full force, as Buridant suggests.⁸ Indeed in the second example the verb has been given in the translation the meaning *tenir* that was seen earlier (2.1) as characteristic of the combination in early laws and Plautus. There is the same ambiguity about some of these examples as there is about the examples considered from Classical and later Latin at 2.3. Second, the participle agrees with the object in number and gender. This agreement is a preservation of the classical pattern, whereas in the modern language, in which the participle has been reanalysed as an auxiliary, the participle has become invariable and shows no agreement (see above, 4).

The variability of Old French is further brought out on the next page by Buridant (2000: 377). A few lines after the example from *Ami et Amile* above there is the same phrase but with the elements in a different order (aux.–P–O): 1352 *Quant la damme ot finie sa priere* ('Quand la dame eut fini sa prière'). This is the order of the modern construction, but there is still agreement ('by anticipation') between the participle and object, a feature mainly of poetry but still systematic in certain prose texts. It is only in the thirteenth century that prose shows a strong tendency to invariability of the participle (Buridant 2000: 377; see also Loporcaro 1998: 196–9 on the chronology of the decline of participial agreement in numerous areas). Buridant also illustrates the order P–aux.–O (2000: 377), which is used for expressive purposes, and O–aux.–P (376).

Despite these variations, the usual order in Old French is auxiliary–participle (see Buridant 2000: 375 on one type, and the table at 376), and this represents a shift from Latin, where the predominating order is participle–*habeo*, without separation of the two, whatever the semantics

⁸ It should be added that still in modern Romance varieties there is the possibility of variation between a resultative construction such as Fr. *il avait les papiers préparés* (with agreement) and the perfective auxiliary construction *il avait préparé les papiers* (without agreement). The emergence of a grammaticalised perfective does not imply the loss of the resultative construction.

of the construction. There are occasional variations in Latin. It was noted earlier, for example, that Cicero prefers the order *habeo cognitum* to *cognitum habeo*, but that *compertum habeo* is preferred by some writers to *habeo compertum* (see 2.2, pp. 622–3). The following is a list showing the orders found in all the examples quoted in this chapter in sections 2–4 (for more detailed figures and discussion of the question of order see Bauer 2006: 293–5):

- participle–*habeo* 58
- habeo*–participle 7
- participle . . . *habeo* 4
- habeo* . . . participle 8.

A reassessment of the Latin constructions would have to pay attention to word-order variations. The reversal of the Latin order was in keeping with the switch from O(bject) V(erb) characteristics to VO (on which see below, xxxii).

There were much the same variations in early Italian as in Old French: note Rohlfs (1969a: 330): '[n]ell'italiano antico "ho cantato" e "sono partito" non formavano ancora una rigida unità'. An object could be placed between the auxiliary and the participle (the order aux.–O–P seen above in Old French) (Rohlfs 1969a: 330–1), and the auxiliary could also follow the participle, particularly in relative clauses but also in main clauses (Rohlfs 1969a: 331).

It is unjustified to treat the *habeo*-perfect as a product of Vulgar Latin. It is the product of centuries of ambiguity within combinations of *habeo* + participle, and the fossilisation of the new perfect was not completed in Latin itself, as the early Romance evidence shows.

There is one final topic that ought to be mentioned, and that is the possible relationship between Latin and Greek in the use of such constructions. Greek had a construction $\epsilon\chi\omega$ + perfect passive participle, used in an active transitive sense (see e.g. Chantraine 1927: 250–1). Horrocks (2010: 131) remarks: 'This is a wholly unclassical construction, which begins to appear in the more polished "literary" registers of the Koine in the Roman period (e.g. in the writings of the historian Diodorus Siculus or the biographer and essayist Plutarch).' He concludes (132) that it is a 'very strong candidate for classification as a "Latinism" in the Koine' (cf. Jannaris 1897: 498 and below). On the other hand it has sometimes been suggested that a Latin construction of the type *scriptum habeo* was modelled on Greek γεγραμμένον $\epsilon\chi\omega$ (see the discussion of the question by R. Coleman 1975: 113–16, who does not himself subscribe to this view). One thing that has emerged from this chapter is that we cannot simply take a combination

habeo + participle as a perfect periphrasis without attention to the context, and *scriptum habeo* is a case in point: it does not mean 'I have written' but 'I have in written form' (see 2.3, p. 634). If Greek and Latin are to be compared it is essential first to classify the Greek usages to determine to what extent they were perfect periphrases, and to see if there are any specific overlaps between the types of constructions found in Latin and those in Greek. As it is, discussion of the question is easily undermined by the ready assumption that a construction of this type must be equivalent to a perfect. R. Coleman (1975: 113), for example, says of Plaut. *Stich.* 362 *res omnis relictas habeo* (for which see above, 2.4) that it belongs with cases 'where possession is an inappropriate or impossible meaning in the verb and the phrase must signal perfectivity', without considering the possibility that *habeo* may have another sense here ('regard').

It is implausible to suggest that Latin usage in this domain was influenced by Greek. For one thing there are multiple constructions in Latin, not a single perfectum, and these go back to the earliest period, including a text as early as the Twelve Tables. There is at least one distinctive idiom of the classical period, namely that with participles of mental acquisition, the native Latin character of which is shown by its close relationship with the old *est mihi*-construction. The intrusion of *habeo* into the sphere of *est mihi* is of a type that repeats itself in Latin, as in the expression of agency with the gerundive construction. The jurists, again, give to free-standing *habeo* in such combinations various nuances that are related to the law and not suggestive of bilingual interference. Coleman goes on to argue (1975: 115–16) on chronological grounds that Greek influence on Latin is unlikely, and he concludes (116) that, since Greek users of the construction were good Latinists, 'it is possible that the acceptance into the Greek literary register of a construction recently evolved within Greek itself was encouraged by the existence of a parallel form already more established in Latin'. One would quibble here only with the singular of the expression 'parallel form': the Latin constructions do not take a single form, and if Latin influence on Greek were to be proved it would be necessary to establish a detailed parallelism between the Latin and Greek forms of the construction.

There are indeed some suggestive remarks about the Greek forms in Aerts (1965: 162–4). After a short survey of koine evidence Aerts concludes (164): 'in the Koine there were practically no periphrases of the modern Greek type ἔχω γραμμένο. Apart from one single exception ἔχειν always has its own meaning.' Most of the examples he discusses (162–3) are of Latinate appearance, with the verb usually having the meaning 'keep, hold' that is so common from early Latin onwards and excludes any equivalence

to a perfect periphrasis. Jannaris too (1897: 498) says that the first sense of ἔχω with the perfect passive participle was 'keep'. Plutarch *Tit. Flam.* 20.4 is cited by Aerts (1965: 163) as a passage inspired by Livy 39.51, which twice has the periphrasis. Note 39.51.5 *ut iter semper aliquod praeparatum fugae haberet, septem exitus e domo fecerat* ('so that he always had a route for flight ready, he had made seven exits from the house'). Plutarch uses a periphrasis in the corresponding passage, admittedly in a slightly different part of the sentence, but he was surely influenced by Livy; ἔχειν has full possessive force and does not form part of a perfect periphrasis: 20.4 τὴν οἰκίαν ἔτι πρότερον ἐξόδοις ἑπτὰ καταγείοις συντετρημένην ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαίτης εἶχεν ('even before this time he had his house provided with seven underground exits from his own bedchamber'). Another passage from Plutarch (*Cam.* 38.3) is described by Aerts as 'worthless' as a periphrasis (163), though often quoted as such, and the verb is translated as 'kept'. Likewise two of three passages quoted (162) from apocryphal *Acta* (*Acta Thomae* 110.3, *Mart. Barth.* 137.26) have verb phrases meaning 'kept closed, kept immured', and this is one of the standard contexts in which *habeo* 'keep' is found in Latin (see above, 2.1, p. 619 for Col. 9.11.1, with Thielmann 1885b: 397–8). Aerts' short discussion reinforces the view that such constructions in the koine are Latinisms.

The periphrastic future and conditional; and present for future

I Future

The Classical Latin future disappeared virtually without trace by the time of the Romance languages, an event marking one of 'the most striking morphological discontinuities between CL and Romance' (Maiden 1995: 158).¹ In Italy, France and Spain a formation deriving from a Latin periphrasis of the type *cantare habeo* supplied the future (for the morphological details of the French type see Buridant 2000: 265–71; see in general Maiden 2011b: 264–6),² though in large parts of southern Italy not only the classical type but also *cantare habeo* itself is now largely missing. There are, however, some modern dialects of the south in which the latter survives, and textual evidence shows that other older dialects of the area did still have a future of the *cantare habeo*-type, which has for the most part since died out (see Loporcaro 1999). Note Maiden (1995: 158–9) on the situation today: 'In dialects south of a line between Viterbo and Ancona . . . future time is usually expressed by present tense forms, although an analytical construction, usually of the form *avere* + *a* + INFINITIVE, is also deployed to express future time, often with an overtone of obligation or necessity.' The use of the present to refer to future time is already well established in Latin at the time of Plautus (see below, 3). On Spanish see Lloyd (1987: 311): 'Although there was a considerable degree of fusion of the two elements [infinitive + *habeo*] into one simple verb form, for a long time they continued to exist as relatively independent parts of a syntagma, so that object pronouns could appear between the infinitive and the forms of *aver*, e.g., *amar lo é* "I shall love him". The tendency toward fusion, however, was strong, and with the formation of a single form, regular phonetic tendencies began to have their effect' (on the future in Spanish see further the detailed account

¹ However, in Old French a future paradigm of the verb 'to be' inherited from the Latin future survived: *j'ier < ero* etc. (see Anglade 1918: 144).

² Recognition of this fact dates back to 1492 (see Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.196 = Langslow 2009: 252).

in Penny 2002: 205–14, and particularly on this matter 210; also Lema and Rivero 1991: 238 on the split future in various early Romance varieties including Old Spanish). According to Elcock (1960: 106), the two orders *habeo cantare* and *cantare habeo* ‘are still in evidence in the twelfth-century *Poema del Cid*, though the latter is more usual, and both could still be used as periphrases’. The placement of a pronoun between the infinitive and *habeo* was possible in Provence too (Elcock 1960: 106). Elcock notes that whereas in ‘Spanish the forms of HABEO eventually came to be agglutinated as flexions . . . in [European] Portuguese the periphrasis has survived as such to the present day: one may still use either *dará-me* or *dar-me-á*, the latter being considered more “literary”’; see also Parkinson (1988: 150), Lema and Rivero (1991: 238) on the mesoclitic pronoun in a structure such as *amar-me-á*. In Portuguese the present too is frequently used with future meaning (see Parkinson 1988: 160). In Sardinia there is no synthetic future (or conditional) paradigm (Jones 1988: 331), though the future may be expressed by *dévere* with a plain infinitive or with *dere a* ‘have to’ + inf. Alternatively the present may have future reference (Jones 1988: 334). In Romanian the standard form of the future is periphrastic, consisting of the auxiliary verb *voi* followed by the infinitive (Mallinson 1988: 407), and deriving it seems from *uolo cantare*. Apart from this literary form there are various other more popular exponents of futurity that need not be dwelt on here, one of them with reduced forms of the above auxiliary. See in general on Romance developments Vincent (1988a: 57).

It is not difficult to come up with speculations about the reasons for the loss of the classical future forms (see e.g. Maiden 1995: 158, Penny 2002: 206). The reasons advanced have often stressed the part played by phonetic developments (see particularly Penny loc. cit.). The merger of /b/ and /w/ (for which see Adams 2007 Chapter 10 passim, and above, Chapter x) undermined the distinction between future and perfect forms of the type *parabit/parauit*. In the sentence *negabit se abiturum* in a letter of Terentianus (471.32–3) the future *abiturum* might prompt a reading of *negabit* as future too, but it is clear enough from the context that it is perfect. In the third conjugation, future forms were no longer clearly differentiated from present once certain phonetic developments had taken place. When long *e* and short *i* merged there would no longer have been a difference of pronunciation between original *scribēs* (future) and *scribīs* (present). In non-literary texts of the early centuries AD there is a pronounced tendency for *e* to be written for original short *i* in the final syllable of verb forms (for a collection of the evidence see Adams 2007: 441–2; for examples also in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* see Väänänen 1987: 58; see above, III.7). The phonetics of this development in the early Empire may not be entirely clear,

but a form such as *dicet* (Terentianus 471.33; also in the *Peregrinatio*) where a present is expected perhaps had the potential to cause hesitation even in spoken communication. Sometimes it is hard to see in a written text whether a form is intended as a future or present. For example, in a letter by Rustius Barbarus (*O. Faw.* 2.3–4), *scribes*, which must in the context be a present, is followed in the next line by *mittes*, which may be either a present or a future: *quid mi tan inuidiose scribes aut tan leuem me iudicas? si tan cito uirdia mi non mittes statim amicitiam tuam obliscere debio* ('why do you write to me with such ill will or judge me so fickle? If you do not send me the greens very quickly, I ought to forget about your friendship on the spot').

But although the inherited synthetic future might have been under threat for reasons such as these, that does not explain why the *habeo*-construction became its main replacement. After all, the present had been used extensively with future reference from Plautus onwards, and it persisted as the main future exponent in some areas. By contrast the *habeo*-construction with a future rather than modal nuance was always rare, and attested mainly in higher genres, as distinct from non-literary texts (see below, 1.2). It does not seem adequate to suggest that the future gave way to a modal construction merely because that is something which often happens (see Sornicola 2011: 44–6 for a good discussion of the various universal and historical explanations that have been advanced, and their inadequacies). The questions raised by the emergence of the *habeo*-construction in a substantial part of the Romance world remain unanswerable, and there seems no point in adding to the indecisive speculations. As for its chronology, was it perhaps living from a relatively early time at a subliterate level, in competition with the future? Did it alternatively only develop a future meaning later on, perhaps in the educated language, and then catch on for some reason at a late date (see further below, 4)?

One topic that will not be dealt with here systematically is the order of the constituents. The Romance constructions derive from the order infinitive + *habeo*, whereas in Latin both orders are found. See further below, 4, p. 673.

1.1 The *habeo*-future

The construction *habeo* + inf. goes well back in Latin,³ but in its earliest manifestations was not an exponent of futurity (see e.g. R. Coleman

³ The ordering in which the elements *habeo* and infinitive are written in this chapter is not significant unless specifically stated.

1971a). Usually it expressed something akin to possibility (Cicero onwards: *TLL* VI.2–3.2454.12ff., = *posse*)⁴ or obligation/necessity (Augustus onwards according to *TLL* VI.2–3.2454.53ff., = *debere*). From about the third century (Tertullian onwards, according to *TLL* VI.2–3.2455.65ff.) it starts to turn up in contexts in which it may be given a future meaning, but that is usually secondary to the modality obligation-necessity in one of its forms. This ambiguity may be illustrated first by some examples from the grammarian Pompeius (for further details see Adams 1991). Some remarks will also be made about the sense in which ‘obligation/necessity’ is to be understood. On the modalities of the *habeo*-constructions see particularly Kooreman (1995) and Bourova and Tasmowski (2007).

Into the category ‘obligation/necessity’ falls on the one hand deontic modality, on which see for example J. Lyons (1977: 843): ‘deontic necessity and possibility are usually understood to originate in some causal source: i.e. if someone is obliged or permitted to carry out some course of action, it is generally, though not necessarily, assumed that some person or institution has created the obligation or permission’. See too Kooreman (1995: 385–6), setting up, as the source of the deontic, human authority, rules and regulations (e.g. ‘we must hold on to the meaning of the Greek scripture’).

An instance of the *habeo*-construction in Pompeius that may be given such an interpretation is at *GL* v.253.15 (see Adams 1991: 151–2) *si autem neque in us neque in um, sed aliter, puta Baiæ Athenæ, iam secundum dativum adsumere habes*, ‘if (nouns end) neither in *-us* nor *-um* (in the nominative) . . . then you have to form (the locative) on the model of the dative’. Rules are stated for the ending of the locative. It will be the same as the dative if the nominative does not end in *-us* or *-um*. The source of the obligation or necessity is the prescriptive grammarian, who lays down rules. But as well as the deontic sense a future interpretation is possible (note J. Lyons 1977: 824: ‘there is an intrinsic connexion between deontic modality and futurity’).

Some other examples of the *habeo*-construction in Pompeius are of this kind: Pompeius asserts what ‘has to be done’ in the Latin language, and the basis of the obligation lies in the rules of grammarians, which may be arbitrary and even at variance with what is often said. For such instances see Adams (1991: 148–54) and the examples numbered there 48, 49, 51–2, 53, 55. In most of these cases the meaning also approaches futurity.

⁴ On the distribution of this construction in Cicero see Landgraf (1914: 197), and also the remarks of Reinhardt (2010: 210–11).

Alethic modality may be distinguished from deontic. On the former see J. Lyons (1977: 791): 'What are traditionally described as necessary truths (i.e. propositions which . . . are true in all logically possible worlds) may now be referred to as alethically necessary propositions.' The source of this modality lies in mathematical, physical or natural laws, or beliefs that have the status of absolute truths, such as beliefs about divine predestination.

The *habeo*-construction is used to express this modality, but at the same time may be ambiguous between that and a future interpretation. Note Pompeius *GL* v.129.26 (Adams 1991: 148) *si enim sustuleris istam tertiam, remanere habent duae*, 'for if you take away the third (last syllable of *Romulus*), two (syllables) have to/will remain'. Three take away one is two, which is a mathematical law. The future sense is possible as well as that of necessity in the alethic sense.

Note too Pompeius *GL* v.181.17 *iterum si uolueris componere, regredi habet prima significatio*, 'if you want to compound the word again [i.e. making a double compound *ininifelix* "not not fortunate"], the first meaning [i.e. *felix*] will/has to return'. The second negative (*in*) cancels out the first, and a positive is the necessary consequence. On the example see Adams (1991: 149–50).

The inscription *ILCV* 3865 has a typical ambiguity: *cod estis fui, et quod sum essere abetis* ('what you are I was, and what I am you have to/will be'). The reference is to the fulfilment of a law of nature (death is inevitable), but the sense is also future.

A few other examples with future meaning as either a secondary or primary element are worth citing.

Pinkster (1987: 207–7) quotes Sacerdos *GL* vi.432.10–13 *tempora sunt tria, praesens, praeteritum, quod in tria diuiditur, in imperfectum perfectum plusquamperfectum, et futurum. quidam tempus praesens esse negant, dicentes res aut factas esse aut habere fieri, fluminis meatui comparantes* ('there are three tenses, present, past, which is divided into three, imperfect, perfect and pluperfect, and the future. Some deny that there is a present tense, saying that things have either been done or will be done, comparing the course of a river'). It is difficult to see how this could be translated as anything other than a future, given that it forms part of an explicit contrast between the past and the future. It is of interest that the passage is in a grammarian. Sacerdos is probably to be dated to the third century (Kaster 1988: 352–3). It is unlikely that he would have used this construction in a grammatical contrast if it had a stigmatised character.

There is no clear-cut chronological transition in extant texts from ambiguous examples to those in which futurity is the predominating

meaning. Even in very late Latin the same ambiguities as those in Pompeius are easy to find. Note e.g. Caesarius *Serm.* 202.1, CC 104, 814 *erubescant ergo nobiles et potentes sanctis et peregrinis abluere pedes in hoc saeculo: sed si se non correxerint, plus habent erubescere et dolere, cum ab illorum consortio separati fuerint in futuro*, 'therefore let nobles and the powerful blush to wash the feet of saints and pilgrims in this world: but if they do not mend their ways, they must/will blush and grieve the more when they are separated from their society in the future'. The construction is here in the vicinity of two future perfects and a future interpretation is certainly possible, but on the other hand it expresses a necessary consequence of the behaviour of nobles and the powerful. That consequence is predestined in accordance with the ways of God for those who behave in a certain way, and the modality is alethic.

1.2 *The distribution of the habeo-construction: a feature of lower sociolects?*

The instances of the construction (from the third century AD onwards) approaching the meaning of futurity are found mainly in Christian writers and also some grammarians, and mainly in Africa (this latter feature being a recurrent theme of Thielmann 1885a). Bourova (2005: 304) gives statistics showing the regional distribution of constructions of the type *habeo* (in whatever tense) + inf. Of her electronic corpus of 655 examples, half are from Africa, a quarter from Italy, 5 per cent from northern Gaul, 3 per cent from southern Gaul and 3 per cent from Spain. There is no proof here that the usage was in any sense an Africanism (see Adams 2007: 727–8). Since it survived in a wide area of the Romance world an abnormal frequency in African texts could at best show that it started in Africa, but the fact is that many of the texts extant from the third to fifth centuries are African and such figures are meaningless. Most of these texts were learned rather than low-register, and indeed the contexts in which the construction occurs are more typical of learned discourse than of colloquial speech. It seems to have had a particular place in logical argument, and often occurs in the main clause of conditional sentences (see Adams 2007: 728). It was noted above that the grammarian Sacerdos incorporated it in a remark about tense itself. Such contexts are not suggestive of those usages that the educated sometimes introduced from lower social dialects to impart a discordant tone to a passage or out of carelessness or for some doctrinaire reason. On the contrary, the periphrasis seems to have had some currency

among the educated as an exponent of deontic and alethic modalities when it was convenient to convey an ambiguity, with an idea of futurity also present.

This view of the learned status of the construction would seem to be at variance with its widespread survival in Romance, and with the conventional idea that Romance usages tended to originate in Latin from down the social scale. Did it also have a life beneath the surface of the literary language in lower social dialects? That assumption has sometimes been made. Pinkster (1987: 214) suggests that 'in substandard Latin *habere* + inf. was much more frequent than in our texts', and he puts down (213–14) the lack of variation in the construction after Tertullian to the education system. He supports his suggestion by noting that Cyprian, who wrote more formally in his tractates than his letters, used *habeo* + inf. only once in the tractates, and by stating that Augustine's practice was more classical before his conversion than after. Such evidence is not decisive. Fruyt and Orlandini (2008: 233), remarking that inf. + *habebam* was the origin of the French conditional, one of the functions of which is to express future in the past (e.g. *il disait qu'il viendrait*), suggest that 'this sequence must have existed in the spoken language', and that Tertullian chose to use it for his specific needs. Thielmann (1885a) on the other hand is cited in a note (233 n. 5) as holding that the usage originated from a high level of speech and was generalised later on.

Is there any specific evidence about the matter? The *habeo*-construction, at least as expressing something approaching futurity, is missing from certain archetypal low-register texts. It does not occur in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a work in which the future tense is constant. Van Oorde (1929: 87) cites just three instances from the *Peregrinatio Aetherae* (a work in which the present tense is used with future reference, and in which there are some examples of the ordinary future: see below, 3), giving all of them the meaning *debere*. Two of these are not relevant because *habeo* is in the imperfect tense (2.1, 4.5). The other expresses deontic modality and futurity is out of the question: 24.6 *et at ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia, quae dicere habet, dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus*, 'and when the deacon has said everything which he has to say, the bishop first says a prayer [*dicet* here is present not future: see Väänänen 1987: 58], and he prays for everyone'. In the letters of Claudius Terentianus futures are quite common but *habeo* + inf. does not occur. Here are the futures, followed (in the final passage) by two examples of the present indicative with future reference:

- 467.10 referam pa[t]ri tuo.
 467.23 et si quid missurus es inscribe omnia.
 467.25 et si scr[i]bes mihi epistulam.
 468.23–4 rogo te, pater, si tibi uidebitur ut mittas mihi inde caligas cori.
 469.16 et mittet tibi si imuenerit.
 470.17]ta d[i]cet pa[t]rem [.].[.]. donec rescribat tibi (interpretation doubtful).
 470.22 rescribe[s] mih[i] ut securus sim.
 471.10–11 ibo, dico, ad amicos patris mei.
 471.33 ueni, dicet, Alexandrie ed dabo t[i]bi (*dicet* here is present).
 472.14–15 [et f]eram nauī [. . .].um. quam [tibi] da[tu]rus est epis[tula]m.
 471.24–6 spec[t]emus illum dum uenit et uen[i]o tequum Alexandrie et deduco te usque ad naue.

By contrast in the Greek letters there is a case of ἔχω + infinitive with a future meaning: 476.12 καὶ τοῦνπαλιν οὐκ ἔχεις ἄπ' ἐμοῦ ἀκ[οῦ]σαι περὶ τοῦ πράγμα[το]ς τούτ[ου] ('and you will not hear otherwise from me on this subject'). The evidence is too slight to permit generalisations about the state of Latin in this respect compared with Greek.

There are however three instances of the Latin periphrasis, one relatively early, the others much later, in significant texts. The first is in one of the letters on ostraca from Wādi Fawākhir dated to the second century and bearing the name of Rustius Barbarus. For the text see *O. Faw.* 4, *CPL* 306, Cugusi (1981) 4, *CEL* 76. The expression is *adferre habes* (the first word written *ad.ferre*), but the context is fragmentary and there are no surrounding words. It is however difficult to see how, in an epistolary context, *adferre habes* could express anything other than a directive, 'you have to/will bring', i.e. 'bring', with the periphrasis ambiguous between deontic modality and futurity. Cugusi (1992: 11.70) takes it that way, comparing *scribes* at line 10 in the same letter. See also in the same corpus the directive futures 3.3 *scribes mi . . .*, 3.11 *quae mi mittes ut possim . . .* This is an interesting example, given its early date. It is in a small corpus in which the conventional future is well attested (1 *faciam*, *mitam*, *scribam*, 2 *mittes*, 3 *scribes*, *mittes*, *afferam*), but on the above interpretation the periphrasis was encroaching on its territory, perhaps introducing a greater urgency. No other periphrases with *habeo* are found in *CEL*. There are already a few instances of *habeo* + inf. in the early Empire in the literary language equated in meaning by the *TLL* (vi.2–3.2454.53ff.) with *debeo*. The above example would suggest that the construction with a deontic, even future, nuance was not confined to the upper reaches of the language, but it is unfortunate that the text is fragmentary.

Examples of *habeo* + inf. in medical works reveal nothing about the social level of the construction, because although such texts sometimes lapse into the substandard they are also full of pretentious phraseology. However, in a late (sixth-century?) commentary on Galen published by Palmieri (1981) there are some special contexts, consisting of direct speech or anecdotal remarks or analogies, and these appear to be in a colloquial register. The *habeo*-construction turns up several times in such passages: p. 292.6 *sed forsitan dicat aliquis ad nos: 'ecce, nutrio, sed qualem cibum utere habeo?'*, 'but perhaps someone may say to us, "Look, I am feeding [the patient?: or is *nutrio* reflexive in meaning?], but what sort of food shall/should I use?"'). Here is a typical example of inf. + *habeo* on the way to its Romance future function but still translatable as expressing (deontic) obligation/necessity; by contrast in an anecdotal section at p. 254.30 (*cum coeperit uidere diuersorium in quo habet repausare*, 'and when (the donkey) catches sight of the stall in which he is going to rest') the periphrasis is future in meaning, with no more than a hint of predestination; *repausare* too is well represented in Romance, e.g. It. *riposare*, Fr. *reposer*: REW 7218.

These last two examples are separated from that in the letter of Rustius Barbarus by hundreds of years, a period in which changes might have taken place in spoken Latin. The evidence for *habeo* + inf. in low social dialects is slight indeed, but it is tempting to suggest, tentatively, that the construction belonged to the Latin language in general, not to one particular social level. It certainly cannot be concluded from the extant evidence that it was predominantly a usage of lower sociolects.

2 Conditional

Romance languages also made use of past tenses of *habere* (*habebat* or *habuit*) preceded by a dependent infinitive to form the conditional or 'future in the past'. In Gaul and the Iberian peninsula the form with *habebat* predominated (*cantare habebat* > Fr. *chanterait*, Sp. *cantaría*) (see Elcock 1960: 107–8, Buridant 2000: 263–71), whereas in central Italy, including Tuscany, it was the form with *habuit* that was adopted. In Old Italian the third person singular ending was *-abbe*, which was modified to *-ebbe* (*canterebbe*) (see Elcock 1960: 108, Maiden 1995: 159–60). In late Latin texts such periphrases with both tenses of *habere* are quite common (for examples see TLL VI.2–3.2458.19ff. (25ff. for the imperfect, 46ff. for the perfect)), and the question arises whether the two tenses were interchangeable.

In several recent papers Bourova (2005, 2007; also Bourova and Tasmowski 2007) has analysed uses of *habeo* + inf., including cases where

habeo is in a past tense, based on a corpus of about 26 million words down to the eighth century taken from *CLCLT-5: Library of Latin Texts*, a CD-ROM from Brepols. These are essentially Christian texts. The *habeo*-constructions are not especially numerous, given the size of the corpus. Bourova (2007: 462) notes that she found 671 examples,⁵ and of the past-tense cases there are 103 comprising *habebam* with infinitive and 55 of *habui*.

There is for the most part a semantic difference between the construction with *habebam* and that with *habui*. This may be seen from two clear-cut examples in the apodosis of conditional sentences. At Caesarius *Serm.* 59.4, CC 103, 261 *sanare te habebat deus per indulgentiam, si fatereris* ('God would heal you out of indulgence if you confessed'), *sanare habebat* would be described traditionally as a 'present unreal' condition (see e.g. Woodcock 1959: 148), of the type usually having an imperfect subjunctive in both clauses (*sanaret*), and translated 'if you were confessing now (which you are not), God would be healing you' (see further below for a slightly different interpretation of this example).⁶ Here *sanare habebat* replaces CL *sanaret*. This use may be contrasted with the use of *habui* at *Vit. patr.* 5.4.59 *si uoluisset Deus ut mel manducarem, mel habuisti mittere in zippulas istas*, 'if God had wanted me to eat honey, you would have put honey into the *zippulae*'. Here we have in traditional terms a 'past unreal' condition (Woodcock 1959: 149), which would have had a pluperfect subjunctive in both clauses in Classical Latin (with *misisses* for *habuisti mittere*). This use of *habui* with the infinitive is also seen (e.g.) in passages from the epistles of Gregory the Great quoted by Thielmann (1885a: 195). *Habuisti mittere* expresses an idea that is unreal or counterfactual (see Bourova 2007: 471). In simple terms the *habebam*-construction may be translated 'would (do)', the *habui*- 'would have (done)'.

But not all examples of these *habeo*-constructions are in conditional constructions and readily amenable to the sort of description offered above. In her semantic classification of the past tense periphrases Bourova (2007: 467–71) establishes two categories, on which we elaborate here briefly.

First, *habebam* + inf. may be a 'future in the past', that is it may refer to future time in relation to a time or point in the past (Bourova 2007: 467–70). Bourova (2007: 469) refers also to 'une orientation prospective': the event designated by the infinitive will unfold at some future moment

⁵ Contrast the figure of 655 in her earlier study (Bourova 2005: 304 and above, 1.2).

⁶ See Thielmann (1885a: 187), citing this example (but not attributing it to Caesarius) with slightly different wording from *PL* 39, col. 2214.4, as the first full example of the Romance conditional meaning. But Caesarius was late (sixth century): see below for a much earlier example from Tertullian.

(468). The term 'predestination' is also used (e.g. Bourova 2005: 312–13). This prospective function is underlined by contextual indications, such as the presence of temporal adverbs (e.g. *mox*), adverbial expressions or adjectives such as *futurus*, the presence of lexical elements indicating that a prophecy is being made (*praeuideo*, *prouideo* etc.), or the presence of parallel constructions in *-urus eram* (for details see Bourova 2007: 468). For example, predestination is at issue in the following passage, cited by Bourova (2005: 312): Ambrose *Expos. Psalm.* CXVIII, 16.9, CSEL 62, 355 *ideo Hieremias in captiuitate gentis Iudaeae positus futuram praeuidens perpetuae captiuitatis aerumnam, quam perfidiae pretio Iudaeorum populus habebat exsoluere* ('... which the Jewish people would pay for as the price of treachery').

By contrast Bourova (2007: 469) situates the event described by *cantare habui* 'dans le passé et sans orientation prospective'.

Fruyt and Orlandini (2008) discuss the same characteristic of the construction with *habebam*. They cite Tert. *Marc.* 5.18.4 *tamen et creatori notum erat futurum. an non utique notum quod sub caelo et in terra eius habebat reuelari?* ('But yet to the Creator also the future was known. Did he not inevitably know that which beneath his heaven and on his earth was due to be revealed?', E. Evans 1972). The meaning is 'was destined to be revealed', but is close to 'would be revealed'. See Fruyt and Orlandini (2008: 232): 'this expression is used by Tertullian in order to express a "future in the past", mainly in the passive voice, and, more precisely, to denote a certain type of future in the past: a prophetic future... The moment of speech is situated at a later period compared to the moment when the narrated events occur; the speaker knows what is going to happen afterwards. It is an alethic future in the past.' Tertullian also uses the construction *-urus erat* with this function (Fruyt and Orlandini 2008: 232) (see below, 2.1).

Bourova's second category (2007: 470) sets up an opposition between the potential, and the unreal or counterfactual, with the imperfect expressing the first idea and the perfect the second.

Bourova argues that sometimes the *cantare habebam* construction expresses not predestination, as above, but a potential in the present. The potential examples of *habebam* are rarer but not later than those expressing predestination (see Bourova 2005: 313). She cites for example Aug. *In Ioh. tract.* 7.1, CC 36, 67 *omnis caro foenum, et omnis honor carnis quasi flos foeni; foenum aruit, flos decidit: uerbum autem domini manet in aeternum. ecce quod ames, si uis manere in aeternum. sed dicere habebas: unde possum apprehendere uerbum dei?* ('All flesh is like hay and all honour of the flesh is

like the flower of hay: once the hay has dried the flower falls: but the word of the Lord lasts forever. That is what you must love if you want to last forever. But you would/might say: whence can I learn the word of God?). The imaginary speaker is not presented as in a position to raise an imaginary objection at a point in the past, but rather has the potential to make the objection in the present. If this description is accepted, the example in the apodosis of a conditional construction cited above from Caesarius containing *sanare habebat* might be reclassified as expressing a potential in the present; indeed that is how Bourova (2007: 471) explicitly takes it. She also cites (same page) our second conditional sentence above (that in the *Vitae patrum* with *habuisti mittere*) as illustrating the counterfactual use of the perfect *habui*, which forms the second part of the opposition that is the basis of her second category. It has to be said that it is easier to comprehend the counterfactual use of *habui* than the potential use of *habebam*, but there is certainly a contrast between the meanings ‘would’ and ‘would have’, however the first is to be defined.

This does not, however, exhaust the range of the *habebam*-construction, and there is more to be said about the *habui*-construction too. We start with the former.

The distinction between *habebam* + inf. (expressing predestination, = ‘would’) and *habui* (expressing something unreal or counterfactual, = ‘would have’) is not as clear-cut as it has been presented above. Consider the use of *habebat* at ps.-Arnob. *Conf.* 2.11, PL 53, 285:

audi: quid habebat concipere in utero, aut quid habebat parere, aut quid habebat pannis inuoluere et in praesepio ponere, aut quid habebat lactare, aut quid habebat tollere et fugere in Aegyptum, aut quid habebat crescere aetate et sapientia, aut quid octava die circumcidi, aut quid habebat baptizari a Iohanne, nisi esset homo perfectus, in quo esset perfectus Deus, qui ipsum sicuti hominem in utero fabricauit?

Listen: why did she have to conceive [= why would she have conceived] in the womb or why did she have to give birth or why did she have to wrap him in swaddling clothes and place him in a manger, or why did she have to nurse him, or why did she have to take him and flee to Egypt, or why did he have to grow in years and in wisdom or why be circumcised on the eighth day, or why did he have to be baptised by John, if he had not been formed as a man in whom God had been formed – God who fashioned himself in the womb as a man?

If the apodosis of the long conditional sentence were rewritten with subjunctive verbs, the tense of the subjunctive would be pluperfect (*quid*

concepisset in utero aut quid peperisset...), = ‘why would she have conceived... if he had not been...’ The imperfect subjunctive would not suit the context, as the conditional is counterfactual (= ‘would have’) and therefore *habuit* would have been expected on the analogy of the passage from the *Vitae patrum* quoted above. If Christ had not been formed as a man (counterfactual: he was so formed), by implication she would not have conceived him in the womb (but she did).

We now turn to *habui*. If *habebat* above is used as *habuit* is used elsewhere, it is also possible to find cases of *habui* where *habebam* might have been expected (expressing predestination or the like, = ‘would’, not ‘would have’). It is not strictly accurate to say (Bourova 2007: 469) that *habui* + inf. is ‘sans orientation prospective’. Note first Cassiod. *Expos. in Psalm.* 34.15, CC 97, 311–12 (cited by Bourova 2007: 469 but not interpreted as it is here: see below):

‘et aduersum me laetati sunt et conuenerunt: congregata sunt in me flagella, et ignorauerunt.’ cum Christus dominus pie contristaretur, Iudaei impia libertate laetabantur. sed diuersa erit ista retributio: Christus gaudebit de tristitia sua, Iudaei de propria erunt exultatione cruciandi; nam beati sunt qui propter iustitiam lugent, et miseri qui inepta gratulatione superbiunt. exponit etiam casum pessimae caecitatis: quia in dominum suum tormenta praeparabant, quae in ipsos erant iustitiae compensatione reditura. hoc est enim quod dicit: ‘et ignorauerunt’, quia in eos habuit conuerti, quod corporaliter innocenti uidebantur ingerere.

‘And in face of me they rejoiced and came together: there were piled up against me whips, and they did not know.’ When Christ the Lord was piously grieving, the Jews rejoiced in impious outspokenness. But retribution in this case will be the opposite: Christ will rejoice in his own grief, and the Jews will have to suffer torture for their own exultation, for happy are those who grieve because of justice, and wretched those who are arrogant in foolish self-congratulation. He also sets forth the outcome of evil blindness, because they were preparing tortures against their Lord, which would return upon them as a just reward. For this is what he says: ‘And they did not know’, because that which they thought they were heaping physically upon an innocent man would be turned against them.

The translation ‘would have turned’ (counterfactual) would be inappropriate for *habuit conuerti*.

There is another similar passage of Cassiodorus (*Expos. in Psalm.* 17.44/5, CC 97, 166), again cited by Bourova (2007: 469):

nam quod ait, 'constitues me in caput gentium', signum dicit fidei christianae: quia in fronte gentium crucis habuerunt uexilla radiare.

As for his remark, 'You will establish me on the head of the gentiles', he means the sign of the Christian faith, because on the forehead of the gentiles the standards of the cross would irradiate.

Here too the meaning 'would have' is out of the question. Bourova (2007: 469) says of these two examples that they are 'à première vue pareils à ceux avec HABEBAM', but adds that they 'sont en fait interprétables comme des intrusions du narrateur'. This point would need explication. It seems preferable to say that there was occasional slippage in the distinction between *habebam* and *habui* (see 2.2).

2.1 *The equivalent of habebam + infinitive in classical Latin*

Since Thielmann (1885a: 190) it has been regularly pointed out that the *habebam* + inf. 'conditional' replicates in function *-urus eram* of Classical Latin. Bourova (2005: 314) notes that the existence of the latter 'suggère que le conditionnel roman n'est pas une formation si révolutionnaire, du moins sémantiquement'. On this subject see especially Bourova (2008), with the conclusions at 278: future participles in *-urus* combined with *esse* in the past are a sort of conditional. There is also a good account of the periphrases with *-urus* by Orlandini (2005). She cites (69) Sall. *Jug.* 14.3 *quoniam eo miseriarum uenturus eram*, calling this a 'futur aléthique du passé'. See further Orlandini (2005: 73–4) on the similarity of some of the *-urus* constructions of CL to Romance constructions deriving from inf. + *habeo*.

2.2 *Conclusions*

The two constructions *habebam* + inf. and *habui* + inf. as they appear in late Latin texts should not be lumped together and treated as synonymous, as has sometimes been done (on which point see Bourova 2007: 461, whose paper is a clear presentation of the formal, distributional and semantic differences between them). The *habebam*-construction is prospective or potential ('would': *sanare te habebat deus*), whereas *habui* + inf. is (usually: see the last section but one, and further below) not prospective but set in the past and counterfactual ('would have': *habuisti mittere*) (details in Bourova 2007). The *habebam*-construction developed easily into a Romance conditional in many areas, with the future-in-the-past meaning

already attested in Latin. The *habui*-construction developed into a conditional only in Italian, and that is an outcome requiring the assumption of a late semantic shift. Bourova (2007: 472) points out that there are traces of the 'Latin' semantics of *habui* + inf. still to be found in old Romance dialects. She refers to the view that the future-in-the-past meaning of the Italian conditional reflects the influence of French, but concludes (472) that 'une recherche plus approfondie portant sur l'ancien italien (et tous ses dialectes) est nécessaire'. It was however pointed out above (2, p. 664) that already in Cassiodorus there are examples of the *habui*-construction that seem to be prospective (and equivalent to *habebam* + inf.). The non-prospective sense predominates, but there are signs of a shift starting. A curious parallel, but in reverse, for the semantic change undergone by inf. + *habui* by the time of Italian is to be seen in the later history of the conditional in Italian itself. Modern Italian, from about 1600, replaces *canterebbe* 'he would sing' with *avrebbe cantato* (lit. 'he would have sung') in the future-in-the-past meaning (*disse che avrebbe cantato* 'he said that he would sing') (see Maiden 1995: 160, 216).

The construction with *habebam* in late Latin shows another feature that not only sets it apart from the construction with *habui* but also may be seen as a step towards the Romance order and univerbation (Bourova 2007: 465). In the case of inf. + *habebam* the order IH slightly predominates over HI (54 per cent versus 46 per cent), whereas in the case of inf. + *habui* the order HI outnumbers IH (65 per cent versus 35 per cent). But what is more striking is that there is a greater tendency for other elements to be inserted between the infinitive and *habui* than between the infinitive and *habebam* (intercalated IH with *habui* 35 per cent of cases, intercalated IH with *habebam* just 8 per cent). These various statistics suggest that the infinitive and *habebam* were starting to coalesce in the Romance order in late Latin, whereas the connection between the infinitive and *habui* was looser and more variable.

Bourova (2007: 472) also finds in a Milanese text of the thirteenth century reflexes of the *cantare habui* construction where the two orders are still used alongside each other.

3 Present indicative with future reference

The present indicative with future meaning is common in Latin comedy. It is discussed at length by Sjögren (1906: 5–56), and the evidence from Plautus and Terence is also collected by Bennett (1910–14: 1.18–22), who remarks (22) that, '[e]xcept in questions, ... the use of the present as a

future is limited almost exclusively to the first person singular'. Verbs of motion, such as *redeo*, *exeo*, *abeo*, *eo*, are particularly frequent, in reference to an immediate return or immediate departure (Bennett 1910–14: 1.18–20; see also Haverling 2010: 349). It would be wrong to dismiss such examples as merely colloquial, as the present may have a communicative function that sets it apart subtly from the future itself. Bennett (1910–14: 1.19–20) notes for example (19) that the present of *ire* is common in dialogue 'referring to the immediate future', whereas the future of the same verb 'is naturally used of acts to take place in the less immediate future'. The expression *iam ad te redeo* occurs a number of times in Plautus (Bennett 1910–14: 1.18), the point being that the speaker will be back almost before the addressee notices the passage of time. By contrast the future of the same verb may imply a less urgent intention to return. In the following passage (Plaut. *Capt.* 497) –

nunc ibo ad portum hinc: est illic mi una spes cenatica;
si ea (spes) decollabit, redibo huc ad senem ad cenam asperam –

the speaker does not wish to return at all. He will do so only if the hope of a dinner elsewhere evaporates. The act of returning thus lies in the indefinite future if it is to be carried out at all. Even in late Latin it is sometimes possible to see a distinction between the present and the future along these lines. Note *Vit. patr.* 5.7.33 *dicit ergo in semetipso: uado et solus alicubi habitabo*, where the act of going (*uado*) is to precede that of living (*habitabo*) (but see further below).

Similarly pointed is the use of the present 'in negative expressions, where the corresponding affirmative expression takes the future, especially in expressions indicating an unwillingness to comply with some suggestion or request ("resistance to pressure")' (Bennett 1910–14: 1.21). At Plaut. *Mil.* 444 the girl Philocomasium, who is held by the slave Sceledrus, says *mitte* 'let me go'. Sceledrus replies (445) *non omitto* 'I am not letting you go'. He caps the girl's use of the simplex *mitte* by means of the compound *omitto*, and uses the present tense to convey his inflexible will.

The present infinitive also is often used with future reference in Plautus in the acc. + inf. construction, but it has been shown that this too is functional rather than merely colloquial (de Melo 2007: Chapter 5, e.g. 162: 'the present infinitive can be used with future reference only if the [acc. + inf.] is telic').

For bibliography on the present for future throughout Latin see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 308); also Väänänen (1987: 59 n. 136); see too

Serbat (1975: 385–6),⁷ Petersmann (1977: 167–9) and most recently Leiwo (2010b: 287–91). The first person usage persists, and there are perhaps structures that favour it. Two notable examples are in a speech at Caes. *Civ.* 3.94.5 ‘*tuemini*’ inquit ‘*castra et defendite diligenter, si quid durius acciderit. ego reliquas portas circumeo et castrorum praesidia confirmo.*’ Here the present-tense statement of intent follows imperatives addressed to others, and this is a context that is said to generate the present for future (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 308, citing various passages including *Per. Aeth.* 12.3 *attendite et uidete, et dicimus uobis singula*, and also *Fr. dictez et j’écris*; see further *Vit. patr.* 5.18.4, 6.4.12 cited by Salonijs 1920: 279, 280); also *Greg. M. Dial.* 3.5.3 *non bibas. da mihi, ego bibo.* See further below.

The first person present for future is well represented in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (apart from the above passage see 10.8 *potestis*, 15.1 *duco uos ibi*, 19.5 *ostendimus tibi*, 20.11 *imus tecum et ostendimus tibi*: so E. Löfstedt 1911: 212, but see too Väänänen 1987: 59–60, adding two instances). Löfstedt (1911: 213) cites just three conventional futures from the text (20.9 *dic, filia, quod uis, et dicam tibi, si scio*, 23.10 *uestrae affectioni referam aut . . . scriptis nuntiabo*), but Väänänen (1987: 59) adds three more and two doubtful cases. Löfstedt, who wishes to establish that the present for future was characteristic of ‘Umgangssprache’ in old as well as later Latin (1911: 212),⁸ notes (213) that in this work the usage occurs only in direct speeches, and uses this as evidence that at this time it belonged mainly to popular Latin. But his own future examples too (above) are located only in speeches (see above; the first example is in a direct speech, and the other two (both at 23.10) are in an address inserted into the narrative by the author to her *dominae*, nuns who were her colleagues and for whom she was writing), and that is not surprising, because the text is a narrative of past events and the future was likely to turn up in such a text mainly in speeches. It may be true that the present tense for future was current in colloquial speech (the direct speeches in which it occurs seem markedly colloquial), but evidence of this type does not establish that it was not also current in higher social dialects (see further below on grammarians). It is incidentally of note that the first case of the real future above (20.9) is in exactly the same context (following an imperative) as the one illustrated in the previous paragraph as supposedly generating the present indicative. The same structure (imperative and then first person future) is also found in

⁷ Serbat in this article argues that the present in Latin is non-temporal; it could be used in reference to the present, future or past.

⁸ Cf. also Väänänen (1989: 1383): ‘de tout temps caractéristique du parler familier’.

a letter of Terentianus (471.33 *ueni, dicet, Alexandria ed dabo t[i]bî*), and this fact raises a doubt about the view that such a context would usually determine a use of present for future. The distribution of imperative + *et* + present tense and imperative + *et* + future tense has not, it seems, been systematically investigated, and without more data one cannot generalise about the relationship between the two constructions; it is, for example, possible that in the passage of Terentianus the remoteness of the act of giving (after a journey to Alexandria) generated the future.

Several developments can be identified in imperial and later material.

First, a semantic feature seen in Plautus is not always apparent later when the present is used for future. Note the following passage from a letter of Terentianus, which was quoted above (1.2): 471.24–6 *spec[t]emus illum dum uenit et uen[i]o tequm Alexandria et deduco te usque ad naue*, ‘let us wait until he comes and I will come with you to Alexandria and take you to the ship’. Here the future act of going is not to be immediate but there will be an indeterminate wait beforehand. By contrast in Plautus, as was seen above, it is the future that is used of acts taking place in the less immediate future (Bennett 1910–14: 1.19–20), whereas the present (particularly with verbs of motion) implies instant action. Moreover *uenio* is not one of the verbs used by Plautus in this way (see the material at Bennett 1910–14: 1.18–20). On this evidence there has been a semantic weakening of the present use, such that it was more generally interchangeable with the future. Another example in a non-literary text (a Vindonissa tablet) is also from a semantic field different from the Plautine ones: *Tab. Vindon. 45 itaque scias ubi conuiuuium orno, ludos uarios quoque ac comisationem mundam. cras, per genios potissimos ludi, crispo orcā sicut gladium* (of brandishing a drinking vessel like a sword (note *cras* with the present tense verb)); by contrast in the next letter in the same corpus (46 *antequam recedo ad uillam*) there is a more familiar verb of returning used in the present.

Second, while the present for future is still common in the first person (all examples of the present referring to the future in the *Peregrinatio* are in the first person, singular or plural), third person examples become easy to find. Some may be quoted from Salonius’ large collection (1920: 276–82) of material from the *Vitae patrum* (see also Adams 1995b: 470 for first, second and third person presents for future in Pelagonius and the Latin Dioscorides, all of them from semantic fields different from those listed in Plautus by Bennett; also Leiwo 2010b: 289–90, discussing a number of examples in Petronius in different persons, along with Petersmann 1977: 167–9):

Vit. patr. 3.180 qui autem semel illum adeptus fuerit, iam non laborat.

3.202 quando enim uoluntatem peccandi quis dimiserit, . . . istum mox cum gaudio suscipit deus.

3.204 si uero tepida fuerit, insident in ea, et faciunt uermes.

5.7.33 ero quietus, et quiescit a me passio irae (further examples at Saloniuss 1920: 281–2).

Note too *Priap.* 59.2 *si fur ueneris, impudicus exis*. A very clear instance of the third person is at Greg. M. *Dial.* 3.15.12 *ecce occidisti illos, domine. quis eos hinc leuat?*

There are thus signs of a widening of the use of the present for future, and that development was a precursor of its currency in Romance languages. It is often the case that an apparent continuity between early Latin (particularly Plautine) and Romance practice turns out to be illusory, with late usage not exactly the same as Plautine.

There is some evidence about attitudes to the present for future in grammarians. Note first Pompeius (*GL* v.235–6). He poses the question whether we can say *cras dico* (235.32), declaring that we cannot: *ergo manifestum est quoniam non possumus hoc dicere. si hoc non possumus dicere, quid iam habemus dicere? hoc dicimus, 'cras dicam'*. Cf. 236.19–22 *ergo si quis tibi hoc iterum dicat, 'exponis mihi hodie lectionem?', si dicam 'expono', soloecismus est. non enim exponis, non adhuc facis, sed facturus es. ergo non debuit dicere 'expono', sed 'exponam'*. There is a hint here that grammarians were trying to resist the present tense in this meaning (note above *cras crispo* in a Vindonissa tablet), and that suggests that it was well established in the educated circles in which they moved. The purist's disapproval would be easy to understand if the present no longer had the functional restrictions that are so obvious in Plautus but was being employed willy nilly. Pompeius' example (*dico*) does not belong to any of the semantic fields that typify the present future in Plautus.

A passage of 'Sergius' *Explan. in Don.* (*GL* iv.507.37–508.4) is even more revealing:

tempora tria sunt, praesens praeteritum et futurum. sed praeteriti species sunt tres, imperfecta perfecta plusquamperfecta. praesens est, cum agitur. aduertamus haec: in nulla enim re sic fit soloecismus etiam a doctis. praesens est, dum agitur: ceterum si non agatur, non est praesens: non possum dicere 'lego', nisi dum lego, dum in ipso actu sum. ergo si mihi dicas 'lege mihi Vergilium', et dixerio 'lego', soloecismus est. nam cum adhuc in re non sim, quo modo praesens tempus adsumo? ergo debemus dicere 'legam'.

There are three tenses, the present, past and future. But of the past there are three types, the imperfect, the perfect and the pluperfect. The present

is when something is being done. Let us note this, because in no area is there such a degree of solecism committed even by the learned. The present is while something is being done: if it were not being done, it is not the present. I cannot say 'I am reading' except while I am reading, while I am in the very act. Therefore if you were to say to me 'read me some Virgil' and I say 'I read it', it is a solecism. For when I am not yet engaged in the act, how can I use the present tense? Therefore we should say 'I shall read it.'

For discussion of this passage see Leiwo (2010b: 288). It has notable information. The 'solecism' is not only committed by the learned (*a doctis*), but it is the most frequent solecism that they commit. The grammarian is not standing up against an unacceptable usage domiciled in lower social dialects, but against a usage that was well established in educated language. He is taking up a theoretical stance, attempting to resist standard educated practice on the grounds of abstract ideas of correctness. It would not be appropriate in the face of evidence such as this to argue that the present for future belonged specifically to an entity Vulgar Latin. Leiwo (2010b: 287) states plausibly that the 'usage is a descriptive element of colloquial style in any register, rather than a substandard variety of Latin'. He concludes a discussion of passages of Petronius with the remark (291) that 'explanations by social varieties [are] unnecessary'.

A third passage (Servius *GL* IV.414.11–18) adds a piece of information:

unde uitiose locuntur qui dicunt 'expecta, modo egredior'. nam iungunt significationem futuram et praesens tempus. item qui dicunt 'cras tibi lego lectionem' uitiose locuntur. nam cum 'lego' praesentis temporis sit, 'cras' uero aduerbium futurum, utique haec locutio non cohaeret. tractandum etiam illud, an sana esset locutio haec, 'cras legam', an 'cras lego'. 'cras lego', ut diximus, uitiosum est; 'cras' autem 'legam' ideo non nulli uitiosum iudicant, quoniam duo futura quasi in aliud futurum nos differunt.

Therefore those who say 'wait, I am going out now' are speaking incorrectly, for they link a future meaning and the present tense. Likewise those who say 'tomorrow I am reading you a lesson' speak incorrectly. Since 'I read' belongs to the present tense and 'tomorrow' is a future adverb, this expression is certainly inconsistent. The question must also be considered whether the expression 'tomorrow I shall read' would be correct, or whether it is 'tomorrow I read' that is correct. 'Tomorrow I read', we have maintained, is incorrect, but some consider 'tomorrow I shall read' to be incorrect because the two futures put us off to another (remote) future.

It will be noted that the first utterance quoted here as *uitiosum* has that use of an imperative followed by a present noted above, and it is obvious that this type of expression must have been widespread and frowned on by

some purists. Servius takes the same line as the other grammarians quoted above for much of the passage, but he throws in at the end the remark that there were also those who disapproved of the future tense with *cras*. By implication these authorities must have been supporting the present tense with *cras*, and it follows that not all grammarians were disapproving of the present tense with future reference.

4 Final conclusions

There are serious gaps in our information about the emergence of new future and conditional forms as Latin gave way to Romance. The loss of the classical future was as dramatic an event as the loss of the passive, but its chronology cannot be determined. In non-literary texts of the Empire, such as the Vindolanda tablets, the letters of Terentianus and the Vindonissa tablets, and in low-register texts of the late period such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, the classical future is well represented but the *habeo*-construction non-existent. Future- and conditional-like uses of *inf. + habeo* turn up from about the third century, but in high-register writing (and logical argument), particularly theological and grammatical. The usual questions arise. Should we call into existence a hidden variety of the language in which from an early period (say, the second century AD) uses of *habeo* were already current, but not destined to emerge until somewhat later in the literary language? Or did the Romance future owe its origin to modal uses of *habeo + inf.* that first appeared in logical argument in learned discourse? The only evidence for any currency in non-literary Latin of the *habeo*-construction at a relatively early date consists of a single example on an ostrakon without any surrounding context and of uncertain meaning. The absence of the construction from the *Mulomedicina* is striking, because the text is not only full of classical futures but is also instructional, and has many contexts in which modal uses of the periphrasis might have been possible. We do not know the answers to these questions, but it would be an extreme position to argue that the genesis of the construction must be attributed specifically to Vulgar Latin.

The use of the present for future (indicative; also infinitive in the acc. + *inf.* construction) has an interesting history, and the details are clearer. It is already common in Plautus and early Latin, where the examples fall into well-defined categories, and are distinguishable in function in many cases from the future itself, both in the indicative and the infinitive. Later its use (in the indicative) widened, and it was no longer in later Latin restricted to the semantic or structural categories identified in Plautus. Here is another

case where an apparent continuity between Plautine practice and that of the late period and Romance turns out to be not all that it might seem. The disapproval of the usage by several grammarians implies that it had a stigmatised status in the eyes of some purists. It cannot, however, be pushed aside entirely into lower sociolects, because grammarians were referring (explicitly in one case) to the practice of the educated class. Moreover, as we deduced from the passage of Servius, there were also some theorists who must have defended the present with future reference. On the other hand the presence of the usage in low-register texts such as the letters of Terentianus suggests that it was one of those phenomena that belonged to 'Latin', not to a restricted sociolect.

Little has been said here about the placement of the infinitive in relation to *habeo* (for a discussion of which see Adams 1991, Nocentini 2001, Bauer 2006: 289–96). Bourova and Tasmowski (2007: 27) observe that the order inf. + *habeo* along with univerbation demanded by the Romance outcomes requires an assumption that *habeo* passed through a clitic stage. Some evidence for the clitic characteristics of *habeo* is discussed by Adams (2003a: 746–7). In the passage to the Romance languages *habeo* in the third person plural sometimes shows a replacement of the ending *-ent* with *-unt* (in Gallo-Romance: Fr. *ont*), which seems to reflect the influence of the (clitic) form *sunt*. There is other evidence for auxiliary (i.e. potentially clitic) verbs in Latin acquiring this ending (so both *ualunt* = *ualent* and *debunt* = *debent*). There is a striking placement of *habeo* in a letter of Terentianus: 467.18 *nem[i]nem habeo enim karum nisis secundum deos te*, where the second-position particle *enim* is forced into third position by *habeo*. The colourless verb *habeo* has behaved like a clitic, adopting the position in relation to *enim* that *est* may adopt even in Classical Latin (see Adams 2003a: 747, with bibliography). See also Bourova and Tasmowski (2007: 39), taking up the view that *habeo* may behave as a clitic.

*Reflexive constructions and the passive***1 Loss of the synthetic passive, Latin to Romance**

The synthetic passive of Classical Latin suffered massive loss in the transition to the Romance languages. The present, future and imperfect passive forms of the indicative and the present and imperfect passive forms of the subjunctive all disappeared (see the table of lost forms in J. N. Green 1991: 84).

2 The infrequency of the passive

Attention is sometimes drawn to the rarity of the inflected passive forms in non-literary texts as the background to their eventual disappearance. For example, in the letters of Terentianus and in a sample of Vindolanda letters the active greatly outnumbers the passive, and few of the small number of passive forms are synthetic, as distinct from periphrastic, i.e. formed with the auxiliary *esse* (Adams 2003a: 742–4). In the letters active forms outnumber passive by 127:8, and of the eight passives only three are synthetic. In the archive of Cerialis in the Vindolanda writing tablets there are seventy-three active forms and six passive, of which three are synthetic (Adams 2003a: 744). The Greek learner of Latin who attempted to translate two fables of Babrius into Latin (*P. Amh.* 11.26) was capable of getting finite active verb forms right but was otherwise at sea in the verb system (Adams 2003a: 728–30). Of his twenty-eight correct verb forms only one is passive (Adams 2003a: 729). In the Bu Njem ostraca there are ninety-five active forms and six passive (leaving aside participles without an auxiliary), four of them synthetic and two periphrastic.

Full passive constructions (with an agent expressed) are said to be particularly uncommon in more popular or colloquial varieties of the language (see Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.144 = Langslow 2009: 186, E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.71, 367; also Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 287–8 on different types of

passive and their distribution; Väänänen 1981a: 129; Hannah Rosén 1999: 128–33 on the expression of agency). On the passive in Plautus see Ernout (1908–9): in five plays he found no more than two cases where the agent was expressed by *ab* (see Ernout 1908–9: 329, Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.144 = Langslow 2009: 186, also noting some structures in which Plautus does have the passive); in Cato's *De agricultura* he found none. It would not do, however, to exaggerate the infrequency of the passive in general (see further below) or in Plautus in particular (see Pinkster 1985: 108, 111 on this question; also Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.144 = Langslow 2009: 186, and Hannah Rosén 1999: 125 on the problem of statistics; for a very detailed table showing the incidence of passive versus active forms in a wide range of authors from Plautus through to Gregory of Tours and the *Vita Wandregiseli* see Flobert 1975: 512), and would be unconvincing to suggest that the greater frequency of the passive in Cicero than in Plautus was due to a diachronic development in the language (see Pinkster 1985: 112). The difference has to do with the types of texts. The passive probably belonged to formal registers (see Pinkster 1985: 108–9, and below), and someone such as the Greek above picking up Latin as a second language might have had little exposure to passive forms. Whether the suggested confinement of the (synthetic) passive to more learned varieties is enough in itself to explain its total disappearance and replacement is a moot point (see however J. N. Green 1991). In many languages the passive has a formal character but goes on existing, even if avoided in some forms of discourse.

Siewierska's (1984) study of the passive may be cited to illustrate some of the above remarks. She observes (1984: 229): 'Another influential factor determining the use of the passive as opposed to other topicalizing strategies is the register. The periphrastic passive in Indo-European languages has acquired the status of a sophisticated stylistic device. This may in part be due to the relative morphological complexity of the passive *vis-à-vis* the active, in part to the influence of Latin poetry¹ and prose on the whole European tradition. Whatever the origins of the literary flavour associated with the passive it is unquestionable that such associations exist and, what is more, are continually perpetuated by the use of the passive particularly in academic, bureaucratic, literary and journalistic texts on the one hand and the lack of passive clauses in spontaneous speech on the other.'

Siewierska (1984: 83) notes that the text frequency of passive clauses in English is low, but adds (91) that it is relatively high compared with that of

¹ The influence of Latin poetry ought perhaps to be excluded. It has been pointed out that in poetry in Latin, as in some low-register texts, the full passive construction (with agent expression) is rare (E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.367).

other European languages. The reasons for this are discussed at 230: 'The rigid word order of English, together with the possibility of passivizing not only direct, but also indirect and prepositional objects, has led to the relatively frequent use of the passive in English . . . However, although the passive in English occurs in colloquial speech and not practically exclusively in the written language as, for example, in Polish, it is similarly associated with more formal planned discourse or written texts.' This point is put more firmly at 236–7: 'The passive [in English], like the passive in the other languages, is not commonly used in unplanned speech; being associated with more formal modes of expression.'

Languages discussed by Siewierska in which the passive is formal include Slavic, Germanic and Romance languages. It is noted (236) that all these languages 'possess a means of patient topicalization which, while not equivalent to the passive, is a possible alternative to the passive at least as a strategy for maintaining given/new constituent order'. A claim is reported (234) that in popular spoken French 'left-dislocations' have completely ousted the passive (citing e.g. on the previous page, *Jean, Pierre l'a battu*).

The passive emerges in many (but not all) languages as a planned construction, which is sometimes partially or largely replaced by other constructions. Latin in the infectum went the whole way in the elimination of the synthetic passive and in its replacement, but, for whatever reason, this development, despite the selective data presented in the first paragraph above, is not much in evidence even well down the educational scale in the late period. In late substandard texts (such as the dietary work of Anthimus and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*), which display many departures from the educated standard, the synthetic passive is still used freely (see J. N. Green 1991: 86–7 and Herman 2002: 38–9, 39–40 for further evidence of this type; the evidence of Anthimus is particularly striking;² note too the vigorous arguments of Muller 1924: 72–7 against those who hold that the synthetic

² Here is a selection of passives: pp. 4.9 *digerentur*, 5.2–3 *coquantur*, *addatur*, 5.8 *temperetur*, 5.12 *tollatur*, 5.14 *mittatur*, 5.16 *utantur*, 6.4 *assatur*, 6.4 *diffundatur*, 6.8 *accipiuntur*, 7.4–5 *conficiuntur*, *assantur*, *tangantur*, 7.6 *intingantur*, 7.9 *ustulentur*, 7.12 *adhibeatur*, 7.13 *manducantur*, 7.15 *sumatur*, 7.15 *delectatus fuerit*, 8.2 *sumantur*, 8.10 *comedatur*, 8.12 *laeditur non iuuatur*, 9.2 *manducatur*, 9.3 *praesumatur*, *conficitur*, 9.16 *dicatur ut credatur*, 10.5 *sanantur*, 10.13 *digeruntur*, 10.14 *manducetur*, 12.4 *occidantur* (so at 13.1 and 13.5), 12.16 *assentur*, 13.2 *sumantur*, 13.7 *scitur*, 15.1 *comedatur*, 15–16 *digeritur*, 16.6 *componatur*, *ponitur*, *superfunditur*, Anthimus not infrequently uses not a mediopassive or reflexive middle but an equivalent intransitive (on which phenomenon in general see Feltenius 1977; also Pirson 1906: 393–5 on the *Mulomedicina Chironis*): e.g. 5. 5 *coquat in una hora*, 5.7, 5.15, 6.1, 7.12, 15.1, 15.6 *passaris, qui in parietibus nutriunt*, 17.3 *coquant*, 24.16 *si bene coxerit*, 25.5 *sic coquat lente* but later *cum cocta fuerit*, 25.9 *dum coquet* but 25.13 *ut bene coquatur* and 26.2 *bene coquatur*, 26.5 *coquat bene*, 26.10 *coquatur in aqua* . . . *et sic coquant bene*. On the old middle-passive system as still strongly in evidence in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* see Muller (1924: 84).

passive disappeared in later Latin). This frequency must be put down partly to a feeling that the passive was appropriate to the 'learned' genre of medicine, in which written sources dating back centuries were drawn on, and partly to a continuing knowledge of the old passive forms, particularly in the third person, where the endings are uncomplicated, common to all verb types, and directly derivable from the corresponding active forms.

3 Some terminology

The term 'passive' has been used to describe a variety of constructions in many languages. Siewierska (1984: 2) states that according to the most widely accepted definition 'passive constructions have the following characteristics:

- (a) the subject of the passive clause is a direct object of the corresponding active
- (b) the subject of the active clause is expressed in the passive in the form of an agentive adjunct or is left unexpressed
- (c) the verb is marked passive.'

Most passives in Latin are without an expressed agent ((b) above) (see Pinkster 1990b: 9), and it is often the case that 'the Agent or Cause cannot be retrieved from the context' (Pinkster 1990b: 9). The above definition is appropriate for present purposes, and not least because the standard passive is only marginally the subject of this chapter. For further discussion of the category passive see e.g. Keenan and Dryer (2007).

The 'middle' is not easy to capture in a neat formulation. Kemmer (1993: 238) defines the middle semantically as follows:

Although lacking precise boundaries, the area of middle semantics can be delimited with reference to two semantic properties. These two properties, which are characteristic of every middle system during the period in which it has a functioning middle marker, are (1) Initiator as affected entity (Endpoint) and (2) low degree of elaboration of events. The first property . . . is subsumed by the second one, since the equating of Initiator and Endpoint effectively makes an event less elaborated than a fully transitive event in which the two entities are completely distinct.

Such a definition is not informative without a good deal of explanation, and there is something to be said for the more practical approach, adopted predominantly by Kemmer herself, of defining the different classes into which middle-marked verbs fall in a variety of languages. Kemmer (1993) analyses numerous languages with middle markers and classifies typical middle types

semantically (16–20). Classes of verbs showing middle marking are those expressing non-translational motion, grooming and body care, change in body posture, translational motion, emotion, emotive speech actions, other speech actions, cognition and spontaneous events. The last category, which will be particularly important here, embraces e.g. ‘verbs of growing, rotting, drying out, falling apart, evaporating and the like’ (Kemmer 1993: 19).

In Latin, verbs belonging to these classes may be middle-marked in two main ways, either by passive inflections (*uertor*) or by the reflexive construction (*me uerto*). A typical reflexive middle is at *Mul. Chir.* 76 *donec cicatrix oculo se confirmet* ‘until a scar forms on the eye’. Various features of this sentence may be noted. The subject of the verb is the ‘affected entity’. The event is spontaneous, with no obvious agent even deducible from the context: the scab formation is something that occurs naturally. The subject is inanimate, or, perhaps better, non-personal (as a growing substance attached to the body a scar has a degree of vitality; ‘inanimate’ is an imprecise term but will be used here sometimes). There is a change of bodily state, which is often the case in such constructions. Finally, the reflexive construction is replaceable with a ‘passive’, i.e. a synthetic middle (*confirmetur*). The two constructions are not always equivalent (see Cennamo 1998: 83–7 on this subject),³ but often they are. Sometimes it may be possible to extract a cause/agent loosely from the context, but even then a difference may be felt from a genuine passive, in that the subject may still seem to be initiator as well as affected entity.

Various questions are raised by an example such as that from the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, and these will be considered later in the chapter. What is the history and stylistic level of the reflexive construction with inanimate subject in Latin? Can it be attributed specifically to lower sociolects (Vulgar Latin)? Are there examples of the reflexive construction that are unambiguously passive, or at least open to a passive interpretation? Are there reflexive constructions with animate subject, where that subject is the affected entity but not initiator as well? In the sentence ‘the man killed himself’ the subject is both initiator and affected entity, and the construction is a direct reflexive, with the subject doing something to himself. On the other hand in the sentence ‘Adam and Eve expelled themselves from

³ See Hatcher (1942: 73): ‘a mediopassive could become reflexive in order to represent the subject as responsible for his own reaction’ (as in *me delecto* versus *delector*). Cennamo (1998: 84) refers to the presence or absence of ‘control’ by the subject, citing Cic. *Fin.* 1.3 *etenim si delectamur cum scribimus*, ‘if we like writing’ alongside *Att.* 2.4.2 *interea quidem cum Musis nos delectabimus*, ‘meanwhile I will amuse myself with the Muses’. She also refers (1998: 84) to a variation on this idea of + or – control: sometimes the mediopassive expresses habitual action, whereas the reflexive refers to a specific occasion.

Eden', which is possible in Spanish (see below, 5) but hardly in English, the traditional story would require the interpretation that Adam and Eve were the affected parties but not the agent of the action as well. On this view the sentence might be rephrased as a canonical passive, 'Adam and Eve were expelled from Eden (by God).' When the subject is inanimate is it ever meaningful to talk of that inanimate as personified, and if so is personification a factor in the development of the construction? Does the passive reflexive of the Romance languages develop from the Latin reflexive with inanimate, or personified, subject?

Because of the different roles of the subjects of intransitive (or reflexive) verbs there has been a proliferation of terminology intended to capture the variations. 'Anticausative' is one such term. Siewierska (1984: 77) cites the sentences –

Bill closed the door;
The door closed –

and defines the term 'anticausative' as a description of the second, 'where an intransitive verb is derived from a basically transitive one with the P[atient] of the transitive verb corresponding to the S[ubject] of the intransitive'. This definition is adopted by Cennamo (1998: 80), who offers the following formulation of anticausative: 'intransitive structures (mainly denoting change of state) derived from transitive ones, with the original object, -animate (i.e., O) subjectivized, retaining control over the verbal process, which is presented as occurring spontaneously'. Later Cennamo (e.g. 1998: 83) extends the term 'anticausative' to cover certain types of reflexive structures: 'the reflexive pattern was already used with inanimate subjects in Archaic Latin when no personification was implied, to mark anticausatives'. Verbal usages of the type Siewierska and Cennamo have in mind fall within one of the categories of the middle listed by Kemmer (see above on spontaneous events), and the terminology will not be overcomplicated here. When examples are cited an attempt will be made to define the roles of the participants without using terms which themselves must be glossed.

4 Romance developments

In Western Romance the functions of the synthetic passive were eventually taken over by the analytic passive formed with the verb 'to be' or one of its near-synonyms linked with the past participle, and by the reflexive passive.

On the development of the reflexive passive in Spanish at the expense of the auxiliary forms see J. N. Green (1991: 92): 'By the Old Spanish period, the reflexive passive had acquired almost all its modern functions . . . , and the later history is largely that of the decline of *ser*-plus-participle constructions, both as perfective forms of intransitive verbs and as analytic passives, to the point where the latter are now effectively confined to formal registers where "objectivity" is consciously sought.'

On the various forms of the passive in Italian see Rohlfs (1969a: 127–31): *sono amato* (*esse* + past participle) (Rohlfs 1969a: 127–8), *vengo lodato* (*uenio* + past participle) (Rohlfs 1969a: 128–9; also Maiden 1995: 157–8), *fi dito* (*fio* + past participle, in northern Italian dialects) (Rohlfs 1969a: 129–30), and finally the reflexive passive, widespread (Rohlfs 1969a: 130–1). On the last in Italian see also Maiden (1995: 164), citing such structures as *si vendono i libri* 'the books are sold' and *si beve il vino* 'the wine is drunk'. He sees this passive use as an 'extension of the "middle" reflexive *si* structure to verbs whose grammatical subjects are inert or "patients"'. On the first three constructions just listed as they appear in Latin, see below, 14.

Maiden (1995: 147) notes that *est uisus* was reanalysed as a present passive (It. *è visto*), and *erat uisus* as a past imperfective passive, sometimes with continuous sense (It. *era visto* 'he was being seen'). Usually it has imperfective stative value (*la porta era spalancata* 'the door was wide open'), and the auxiliary *venire* is used for the continuous meaning. It is not clear that the present passive is freely used with continuous meaning: the present passive in continuous form is expressed by the auxiliary *venire*.

For Old French see Buridant (2000: 297–8) on the type *estre* + participle, and 306–7 on the reflexive construction. The mediopassive reflexive examples cited at 307, with inanimate subject, are similar to the Latin examples that will come up throughout this chapter. The reflexive passive ('passif pronominal') is said to be relatively rare, though it does occur (307, §238.3).

5 Further observations on the reflexive passive

The so-called reflexive passive is not always easy to interpret, and it is subject to restrictions. There is a good general discussion by Siewierska, some of whose observations are cited here because they will turn out to be relevant to Latin.

Siewierska (1984: 162) lists many languages (including the Romance languages) that have a reflexive passive. She makes the point (165) that

in 'most of the European languages . . . reflexive passives . . . tend to occur with inanimate subjects'. Examples (with animate subjects) are cited from Spanish and Italian as being 'less typical', including the Spanish: *Adán y Eva se expulsaron del Eden* 'Adam and Eve were thrown out of Eden'.⁴ Also (166) the 'reflexive personal passive in the Romance languages is restricted to third person subjects. In addition, pronominal subjects referring to animate entities cannot be used.'

At 167–8 it is noted that a particular reflexive construction may be open to two interpretations: it may be a direct reflexive, or passive, as in some languages with verbs of dressing (= 'he dressed himself/was dressed (by others)'). The ambiguity is generally resolved by the context, as in the Spanish sentence above, given that according to tradition Adam and Eve did not leave Eden voluntarily.

It is also noted (168) that, '[w]hereas reflexive passives with animate subjects can be interpreted either as passive or reflexive, reflexive passives with inanimate subjects are often ambiguous between a passive and an anticausative reading'. In other words, when the subject is animate both interpretations may be possible but the ambiguity is readily resolved from the context, but when the subject is inanimate it may be difficult to disambiguate the construction. Siewierska goes on to say (169) that many clauses that have been labelled passive in the literature appear really to be anticausative, citing e.g. Fr. *cette étoffe se lave bien* 'this cloth washes well'. On this and other such examples Siewierska (170) states: 'All these clauses involve actions that logically require an outside agent. Yet in each case there is a feeling that the inanimate subject is by its nature affecting or initiating the action . . . In anticausative constructions the subject is understood as possessing some property which facilitates the action'. She says of the French sentence cited above that it may be paraphrased 'the cloth is washable', whereas the canonical passive would mean 'somebody washes the cloth well'. The cloth has a characteristic that makes it easy to wash. There is a similarity between the French example and a Latin reflexive construction at Pallad. 3.25.18: *mela rotunda, quae orbiculata dicuntur, sine cura toto anno seruire se possunt* (Svennung 1935: 462 with n. 4). While this might in theory mean that apples 'can be kept' (by men) for a whole year, the sense is better taken to be 'can last' (without going off), with

⁴ However, the passive reading with animate subjects like this is more felicitous when the subjects are postverbal, and the reciprocal/reflexive reading is more readily available when the subjects are preverbal (e.g. It. *Gianni e Maria si aspettano* 'Gianni and Maria are waiting for each other' versus *Si aspettano Gianni et Maria* 'Gianni and Maria are expected') (information from Adam Ledgeway).

no external agency. Palladius has in the previous section listed measures to be taken so that apples can be stored for a period, but the type of apples referred to here need no such measures (note *sine cura*).

On the difficulty of deciding whether certain Spanish sentences with inanimate subjects are passive or anticausative see Siewierska (1984: 171). She refers too to Italian (172): 'The situation in Italian is similar. With the verbs *aprire* "open", *congelare* "freeze", *iniziare* "initiate", *chiudere* "close" etc. an anticausative interpretation is more probable', but in other cases only a passive interpretation is possible. The following sentences are cited as falling into this latter category: *Le due proposte di legge domani si discuteranno* 'the two bills will be discussed tomorrow', *I fatti si sanno già* 'the facts are already known'.

Siewierska (1984: 181) cites a view that there is a significant difference between reflexive and passive (i.e. periphrastic) clauses in Italian and Spanish, which takes this form: 'whereas the canonical passive is a means of backgrounding the agent, the reflexive passive implies that any specific agent is irrelevant'. Siewierska expresses reservations, but the fact remains that there is a persistent feeling that there is a difference between the periphrastic passive and the reflexive passive.

More follows on this same theme. Note 183: 'Whereas *plain* passives are said to portray simultaneously an event and the state arising from that event, reflexive passives in the European languages appear to be purely dynamic. The dynamic character of the reflexive passive is particularly evident in Russian and Greek where the construction is confined to imperfective verbs.'

Siewierska (1984: 184) makes some concluding remarks about the stylistic level of the construction: 'The reflexive passive in Czech, Serbo-Croatian, German and Romance is primarily associated with the colloquial language. In German its use is fairly restricted. In Slavic and Romance on the other hand it is used very extensively in both speech and writing, being preferred to the periphrastic passive in all but formal registers.'

It follows from all this that in (late) Latin texts we should not expect to find the reflexive 'passive' used to any extent with animate subjects, and with inanimate subjects it may be not strictly interchangeable with the inflected (or periphrastic) passive, or may at least be subject to ambiguities. The colloquial character of the construction in Romance might lead one to expect that it would display this feature in Latin as well.

Much of the rest of this chapter will be about reflexive constructions in Latin.

6 The reflexive middle/passive in Latin: some narratives

There is a conventional way of viewing the history of reflexive uses overlapping with the middle (anticausative) or (possibly) passive. They are sometimes said to occur in early Latin and literary Latin of the classical period only or mainly when there is a personification apparent. In later Latin it is believed that they proliferate in more vulgar texts, in anticipation of the role that they were to assume in the Romance languages. These views and variations may be illustrated from a brief review of some of the literature.

Cennamo (1998: 83) makes a distinction between the Latin of Plautus and Cato, and that of the classical period. In the former (referred to as 'Archaic Latin') *se* + active was already used 'with an anticausative value' 'with inanimate subjects . . . when no personification was implied'. In the classical language on the other hand 'this use is confined mainly to personified entities'. The construction was also 'typical of a more informal, colloquial style', and it emerged 'in vulgar texts'. Finally it is stated that the 'anticausative use of *se* + active V . . . flourishes in Late Latin, and is the first step in the process leading to the reinterpretation of the reflexive pronoun as a passive marker'. Later (1998: 88–9) Cennamo dwells on imperial and later Latin. The 'use of the reflexive pattern to mark anticausatives increases' (88), such that by the end of the fourth century 'practically all verbs can mark anticausatives by means of the reflexive pattern' (88). This pattern was 'on the verge of replacing' the middle uses of the *-r* suffix (88). A further development is the assumption by the reflexive construction of passive functions. In the *Mulomedicina Chironis* there is said to be a 'clear example of the reflexive pattern with a passive function, and an inanimate participant' (89). The example (*Mul. Chir.* 230) is quoted in this form: *stercora si se . . . prouocauerint* (translated 'excrement, if it is induced'). The passage in full is thus: *stercora si se post ex aggrauatione stercoris prouocauerint, scias eum cito refrigeraturum*, 'if afterwards faeces is induced from the oppression (of the bowel) by the faeces [lit. 'from the weighing down by the faeces'], know that he will quickly recover'. The passage is cited too by Svennung (1935: 462), alongside the derivative passage Veg. *Mul.* 1.47.1 *stercora eicies paulatim ad anum* [correct probably to *ad manum*: see below, 9.3.2.3], *quibus egestis cito noueris animal percurandum*. Vegetius has chosen to introduce a human agent (expressed as the subject of the active verb *eicies*), but there is no such human agency in the source. On the contrary, there the expulsion of *stercora* occurs spontaneously, being induced merely by the accumulation of faeces. This example does not differ from many

others both in Classical and later Latin where an inanimate entity stands as subject of a reflexive construction expressing a spontaneous process, which may have a natural cause but not an agent of the type expressed or implied with many passive verbs. Cennamo (1998: 89) makes the following generalisation after quoting the passage:

The passive function of the reflexive pattern might be regarded as resulting from the spread of the *se* + active pattern to verbs denoting situations that cannot occur spontaneously, but that necessarily imply a human Causer, and that therefore did not occur in the anticausative pattern in Archaic and Classical Latin . . . These forms however, must have been felt as vulgar.

The first sentence may possibly capture the nature of the development, but it is not based on evidence, and is not applicable to the example from the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. The chronology of the usage and its possible extension to the passive need to be investigated further.

Flobert (1975: 389) is much briefer but there is one similarity with Cennamo's account. He refers to an extension in late Latin 'de plus en plus large du réfléchi pour décrire d'une façon dynamique des processus physiques touchant des êtres inanimés'. This use of the reflexive with inanimate subjects is ancient, it is allowed, because the same phenomenon is found in Virgil, dictated there by a taste for personification or 'animisation'. The motivation is put down on the one hand to a grammatical factor (the partial equivalence of the reflexive and the passive) and on the other to a stylistic factor ('tendance à la personnification ou à l'intensification'). A few examples are cited from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (alongside a passive construction in the corresponding passage of Vegetius) and Palladius. This account is largely unexceptionable, though doubts must be raised about the chronological implications. Is late Latin really to be separated from earlier Latin in the extent to which this type of reflexive was used? Flobert had made much the same point about late Latin on the previous page, though not necessarily speaking about inanimate subjects (388): 'Cette tournure énergique devient abondante en latin tardif et on peut la rendre responsable, au moins partiellement, de la disparition du passif latin à l'infectum.'

Flobert offers two important observations in this brief discussion. First, he states (388) that 'il ne faut pas croire que le réfléchi soit vulgaire pour autant'. Second, he finds that examples of the reflexive construction that have supposedly encroached on the passive are 'peu nombreux et peu convaincants' (389). The first passive example usually cited, he says, is Plin.

Nat. 5.121 *Myrina quae Sebastopolim se uocat*. Flobert remarks that the sense, 'qui se donne à elle-même le nom de Sebastopolis', shows clearly that 'l'on a affaire à un réflexif caractérisé'. He adds that the translation 'M. qui s'appelle S.' 'serait en effet une absurdité'. The passage is interpreted in the same way by Svennung (1935: 461), who refers to a personification: the city now calls itself Sebastopol, after the time of Augustus.

Svennung's account of the reflexive (1935: 461–4), though rich in examples, is unsatisfactory in several ways. First, he treats the examples basically as cases of the reflexive used with passive function (under the general heading 'Reflexiv für Passiv'), when most can be interpreted as middle or anticausative. Thus, having rejected one alleged case of an active with reflexive pronoun standing for a passive (461), on the next page he cites 'many good examples' of the same usage. Second, the evidence cited is exclusively late (with a single exception: see 461 n. 1), and conveys the impression, even if that were not intended, that we have to do with a phenomenon of late Latin. Third, the texts cited are recognisable as low-register. It is hinted therefore that here is a late vulgar usage anticipatory of the Romance languages (note 461, where in reference to the Romance use of the reflexive with passive function it is stated, 'Diese Verwendung wurzelt tief in der lateinischen Volkssprache'). This hint is enhanced by the selective citation at 462 of passages where Vegetius appears to have eliminated a reflexive construction found in his more vulgar source, the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. There is no citation of reflexives taken over by Vegetius from the source, or used independently by Vegetius himself (see below, 9.3.1). The comparison between Vegetius and his source is a familiar one, employed often by members of the Swedish school as diagnostic of usages considered by purists to be substandard.

Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 294–5) offer a brief discussion of such reflexives, with some familiar features. The reflexive is said to acquire a passive use that is 'deutlicher im Spätlatein' (from which Tert. *Pall.* 5.3 *sese regit* is cited, but this is not passive at all: see 12). 'Vulgärlatein' is introduced (Svennung's account, above, is cited).

There have been dissenting voices from these general accounts, most notably that of Muller (1924: 87–9), who argued (87) that the reflexive construction with inanimate subject was 'one of the characteristic features of Latin', that it was 'contemporaneous with the first productions of Latin literature', that it never went 'out of existence or disappeared during the classical period to reappear afterwards, in late Latin', and that it was not 'a new development characteristic of Vulgar Latin'. He cited (87–8) some

classical examples to prove his point, concluding (89) that the view that a gradual development of the reflexive crowded out the Latin synthetic passive was 'meaningless'. Reichenkron (1933: 17–18) and particularly Wistrand (1943: 54–60) also listed examples from Classical Latin, the latter dealing with the whole period from Plautus to Tacitus. Both were of the view that the earlier examples (including those of the late Republic) usually display personification (Reichenkron 1933: 17–18, Wistrand 1943: 54–6), but Wistrand in particular (see 60–1) went on to suggest that in late technical texts of more vulgar type, such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Oribasius translation, the quasi-passive use of the reflexive proliferates. Reichenkron too (1933: 29–31) listed many examples from late low-register writers. Wistrand's account and his examples are valuable, but he did not get away from the idea that the construction was relatively unusual in earlier Latin but very common in late Latin (see particularly 1943: 62).

7 Early and Classical Latin

Several of those cited in the previous section found that in earlier Latin the reflexive construction tends to occur with personified entities, though Cennamo made a distinction between the early and classical periods. Virgil provides a useful starting point. Examples in this section that will be discussed and classified in the conclusion to the section are numbered in bold. These fall into the period from early Latin to the age of Augustus (Vitruvius however is dealt with mainly in a later section, 11). The evidence collected here is not complete but is wide-ranging, and some parallels are also cited from other periods.

Virgil several times has personified entities as subject. At *Georg.* 4.368 (1) there is personification of a river: *et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus, | unde pater Tiberinus* . . . The presence of *pater* with *Tiberinus* (a common epithet of the Tiber that goes back to Ennius (*Ann.* 26) in extant Latin; cf. *Aen.* 8.72 for address of 'father Tiber') reveals the personification. A river is again the subject of such a reflexive verb at *Aen.* 5.807–8 (2) *gemenque repleti | amnes nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset | in mare se Xanthus*. Since rivers are readily personified and may stand as subject of direct reflexives, it is no great extension if water of a different type enters the same construction. Note *Aen.* 1.161 (3), where there is also an alternation between the *-r* passive and the reflexive: *frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos*; cf. *Caes. Gall.* 3.12.1 (4) *cum ex alto se aestus incitauisset* (of the tide), 4.17.7 (5) *quo maior uis aquae se incitauisset* (in reference to the force of the Rhine), *Sen. Nat.* 3.30.1 *olim ad hoc maria se*

exercent. The reflexive with rivers is widespread. Note e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 6.181 *ubi Nilus praecipitans se fragore auditum accolis aufert*, Vitruv. 8.2.6 (6–7) *ab hisque paludibus se circumagens per flumina Astansobam et Astoboam et alia plura peruenit per montes ad cataractam ab eoque se praecipitans per septentrionalem peruenit* . . . , Mela 1.79 *quia se praecipitat ita dictus* (see TLL x.2.467.23ff.). There are many other examples in Pliny, as at 2.243 *se effundit*, 3.6 *se fundens*, *se pandens*, 3.16 *torsere se fluminum aut correxere flexus*, 3.33 *se sapiens*, 3.117, 3.121, 3.146, 4.101, 5.48 bis, 5.52, 5.53, 5.54, 5.71 bis.

At *Aen.* 3.151–2 (8) (*qua se | plena . . . fundebat luna*) the subject is the moon, and the personification is easy, given that *Luna* was a goddess. The same usage is found in Plautus (*Amph.* 274 (9) *neque se luna quoquam mutat*), Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 18.217 *centesima reuolvente se luna*) and Seneca (*Nat.* 1.12.1 *quemadmodum soli luna se opponat*). Reflexive verbs are used often with heavenly bodies as subject, partly because these could be treated as animate, and partly because they and their movements were ‘natural phenomena’ (on this point see further below, and the next section). Note e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 273 (10) *nam neque se septentriones quoquam in caelo commouent* (the seven stars of the Ursa Major), Cic. *Phil.* 14.27 (11) *o solem ipsum beatissimum qui, antequam (sol) se abderet, stratis cadaueribus parricidarum cum paucis fugientem uidit Antonium!* (where the personification is obvious), Catull. 62.29 (12) *prius quam se tuus extulit ardor* (of the evening star, *Hesperes* l. 20), Curt. 4.3.16 *spissae nubes intendere se caelo*, Petron. 39.5 *caelus hic, in quo duodecim dii habitant, in totidem se figuras conuertit*, Pliny *Nat.* 2.71 *ab exortu uestertino latitudo descenditur parcius iam se minuyente motu* (in reference to the movements of stars), 2.178 *idem a Rhodo absconditur magisque Alexandriae, in Arabia Nouembri mense, prima uigilia occultus, secunda se ostendit* (of the star Canopus). Cf. *Nat.* 2.179 bis, 2.212.

Another natural phenomenon is the wind: Caes. *Civ.* 3.26.5 (13) *Auster . . . in Africum se uertit*.

The following example, of a path in the underworld splitting in two directions, probably has a personification: *Aen.* 6.540 (14) *partis ubi se uia findit in ambas*. A few lines later the left-hand path is more clearly personified: 542–3 *at laeua malorum | exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit*.

It is worth dwelling on the background to this last usage (14). It belongs loosely to the category of geographical descriptions. The reflexive construction is common in descriptions of the natural landscape, just as it is used of natural events or processes. Mountains ‘raise themselves’, bays ‘twist themselves’, and so on. If steam ‘raises itself’ or a coastline ‘bends itself’

there is no obvious agent that causes the phenomena, which are 'natural'. The reflexive gives to the specific feature/event a power or characteristic conferred vaguely by nature. Note e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 6.25.3 (15) *hinc (silua Hercynia) se flectit sinistrorsus*, Curtius 3.9.12 *paulatim deinde laxare semet sinus montium . . . coeperant*, Plin. *Nat.* 2.177 *attollente se contra medios uisus terrarum globo* (of the curve of the earth), 3.43 *est ergo folio maxime querno adsimulata, multo proceritate amplior quam latitudine, in laeuam se flectens cacumine et Amazonicae figura desinens parmae* (geographical description; cf. 3.III, 4.31, 4.58, 5.98, 5.II8).

Virgil also has reflexives with inanimate subjects in reference to transformations wrought by magic or the like (Hatcher 1942: 74), as at *Aen.* 1.586 (16) *uix ea fatus erat cum circumfusa repente | scindit se nubes*, and 4.455 (17) *fusaque in obscenum se uertere uina cruorem*. Clouds and their movements are natural phenomena (note Curt. 4.3.16, quoted above, after 12) just like the movements of the heavenly bodies above, and normally there would be no need to invoke supernatural forces with Hatcher, but the behaviour of the cloud is presented as abnormal in the context. From the point of view of the user of a reflexive there is not much difference between a natural event and a supernatural, as in the second passage above (17). In the case of a natural event an inanimate may perform some act because of the power invested in it by nature, whereas in the case of a supernatural it performs an unnatural act because it has been empowered to do so by (usually undisclosed) supernatural forces.

Another Virgilian example is slightly different from those seen so far: *Aen.* 11.455 (18) *hic undique clamor | dissensu uario magnus se tollit in auras*. Here it would be easy to understand a human agent, as it is men who *clamos tollunt*. The expression occurs with an expressed human agent (with *clamor* in the accusative), as at Cic. *Parad.* 37 *intuentem te, admirantem, clamores tollentem cum uideo*, or in the passive with an implied human agent, as at Enn. *Ann.* 428 Skutsch *tollitur in caelum clamor exortus utrimque*, Livy 25.39.3 *signa canunt et tollitur clamor*. Virgil has effected a bold personification of *clamor*, but the context is such that in theory the phrase might have been interpreted as a reflexive passive, with implied human agent (the cry raises itself/is raised from/by the human agent). The ambiguity does not arise as long as the personification is felt, and personification would be felt by a reader of epic poetry. The potential for ambiguity is, however, significant. It was through the fading of the personification or metaphor that the passive interpretation of the reflexive became possible.

There are reflexives in Plautus and Terence that can be interpreted as personifications:

Plaut. *Pseud.* 833 (19) *caepsae se patinae feruefaciunt ilico.*

This passage is cited by Cennamo (1998: 83), who states with reference to it that *se* + active is used with anticausative value ‘when no personification is implied’. But this is a colourful speech by a cook: as soon as he piles in a series of (invented) herbs his cooking vessels heat themselves on the spot. A few lines later he uses a personification/metaphor so striking (of the smell flying *demissis pedibus* to heaven) that the other speaker picks him up, and the personification and joke are then taken further: 841–4 *is odos demissis pedibus in caelum uolat. | . . . odos demissis pedibus? peccauit insciens. | . . . ‘demissis manibus’ uolui dicere.* Earlier in the same scene the cook personifies an ingredient (mustard) by means of its epithet *scelera* (817 *teritur sinapis scelera*). Plautus was much given to personification (see Fraenkel [1922] 2007: 74–7), and there are other cases of the personification of implements, as of a sword at *Mil.* 5–8 or of a knife at *Mil.* 1398.

Curc. 153–4 (20) *hoc uide ut dormiunt pessuli pessumi | nec mea gratia commouent se ocus.*

The personification of the bolts is obvious from *dormiunt* (for doors and the reflexive construction see below, 35).

Aul. 801 (21) *ita mihi ad malum malae res plurimae se adglutinant.*

Behind this usage lies a Plautine metaphorical usage, of persons who ‘glue themselves’ to something, i.e. ‘latch/fasten onto’ it (see Stockert 1983: 200). With personal subject it occurs at *Men.* 342 *sei qua peregrina nauis in portum aduenit, | rogitant quouiatis sit, quid ei nomen siet, | postilla extemplo se adplicant, adglutinant* (see too *Cist.* 648). The example with ‘adverse circumstances’ as subject is the same idiom but with an abstract inanimate, personified, as subject.

Ter. *Ad.* 302 (22) *tot res repente circumuallant se unde emergi non potest: | uis egestas iniustitia solitudo infamia.*

The verb strictly means ‘surround with siegeworks’, but here the sense is roughly ‘so many things suddenly throw themselves around (us) (like siegeworks), from which there is no escape: violence, poverty, injustice, loneliness, disgrace’. The abstract ‘things’ (*res*), comprising *uis*, *egestas* etc., construct the metaphorical siegeworks consisting of themselves. There is both a personification and a complex metaphor.

In Cato, Varro, Cicero and others there are cases that refer to spontaneous events manifesting the forces of nature.

Note first Cato *Agr.* 157.1 (23) (*brassica*) *omnia ad salutem temperat commutatque sese semper* ('(cabbage) has all the virtues necessary for health, and constantly changes its nature', Loeb). The reference is to a natural and spontaneous change in the character of the substance.

The same usage is found in Varro, again of the natural changes undergone by plants: *Rust.* 1.69.1 (24) *alia enim, quae manere non possunt, antequam se commutent, ut celeriter promas ac uendas* ('other (crops), which cannot keep, you should take out quickly and sell before they go off'). The example from Palladius quoted above (5, p. 681) belongs to much the same category.

The spontaneous changes suffered by plant life constantly inspire the use of the reflexive construction. It is not necessary to go to late Latin for parallels. Catullus uses a reflexive of the growth of a vine: 62.50 (25) *ut uidua in nudo uitis quae nascitur aruo, | numquam se extollit*. There are many examples in Pliny the Elder, reflecting no doubt ancient practice. Plants are living entities, and even when dead are subject to natural changes. Here is a selection of examples from Pliny:

Nat. 10.81 *densante se frondium germine* (of plants growing).

12.9 *nemorosa uertice et se uastis protegens ram<is> arbor<um> instar* (of a plane tree).

12.42 *cacumina in aristas <s>e spargunt*.

12.49 *adulteratur foliis Punici et cummi liquido, ut cohaereat conuoluatque se in uuae modum*.

16.198 *publicum omnium uitium uocant spiras, ubi conuoluere se uenae atque nodi* (of the veins and knots growing in timber).

16.209 *quorum plaga contrahit se protinus cluditque suum uulnus* (of an incision in a type of tree closing naturally).

See also (e.g.) 13.29, 13.38, 13.45, 16.167.

Another reflexive construction in Varro referring to a natural change affecting plant life (this time the behaviour of the leaves of certain trees, which turn over spontaneously) is at *Rust.* 1.46 (26) *ex quibusdam foliis propter eorum uersuram, quod sit anni tempus, ut dici possit, ut olea et populus alba et salix. horum enim folia cum conuerterunt se, solstitium dicitur fuisse* ('so that, for instance, the season may be told from the leaves of such trees as the olive, the silver poplar, and the willow, by the direction in which they lie; thus when the leaves of these trees turn over it is said that the summer solstice has passed', Loeb). Similar to this is Cato *Agr.* 45.3 (27) *taleae ubi trimae sunt, tum denique maturae, ubi liber sese uertet* (slips are mature at three years, when the bark turns).

Cato *Agr.* 128 (28) is slightly different but belongs in the same general class: *ita neque aspergo nocebit neque mures caua facient neque herba nascetur neque lutamenta scindent se* ('[w]ith this treatment, the moisture will not injure the walls, nor the mice burrow in them, nor weeds grow, nor the plaster crack', Loeb). *Lutamentum* designates a coating of mud. The reference is to its spontaneous cracking, again an event from the natural world, but without the obvious animism present in, say, a description of a plant undergoing a natural change.

The following Ciceronian example refers to a spontaneous event displaying again the forces of nature: *De orat.* 1.265 (29) *paulum requiescet, dum se calor frangat* (of heat subsiding). The same expression is in Varro: *Rust.* 2.2.18 (30) *neque antequam calores aut frigora se fregerunt* (see Leeman, Pinkster and Nelson 1985: 181). At Enn. *Ann.* 85 Skutsch (31) *(exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux*, 'something is struck by (the rays of the sun) and appears as light', Skutsch 1985: 233) another phenomenon of nature is described, the reflection of light.

In two passages (32–3) there are references to conditions that affect the body spontaneously. In the second of these there is probably a humorous personification, but phraseology of this type is typical of medical texts, in which bodily conditions occurring by natural processes motivate reflexives:

Plaut. *Most.* 276 *ubi sese sudor cum unguentis consociauit.*

Cic. *Vat.* 39 *strumae denique ab ore improbo demigrarunt et aliis iam se locis conlocarunt.*

For *sudor* used in this way in medical texts, cf. Cels. 1.3.6 (below, 10.1), *Mul. Chir.* 220 (below, 9.1.2).

In the following passage spontaneous movement is referred to, but it is not so directly relatable to nature: Cato *Agr.* 20.1 (34) *si mouebitur (columella) eximito; denuo eodem modo facito ne se moueat* (see Cennamo 1998: 85, where a distinction is offered about the degree of control in the two verb-forms).

The reference here is to an iron pivot that must be fixed firmly with willow edges. The point of the final clause (with reflexive verb) may be taken to be this. It may be impossible to fix the pivot in such a way that it could never be moved if violent pressure were applied to it by, say, human agency, but it ought to be possible to fix it firmly enough that it does not work loose on its own (spontaneously). If the reflexive verb in the final clause were replaced by *moueatur*, that might be given a passive interpretation (with implied human agent), and the instruction taken to mean that the pivot should be made absolutely immovable. Cato does

not expect the reader to be able to fix the pivot so that it can never be moved, but he can do his best to see that it does not work itself loose. The requirement in the *facito ne* clause is less demanding than it might have been if the passive had been used. Spontaneous changes that occur in time without a clear cause are not unlike natural changes (i.e. those effected by the forces of nature) occurring regularly in the course of things, and the reflexive is used in Latin of both. Such usages may be classified as middles.

The distinction made between the reflexive and passive in the above passage may be illuminated from Diosc. Lat. 5, p. 229.11: *utilis qui est, missus in oleo statim se soluit, inutilis uero non facile soluitur* (see Svennung 1935: 462–3; for the Greek, which is different, see 5.112.1, p. 82.14–15 Wellmann). A contrast is made between a substance which dissolves immediately (*se soluit*) (i.e. spontaneously) and one which is dissolved (*soluitur*) only with difficulty. The practitioner using these substances needs to do nothing in the case of the first, but may have to try special measures in the case of the second, even if those measures only involve leaving it in oil longer.

There is a reflexive in Cicero with an inanimate subject that belongs with those above from Virgil describing unnatural events effected by magic or the like: *Div. 1.74 (35) in templo Herculis ualuae clausae repagulis subito se ipsae aperuerunt*. On the phenomenon of the temple door opening spontaneously see Pease (1963: 222). This example has been interpreted as having a personified entity as subject (see Cennamo 1998: 83), but personification is not strictly the issue here. The spontaneous opening of temple doors was a sign, suggestive of supernatural forces at work.

The evidence collected here from early Latin to the Augustan period has some omissions (for Vitruvius see below, 11), notably personified abstracts with a reflexive verb (see Wistrand 1943: 54–7 for examples), but it will give an idea of the extent of the construction in the early literary language and of the main categories into which examples fall. In particular the reflexive is used with inanimate or quasi-inanimate subjects describing apparently spontaneous events, which stem either from nature or from the supernatural.

7.1 Some conclusions

It is appropriate to return to the distinction between the Latin of Plautus and Cato on the one hand, and that of the classical period, made by Cennamo (1998: 83), to the effect that in the former *se* + active was already used ‘with an anticausative value’ with inanimate subjects . . . when no personification was implied’, but that in the classical language the

construction was used mainly with personified entities. This distinction does not hold for the thirty-five examples down to the Augustan period considered in the previous section, and it would look even less convincing if the full evidence provided by the Augustan Vitruvius were considered (for which see below, 11), and also that of the classiciser *par excellence*, Celsus (below, 10), who wrote under Tiberius (AD 14–37).

One should not be too confident in making distinctions between the presence and absence of personification. It may be obvious that there is a personification when a child gives an inanimate toy a name and a personality, but can we ever be certain that personification is entirely absent when reference is made to natural events involving the decline through age of objects such as mud walls, or the waxing and waning of entities such as heat? The term will only be used here when a case can be made that a writer was deliberately cultivating the effects (e.g. of humour or mystery) to be achieved by giving something inanimate a life of its own, as the cook in Plautus (19) did of his cooking vessels. The absence of the distinction posited (see above) between the archaic and classical periods may be seen from, on the one hand, the blatant personifications in the early period in Plautus and Terence (19–22), and, on the other, from the coherent group of examples not only in Cato but also in Varro and Cicero (23, 24, 26, 29, 30) referring to spontaneous natural events, where any personification is far from clear-cut. That these latter cases represented an educated manner of speaking can be further supported from the evidence of Pliny the Elder, a good deal of which has already been presented (see below, 8 for further discussion), and from that of Vitruvius and Celsus. Some classifications will be made here of the thirty-five numbered examples above, which do not depend entirely on a distinction between personification and absence of personification.

Seven examples (1–7) have a river (or expanse of water) as subject of the verb, and many other such cases were cited from Pliny the Elder and also Pomponius Mela. These may often be taken as explicit personifications, particularly in poets (e.g. in 1 and 2), but there is another way of looking at the reflexive with river names, particularly in more mundane prose, as in the geographical descriptions of Pliny the Elder. Rivers behave spontaneously as one of the forces of nature, and it has been noted in the previous section that natural events or features, involving for example trees, plants, stars, mountains, bays, regularly motivate the use of the reflexive construction, with the event/feature expressed as subject of the verb. The event/feature is not dependent on any agency for its characteristics, other than nature itself. An element of personification or ‘animisation’ may be

felt in any such expression, and the very origin of the construction must derive from an ancient feeling that the world was full of animate forces, but a personification will easily degenerate into a manner of speaking, with speakers unaware of the implications of the way they are expressing themselves. Since speakers differ in their perceptions, it is best to reserve the term personification for cases in which there is a hint offered that personification was felt.

In a further fifteen cases, whether or not personification was intended, the reference is to natural processes (8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31). To these may be added 32 and 33, which describe spontaneous processes affecting the body, though in one case with a degree of personification. 34 also refers to a spontaneous event (the shifting of a pivot), which could be put down to nature. 15, a geographical description, reflects a consequence of nature.

Three examples (16 (marginal), 17, 35) refer to supernatural processes.

Thus twenty-nine of the thirty-five examples are loosely related to one another, in that they express the working of natural or supernatural forces. There remain four ad hoc personifications in comedy (19–22), one of them uttered by a cook, and two unusual expressions in Virgil (14, 18), both probably intended to be personifications. The second is more striking than the first.

Another example in Caesar (*Gall.* 1.25.3) comes close to a passive; it is discussed at 12 below, p. 714. It is difficult to sense any personification in Caesar's reflexive constructions, a point made by Wistrand (1943: 57).

In the preceding section seventeen examples were quoted from Pliny the Elder, and in ten of these the verb form is a present participle. In the next section a further thirteen examples are quoted, and in eight of these the verb is again a present participle. Eighteen cases out of thirty is a high proportion, and suggests that one possible factor motivating the reflexive construction was the absence of overt (medio)passive forms of the present participle. However, the operation of this factor seems to have been a feature of Pliny's idiolect and not general in the classical or later language (but see below, 11.6 on Vitruvius). In the thirty-five numbered examples above from Plautus to the Augustan period there are just two present participles, both of them in Vitruvius (6, 7). In the forty-two examples from Celsus quoted below, 10, there are just two present participles. In the seventy-four examples from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* quoted below, 9, there is only one present participle. Clearly the semantic determinants of the reflexive construction were far more important than the morphological, and no diachronic development of the language is to be seen. One might

have been tempted to conclude that there was such a development if only Pliny and not Celsus had been compared with the *Mulomedicina*.

Nor does the tense of finite forms of verbs seem to have been influential. Tenses of the infectum predominate, but those of the perfectum are well represented. In the thirty-five numbered examples above there are twenty-one verbs in the infectum and ten in the perfectum, and in Celsus there are twenty-five verbs in the infectum and fifteen in the perfectum. The predominance of the infectum is probably due to the fact that the operation of nature is usually referred to in timeless generalisations.

8 Pliny the Elder

The sheer extent of the reflexive construction in reference to natural processes may be further illustrated by a selection of examples from Pliny the Elder. Note particularly those in medical contexts, as they will become relevant in later sections:

Nat. 2.198 undantis inclinatio et fluctus more quaedam uolutatio infesta est aut cum in unam partem totus se motus inpellit (of movement of the earth during earthquakes).

7.138 age, non exitus uitae eius omnium proscriptorum ab illo calamitate crudelior fuit erodente se ipso corpore et supplicia sibi gignente? (this example is typical of medical language, in which the body or one of its parts or a bodily condition/disease often stands as subject of a reflexive verb in reference to an apparently spontaneous action of the body or of a condition; cf. e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 735 *paleam offerre, donec se corpus componat*).

8.89 unum hoc animal terrestre linguae usu caret, unum superiore mobili maxilla inprimit morsum, alias terribile pectinatim stipante se dentium serie (of a natural bodily development, the formation of the teeth of the crocodile).

9.159 pariunt minimas carnes nigras, quas <gy> rinos uocant, oculis tantum et cauda insignes, mox pedes figurantur cauda findente se in posteriores (of legs forming on a tadpole).

11.30 itaque tum prima aurora folia arborum melle roscida inueniuntur ac, si qui matutino sub diu fuere, unctas liquore uestes capillumque concretum sentiunt, siue ille est caeli sudor siue quaedam siderum salua siue purgantis s<e> aëris sucus (of the air 'purging itself').

11.193 hinc et in mores crimen bilis nomine: adeo magnum est in hac parte uirus, cum se fundit in animum (of a bodily condition: of bile spreading to the mind).

11.260 solidipedum crura statim iusta nascuntur mensura, postea exporrigentia se uerius quam crescentia (of legs stretching in some species, not growing; of a natural development).

17.42 spissior ubertas in ea intellegitur et quidam terrae adipēs ac uelut glandia in corporibus, ibi densante se pinguitudinis nucleo (of 'fat' solidifying in a type of soil naturally).

18.330 cum meridiem adesse senties, pastor, [aestate] contrahente se umbra, pecudes a sole in opaca cogito (of shadows contracting with the position of the sun, a natural event).

18.346 si in exortu longe radios per nubes porriget et medius erit inanis, pluuiam significabit; si ante ortum radii se ostendent, aquam et uentum; si circa occidentem candidus circulus erit, noctis lenem tempestatem; si nebula, uehementiorem; si candente sole, uentum; si ater circulus fuerit, ex qua regione is ruperit se, uentum magnum (natural phenomena: of the rays of the sun and a dark ring around the sun).

23.28 eadem in iumento homineque flemina aut sanguinem, qui se ad talos deiecerit, circumligata sanat (of a bodily condition manifested by spontaneous movement of the blood; *sanguis* is sometimes subject of reflexive verbs in medical writers; cf. *Mul. Chir.* 655 *statim se sanguis in pedibus eius suffundet*).

23.50 tutius (uinum) putant minuente se morbo, quam plurium sententiam esse uideo (of disease spontaneously receding; *morbis* is often used as the subject of reflexive verbs; cf. e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 188 *ita enim hic morbus se ad corpora incremenscens ustione extinguitur*).

9 The *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius

There is more to be said about the classical period, and particularly the practice of Celsus. But two late texts have had a prominent place in discussions of the history of the construction and its stylistic/social level, and these will be dealt with first.

It was seen earlier (6) that the view has been expressed that the reflexive middle becomes more common in later Latin, with the *Mulomedicina Chironis* in particular showing this advance. Limited comparisons have sometimes been offered between Vegetius and his source the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, in line with a view that the elegant classiciser Vegetius often eliminated vulgarisms found in the source. If it could be shown that reflexives are common in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* but rare and usually eliminated by Vegetius that might be a sign that the reflexive was considered substandard in the fourth century. The question arises whether Vegetius did systematically remove the construction. This section contains what is intended to be a complete collection of reflexive constructions in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius where the subject is inanimate. There are other, direct, reflexives in which the horse as subject is described as doing something to itself, but these are irrelevant here. This section has,

first, a classified collection of the examples in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, then a collection of those in Vegetius, and finally an account of what Vegetius did with the wording of the original.

9.1 *Mulomedicina Chironis*

9.1.1 Disease as subject

Mul. Chir. 32 multas etiam causas aestimo . . . potius se sanare.
 119 et statim se morbus in contrarium uertit.
 164 quibus (hic morbus) se demonstrat praemixtis demonstrationibus.
 166 ab similibus signis se demonstrat (*maleos morbus* precedes).
 167 ubi hic morbus se monstrauit.
 174 ubi primum morbus se abscondit.
 188 ita enim hic morbus se ad corpora increscens ustione extinguitur.
 192 ubi iam se morbus ostendit.
 276 ceterae prout se ostendiderint causae (*causa = morbus*).
 311 in qua parte se morbus profuderit.
 401 si [se] morbus ex hoc se non abstraxerit.
 613 morbus . . . in peius se uertit (the last four words are a necessary emendation for *impetus euerit*, justified by the Greek: *Hipp. Ber.* 69.1, *CHG* 1, p. 269.2–3 ἀναγκαῖον ἔσω τρέπεσθαι καὶ συμβαίνει κακοποιεῖσθαι; the last verb is middle and corresponds to the four-word reflexive verb phrase of the Latin).

There are twelve examples in this category. The same usage was seen above (8) in Pliny (*Nat.* 23.50). It is possible that *morbus* was sometimes felt to be personified. The phraseology at 174 (*se abscondit*) suggests that; note too 196 *morbis interius magis fugit*.

9.1.2 Manifestations of disease, bodily conditions as subject

Mul. Chir. 30 quae corruptio sanguinis, si abundare coeperit, in quacunque parte corporis se deriuauerit.
 41 = 468 quibus huius morbi uitium se profundit in plantis, quae parapresmata appellantur (for 468 and the Greek source see below).
 53 quod cum coeperit pedibus se id uitium diffundere.
 70 (suffusio) primum in uno oculo se diffundit.
 71 cum iam coeperit ueterescere et matura fieri, colliget se et spissat et fit cauculo similis (of glaucoma).
 72 haec ipsa quidem ypochima tribus generibus se ostendet.
 76 donec cicatrix oculo se confirmet.
 78 quod facit ad tunicas ruptas, donec se cicatrix cum planitia cludat.

79 similiter si se coeperit extenuare (uerruca), sequeris eam curam, donec sanum fiat.

86 catastaltico labraturam cutis consumito, donec se uulnus limpidet et aequet.

162 suci se segregant ad sanguinis detractorem nec nisi requeto spurcicies separauerit se a sanguine.

187 ubi se humor morbi demonstrauerit.

211 haec coagulatio humoris frigidi in colum se conferat.

220 hic humor sudoris in uentrem se desidat inter intestina et uentris compaginem (*desideo* is not strictly a transitive verb, and Veg. 1.43.1 corrects to *residet*).

223 incipiet humor se foris abstrahere.

235 similem dolorem ingentem sine inflatione et in cursu se tollentem.

256 quae corruptio sanguinis . . . in capite se deriuauerit.

343 curatur autem, cum pars eius se foras ostenderit (the subject, in the previous sentence, is *polippus*; the source is Apsyrthus *Hipp. Ber.* 21.2, *CHG* 1, p. 102.9 θεραπεύεται δὲ, ὅταν ἕξω φαινόμενος ἧ ἡ μέρος τι ἕξ αὐτοῦ, where there is a middle verb).

355 cum ista signa se ostenderint.

384 uitium . . . ambulationibus lenibus cum etiam ruperit se (for the reflexive cf. Plin. *Nat.* 18.346).

453 est enim ista res, quae cito se foras euocet.

468 quibus huius morbi uitium se profundit in plantis, quae parapresmata appellantur aut mellicerides (= 41; Apsyrthus *Hipp. Ber.* 96.2, *CHG* 1, p. 327.9–11 is the source: ὅσοις δὲ ῥεύματα ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὰ σφυρά, ἅτινα παραπρήσματα ἡ μελικηρίδες . . . καλοῦνται; the Greek has not influenced the idiom of the Latin).

491 humor . . . ex confricationem se in illis partibus deriuat et in partes neruorum se diffundit.

553 uidentur enim haec uitia tunc se ostendere (= Apsyrthus *Hipp. Ber.* 20.4, *CHG* 1, p. 97.13 δοκοῦσι γὰρ τότε φαίνεσθαι).

592 si quod iumentum in genuis marmur se citauerint (= *si cui iumento?*: cf. earlier in the passage *si iumento genua marmora se citauerint*, which is again not a logical construction but does have the dative *iumento* expected in such a context).

609 ragadia in suffraginibus se ostendent (there is nothing equivalent at Apsyrthus *Hipp. Ber.* 52.1, *CHG* 1, p. 229.20–1).

613 quod non oportet recentem sanari, nisi cum se tota foras seuocauit (from Apsyrthus *Hipp. Ber.* 69.1, *CHG* 1, p. 268.18–20 ψώραν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις γενομένην οὐ δεῖ προσφάτως θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ἕαν, ἄχρις οὗ ἕξω τραπή πᾶσα; the Greek is not the model of the Latin construction).

669 hoc facito, donec se uulnus ei insidat.

687 eas plagas exaniabis, donec omnis se humor exiccet.

736 propter quod deambulationem diutius facere oportet, donec totius sanguinis feruor et follicatio corporis se temperet.

738 liquor sanguinis caloris beneficio in pedibus se deriuat.

798 glaucoma si se profuderit.

934 ut se dissoluat post fistula (following a recipe that is to have this effect).

There are thirty-five examples here. Sometimes the source (Apsyrtus) is extant. The Greek usually has a middle form of the verb, which is converted in the Latin into the reflexive.

9.1.3 Body parts, components (or the body itself) as subject

Mul. Chir. 10 statues non minus horis duabus, ut recomponat se corpus.

23 quae scalpello separasti, ita subpremes, ut solum se ab ungula leuet.

25 battes de tabella aliqua belle ponderosa diu, usque quo uena se demonstret.

68 diffundit se pupilla (core quae dicitur) et fit platocoriasis, id est dilatio pupillae, et perdet uisum luminis.

73 fac ut oculus eius patens cludere se non possit.

74 si se commodauerit, cito paracenteterium noli eximere, nisi prius oculum clusum penicillo caldo diu uaporaueris (the subject is part of the eye, but the passage is unclear).

75 quam rursus iterum repremito, donec se diossum commodet et non resaliat. quod si tardius se commodauerit nec non resaliat (the subject is the same part of the eye as in the previous passage).

78 deinde uteris collirium acre per dies plures, donec quaecunque partes se aequare possint ad aequalitatem.

161 qui ex lassitudine uexantur, horum statim nerui se contrahent.

230 stercora si se post ex aggrauatione stercoris prouocauerint.

374 pulmo enim eorum se contrahendo conmurit.

399 contingit autem ob hoc, si stentinus reuersabit se (= Apsyrtus *Hipp. Ber.* 43.1, *CHG* 1, p. 214.8–9 συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλίας τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἔντερον ἐπιστροφῇ λαβῇ).

399 cum eius stentini pars foras se misit.

407 macer fiet et cottidie consumit se ipsum corpus illius et fiet eminentibus omnibus ossibus.

564 duae autem uenae a capite summo descendunt, conueniunt sed sub maxillam (the version of Vegetius shows that *sed* should be changed to *se*: 2.40.2 *duae autem uenae a capite summo descendunt et conueniunt se sub maxillis*).

604 deinde simul curato, si se nerui constabilerint.

640 hoc enim ei utile est. ita se nerui, qui laxauerint, constringunt.

655 quodcunque ex his duabus rebus calidus ab iter acceperit, statim se sanguis in pedibus eius suffundet (for *sanguis* in such a construction see Plin. *Nat.* 23.28).

669 deinde cloran inmittes per dies v, ut cutis se temperet et melius elimpidet (the agent is expressed in the previous clause: see below).

697 calda feruenti assidue curato, donec se omnis caro putris repurget.

704 ita curato, donec se cutis obliget.

735 paleam offerre, donec se corpus componat.

There are twenty-three examples here. They fall into several categories.

First, in most cases the body part undergoes a spontaneous change. It is the part affected rather than instigator. A typical example is that at 399, of a prolapse of the rectum. There may be a cause hinted at in the context, but the agent is always very much in the background (see below on 669, just quoted), and the event, like those described with the same construction in Pliny the Elder and others, is of the type vaguely felt to be determined by nature. Diseases befalling parts of the body may be inexplicable and repetitive, and there is no real difference between a leaf on a tree (expressed as the subject of a reflexive verb) behaving in a certain way and the skin being affected by some condition, in both cases from no more precise cause than the working of nature.

Second, there may be one or two cases of the body part personified, as for example at 73, where the eye 'cannot close itself'. Indeed an alternative way of explaining the whole corpus might be to say that practitioners of technical disciplines tend to see the subjects of their interest as personified entities. It would however be unconvincing to invoke personification in every case, because such phraseology tends to undergo weakening.

Third, the example at 23, of the sole of the foot 'raising itself' from the hoof, does not describe a spontaneous event or one determined by the workings of nature. This example is close to a passive (see below, 12).

At 669 the alteration to the skin will follow the treatment that the practitioner is advised to carry out. There is an agent, but it is not prominently expressed (see below, 12).

9.1.4 Other categories

Mul. Chir. 69 ut oui uitellus diffusus et corruptus omnem nitorem et compositionem amittens recomponere se non potest.

116 omnis esca uiridis et aqua plena in partem cruditatis se conuertit et difficiliter coquitur.

408 quidquid enim escam accipiunt, ad stercus se ducit (of digestion).

911 haec omnia in ollam, in qua succus erit, sumito decoctum, ut non ferueat, paulisper tantum, ut se animet (this sentence is not straightforward, but ingredients are to be put in a cooking pot containing liquid and heated up, but in such a way that the mixture does not boil but merely 'enlivens itself').

9.1.5 Conclusions

Seventy-four examples have been listed from the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, the majority referring to spontaneous events affecting the subject rather than effected by the subject, unless one wishes to see in some cases a personification of the body part or disease. Causation is left vague and it is not usually justifiable to identify an agent, except in one case where there is a clear human agent and the reflexive is close to a passive (see 12). The question now arises whether the practice of Vegetius differs from that of the source.

9.2 Vegetius

9.2.1 Disease as subject

Mul. 1.praef.16 nam diligentibus morbus ipse se prodit.
1.13.3 quod si in genibus uel articulis se morbus ostenderit.

9.2.2 Manifestations of disease, bodily conditions as subject

Mul. 2.1.3 noxii sanguinis uirus in caput se rapit (for *uirus* as subject of a reflexive verb cf. Plin. *Nat.* 11.193).
2.16.6 hypocoriosis autem a capitis humore descendit et in uno oculo sese primo ostendit.
2.17.5 donec cicatrix se confirmet.
2.19 donec se cicatrix cum planitie claudat.
2.52.1 quae (uligines) cum se diffuderint, pedes exulcerant.
2.82.4 cum cicatrices se clauserint.
2.86.2 si in commissuram uertibuli ex corruptione corporis uel ex perfrictione natus humor intrauerit, tunc se defundet ad neruos.
2.129.4 siue igitur ex suprascriptis siue ex aliis causis interioribus nata fuerint uulnera, etiamsi post sanitatem duxerint cicatricem, stricturam tamen contrahendo se et asperitatem faciunt et assidua titillatione perpetuam excitant tussim (*uulnera* seems to be subject).
3.5.4 pigritia totius corporis, stupore oculorum palpebrarumque caluitie senectus ipsa se prodit.
4.3.3 est farcimosus, quotiens per totum corpus bobus tubercula exeunt, aperiunt se et quasi sanantur et iterum in aliis locis exeunt.

9.2.3 Body parts, components (or the body itself) as subject

Mul. 1.27.2 caede caudam cum tabula aliqua ponderosa, quousque se uena demonstrat.
2.16.3 platycoriosis autem est, cum se ultra naturalem modum pupilla diffundit.

2.19 donec quaecunque partes se aequare possint.

2.40.2 duae autem uenae a capite summo descendunt et conueniunt se sub maxillis.

2.110.2 pulmo enim eorum contrahendo se comburit.

There are seventeen examples in Vegetius, compared with the seventy-four in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. Since the two texts are of roughly the same length (the Teubner editions of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius contain 293 and 294 pages respectively, though there is more text on each page in the former because of the extent of the *apparatus criticus* in the text of Vegetius), Vegetius clearly had less of a taste for the construction than Chiron. On the other hand he has not eliminated it entirely, and he offers examples in the categories identified in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. It is worthwhile to look at the examples in Vegetius in relation to the text of the source.

9.3 *Vegetius compared with the Mulomedicina Chironis*

9.3.1 Places where Vegetius retains the construction found in the source

9.3.1.1 *Bodily conditions as subject*

Veg. *Mul.* 2.1.3 noxii sanguinis uirus in caput se rapit = *Mul. Chir.* 256 quae corruptio sanguinis . . . in capite se deriuauerit.

2.16.6 hypocoriosis . . . in uno oculo sese primo ostendit = *Mul. Chir.* 70 primum in uno oculo se diffundat.

2.17.5 donec cicatrix se confirmet = *Mul. Chir.* 76 donec cicatrix oculo se confirmet.

2.19 donec se cicatrix cum planitie claudat = *Mul. Chir.* 78 donec se cicatrix cum planitie cludat.

2.52.1 quae (uligines) cum se diffuderint = *Mul. Chir.* 53 quod cum coeperit pedibus se id uitium diffundere.

2.86.2 si in commissuram uertibuli ex corruptione corporis uel ex perfrictione natus humor intrauerit, tunc se defundet = *Mul. Chir.* 491 humor . . . ex confricationem se in illis partibus deriuat et in partes neruorum se diffundit (here Vegetius has eliminated one of the reflexives and retained the other).

9.3.1.2 *Body parts as subject*

Veg. *Mul.* 1.27.2 quousque se uena demonstrat = *Mul. Chir.* 25 usque quo uena se demonstrat.

2.16.3 cum se ultra naturalem modum pupilla diffundit = *Mul. Chir.* 68 diffundit se pupilla.

2.19 donec quaecunque partes se aequare possint = *Mul. Chir.* 78 donec quaecunque partes se aequare possint.

2.40.2 duae autem uenae a capite summo descendunt et conueniunt se sub maxillis (it was seen above that at *Mul. Chir.* 564 there appears to be no such construction (*conueniunt sed*), but it is obvious from Vegetius that *sed* should be changed to *se*; since *conuenio* of ‘coming together’ is usually an intransitive verb it might be argued that Vegetius has even taken over a substandard usage; for intransitive verbs of motion and the like with an accusative reflexive pronoun see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1911: 140, 142).

2.110.2 pulmo enim eorum contrahendo se comburit = *Mul. Chir.* 374 pulmo enim eorum se contrahendo conmurit.

9.3.1.3 Conclusions

In eleven passages Vegetius has kept the construction in the source, and this group of examples, which scarcely finds its way into comparisons between Vegetius and the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (note however Wistrand 1943: 62, but without details) undermines the idea that Vegetius found the reflexive in such contexts substandard.

9.3.2 Places where Vegetius changes the construction found in the source

9.3.2.1 Disease as subject

Veg. *Mul.* 2.89.4 quae curatio si morabitur sanitatem = *Mul. Chir.* 401 si [se] morbus ex hoc se non abstraxerit.

Vegetius has changed the wording drastically, but it was seen above that he does use *morbus* as the subject of reflexive constructions. Whatever stylistic motivation he might have had here, it would not do to suggest that it was hostility to the construing of *morbus* as subject of a reflexive verb. The phraseology of the source is rather crude (*si. . . non*), and there is another place where Chiron’s *se abstrahere* is dropped (see below on 1.43.4).

9.3.2.2 Bodily conditions as subject

Veg. *Mul.* 1.43.1 interdum sudor animalium . . . in internis residet = *Mul. Chir.* 220 hic humor sudoris in uentrem se desidēt (*desideo* is an intransitive verb, and Vegetius has eliminated a solecism (see E. Löfstedt 1911: 142)).

1.43.4 per quam foras humor emanat = *Mul. Chir.* 223 incipiet humor se foris abstrahere (on Vegetius’ elimination of *se abstrahere* see above).

1.51 *similis dolor sine inflatione ex cursus iniuria et nimietate frequenter emergit* = *Mul. Chir.* 235 *ingentem sine inflatione et in cursu se tollentem*.
 2.17.1 *si auroso colore fuerit . . . si candida nimium . . . si uero spissa fuerit* (cf. *Mul. Chir.* 72 *haec ipsa quidem ypochima tribus generibus se ostendet*, and see below).

In the last passage above Vegetius describes the three types of the condition, but without a heading equivalent to that of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. He is unlikely to have found *se ostendere* substandard, as he elsewhere uses it twice himself, along with two instances of *se prodere* and one of *se demonstrare*, all with subjects of the same type. Vegetius made a decision not to have an introductory sentence, and that was a judgment to do with presentation not with a view of the reflexive.

Veg. *Mul.* 2.22.2 *quam diu limpidum uulnus curetur et adaequetur* = *Mul. Chir.* 86 *donec se uulnus limpidet et aequet* ('until the wound clears itself and flattens itself out'; at 2.19 Vegetius himself used *se aequare* and has here varied the construction).

2.86.2 *si in commissuram uertibuli ex corruptione corporis uel ex perfrictione natus humor intrauerit, tunc se defundet* = *Mul. Chir.* 491 *humor . . . ex confricationem se in illis partibus deriuat et in partes neruorum se diffundit* (Vegetius, as noted above, removes only one of the two reflexives).

2.117 *cum ruperit uomiam* (where the subject is probably the horse) = *Mul. Chir.* 384 *uitium . . . ambulationibus lenibus cum etiam ruperit se* (Vegetius has changed the form of expression).

In two places Vegetius used a reflexive construction which was not in the source:

Veg. *Mul.* 2.82.4 *cum cicatrices se cluserint* = *Mul. Chir.* 44 *cum cicatrices cluserint*.

2.129.4 *stricturam tamen contrahendo se et asperitatem faciunt et assidua titillatione perpetuam excitant tussim* = *Mul. Chir.* 593 *cicatrices eorum locorum stricturam faciunt, passi perpetuam tussim patiuntur*.

9.3.2.3 *Body parts (or the body itself) as subject*

Veg. *Mul.* 1.26.2 *totumque simul ungulae solum in circuitu scalpello circumgyrabis, ut a corona ungulae subleuetur ex parte, tunc circumcisorium inseres inter unguem et solum* = *Mul. Chir.* 23 *quae scalpello separasti, ita subpremes, ut solum se ab ungula leuet* (on this pair of passages see below, 12).

1.38.11 continuo enim neruorum contractio et debilitas consequitur = *Mul. Chir.* 161 horum statim nerui se contrahent (Vegetius has nominalised nerui se contrahent to neruorum contractio).

1.47.1 et continuo stercora eicies paulatim ad anum = *Mul. Chir.* 230 stercora si se post ex aggrauatione stercoris prouocauerint.

In the last passage Vegetius has changed the content and not merely the construction. In the *Mulomedicina Chironis* the expulsion of faeces is spontaneous, whereas Vegetius chooses to have it removed by the *ueterinarius* or addressee of the treatise. *Ad anum* should almost certainly be changed to the instrumental phrase *ad manum* (for which see Veg. 1.52.tit. *tolluntur ad manum*; also *Vit. patr.* 5.13.14, and above, XIII.7, p. 317).

Veg. *Mul.* 2.17.2 ita patentem oculum facies, ut claudere non possit = *Mul. Chir.* 73 fac ut oculum eius patens cludere se non possit (this passage may be contrasted with that towards the end of the last section (2.82.4 = *Mul. Chir.* 44), where it is Vegetius who uses *se claudere*).

2.17.3 quodsi depositum fuerit, non prius paracenterium eximas, nisi clausum oculum penicillo calido diutissime uaporaueris = *Mulomedicina Chironis* 74 si se commodauerit, cito paracenterium noli eximere, nisi prius oculum clusum penicillo calido diu uaporaueris (the subject is part of the eye, but the passage of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* is unclear; Vegetius rephrases the first part).

2.17.3 solet enim resilire. quodsi ita euenerit, reprimito, donec ita componatur, ut resilire non possit = *Mul. Chir.* 75 quam rursus iterum reprimito, donec se diossum commodet et non resaliat. quod si tardius se commodauerit nec non resaliat (Vegetius converts the first construction into the passive and omits the second part).

2.119.1 cotidie attenuatur in maciem, os eminet = *Mul. Chir.* 407 macer fiet et cotidie consumit se ipsum corpus illius et fiet eminentibus omnibus ossibus.

9.3.2.4 Other categories

2.119.2 omnis enim esca...ad stercus...conuertitur = *Mul. Chir.* 408 quidquid enim escam accipiunt ad stercus se ducit.

9.3.3 Conclusions

There are seventeen places where Vegetius avoids a reflexive construction found in the source (alongside the eleven where he retains the construction). A desire to eliminate the reflexive construction per se will not explain all Vegetius' modifications. He sometimes changes the content or presentation of the source (1.47.1, 2.17.1, 2.117) in a way that merely happens to entail the dropping of the reflexive. The nominalisation of *nerui se contrahent* (1.38.11)

introduces an old feature of Latin technical prose. If in one place (2.17.2) Vegetius eliminates the reflexive usage *se claudere*, in another (2.82.4) he introduces it where it was not in the source. Sometimes (notably at 2.17.3) the *Mulomedicina Chironis* is unclear, and Vegetius' revisions were perhaps intended to impart clarity. The reflexive expressions eliminated at 2.17.1 and 2.22.2 are admitted by Vegetius himself elsewhere in his work. It follows from these cases, and from the readiness of Vegetius in quite a few places to retain the reflexive of the source, as well as from his rewriting of a second passage with a reflexive not in the source (2.129.4 = 593), that he is unlikely to have felt the construction to be substandard. He does not have such a marked taste for it as the author of the *Mulomedicina*, but stylistic ideals vary from person to person.

10 Celsus

There is additional evidence from a much earlier period to do with the stylistic level of the reflexive construction with inanimate subjects. Celsus, the author of an encyclopedia of which the medical section survives, was a linguistic purist and model of classicism. His Latin has been well described by Jocelyn (1985). Such reflexives abound in his work, and put into perspective any claim that in Classical Latin the construction was restricted in use and a mark of personification. There follows a complete collection of the evidence from Celsus, set out in much the same categories as those used above for the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius. Muller (1924: 88) quoted a few examples, but usually Celsus is disregarded in this context.

10.1 Bodily conditions as subject

- Cels. 1.3.6 etiam cum sudor se remisit.
 2.4.2 peiusque, quo magis se sopor interdiu noctuque continuat.
 2.6.8 et cui protinus in recenti morbo bilis atra uel infra uel supra se ostendit.
 2.12.2B uel etiam pituita eo se umorue aliquis aquae similis confert.
 3.4.6 certe si se (febris) inclinauerat, cibum dabat.
 3.10.2 deinde si prima inflammatio se remisit.
 4.8.1 circa fauces malum, quod apud Graecos aliud aliudque nomen habet, prout se intendit.
 4.13.3 deinde, cum paululum inflammatio se remisit.
 4.13.6 sic, ubi paululum is (morbi feruor) se remisit.
 4.27.1D si uero non se sanguis ostenderit.
 4.29.1 post longos morbos uis pestifera huc se inclinat.
 4.31.2 iis temporibus, quibus dolor se remisit.
 4.31.8 ubi dolor et inflammatio se remiserunt.

- 5.26.27A quinto iam die, quanta inflammatio futura est, se ostendit.
 5.28.IID ubi ista se remiserunt (symptoms of a disease).
 5.28.I2G donec purus sanguis se ostendat.
 6.4.2 donec se duo capita in priore parte committant (of the spread of a condition of the hair called *ophis*).
 6.6.9B si suppuratio se ostendit ab eo angulo.
 6.6.35 suffusio quoque . . . interdum oculi potentiae . . . se opponit.
 6.I3.2 si suppuratio se ostendet.
 7.2.6 lateque se sinus suffudit ('and the abscess cavity has extended widely').
 7.4.IA si plures se quasi ramuli ostendunt.
 7.6.4 protinus autem ut alba (tunica) et intenta se ostendit.
 7.7.2 si pus se ostendit.
 7.7.I4A isque (umor) . . . potentiae se opponit.
 7.14.7 ut tumor quantus maximus esse potest, se ostendat.
 7.18.6 si tumor est numquam ex toto se remittens.
 7.26.IA aut quia calculus uel concretum aliquid ex sanguine intus se opposuit.
 7.27.8 quod si antequam uestica purgata est, orae se glutinarunt (of the margins of a wound sticking together).
 8.4.I3 si fissum (os) est, possunt orae esse compressae, uel quia altera super alteram excessit, uel etiam quia uehementer se rursus commiserunt (of split bones: 'or even because they have become closely interlocked again').
 8.9.IG si nusquam caput se ostendet (of the head of a swelling).

There are thirty-one examples here, which have a lot in common with examples in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, Vegetius and also Pliny. The phrase *se ostendere* occurs eleven times; this was seen six times in the *Mulomedicina*, twice in Vegetius and at Plin. *Nat.* 18.346, and the *Mulomedicina* and Vegetius also have synonymous variants, *se demonstrare* and *se prodere*. At 7.2.6 there is a compound of *fundo* (*se suffundere*) used of a condition extending itself. This is familiar phraseology. The *Mulomedicina* has *se diffundere*, *se profundere* and *se suffundere*, Vegetius *se diffundere* and *se defundere* and Pliny *se fundere* (*Nat.* 11.193). Often in Celsus a condition abates, i.e. 'eases itself' (*se remittere*, *se inclinare*). In Pliny a disease 'diminishes itself' (*se minuere*) (23.50) and in the *Mulomedicina* it may 'moderate itself' (736; cf. 669) or the body 'compose itself' (735). In Celsus the margins of a wound 'glue themselves together' (7.27.8). In Pliny an incision (in a tree) 'draws itself together' (16.209). In the *Mulomedicina* and Vegetius a scar 'closes itself' or 'strengthens itself'. In Celsus blood (*sanguis*), pain (*dolor*) and (*h*)umor are all the subject of reflexives. For *sanguis* so used in Pliny see *Nat.* 23.28. The *Mulomedicina* several times has *humor* with the reflexive construction (cf. Veg. *Mul.* 2.86.2), and also *dolor* and *sanguis* (655, in a similar context to that at Plin. *Nat.* 23.28 just cited), or a phrase comprising noun + *sanguinis*. In Celsus *suffusio* (of the eye) is subject of a reflexive at 6.6.35, and in the *Mulomedicina* at 70.

10.2 Parts of the body as subject

Cels. 1.pr.19 tum requirunt etiam, quare uenae nostrae modo summittant se, modo attollant.

1.pr.44 cum aliter pleraque in mortuis se habeant ('since most things are altered in the dead', Loeb).

4.1.12 in feminis (iter urinae) breuius et plenius super uuluae ceruicem se ostendit.

7.7.8A quia non simul cartilago quoque se remisit.

7.7.15G sed tamen, ut inflentur magisque se (uenae) ostendant.

7.18.9 at si sub media tunica est, intentum scrotum magis se attollit.

8.1.8 ibique huc et illuc se inclinans maxillae facultatem motus praestat (of part of the jaw).

8.1.10 interdum tamen supra infrae eum (dentem) se ostendit (of the second teeth).

8.1.20 cubitus inferior longiorque et primo plenior, in summo capite duobus quasi uerticibus extantibus in sinum umeri . . . se inserit ('[t]he ulna is further back and longer and at first larger, and at its upper extremity is inserted by two outstanding prominences into the hollow of the humerus', Loeb; the natural position of the ulna is described; it does not 'insert itself' but is inserted by nature).

8.10.7N ab ea parte, in quam os se inclinat, ei inuolutam lana regulam obicit ('he puts a ruler wrapped in wool over the projecting bone', Loeb).

8.16.3 extendendi tamen alia atque alia genera sunt, prout aut nerui ualent, aut ossa huc illuc se dederunt ('[t]he methods of extension, however, are various according to the strength of the sinews, and the direction in which the bones have given way', Loeb).

There are eleven examples here. With the thirty-one listed above and another two approaching a passive function discussed at 12 the total is forty-four.

An identical construction to that at 7.7.15G, where veins (*uenae*) are subject of *ostendant* as 'presenting themselves', is found in both the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and Vegetius: *Mul. Chir.* 25 *usque quo uena se demonstret*, Veg. *Mul.* 1.27.2 *quousque se uena demonstret*. At 8.1.10 a tooth presents itself; at Plin. *Nat.* 8.89 the teeth of the crocodile 'pack themselves' together. The body parts that 'raise themselves' (*se attollere*) at 1.pr.19 may be compared with a condition *se tollentem* at *Mul. Chir.* 235, or with a part of the body that 'raises itself' (*se leuare*) at *Mul. Chir.* 23 (but see below, 12 on this passage).

The reflexive construction in Celsus, in the extent and the manner of its use, is identical to that centuries later in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. Spontaneous natural processes could be expressed at all educational levels

of the language by means of a reflexive with inanimate subject, and it would be unjustifiable to suggest that there was a late flowering of the usage in vulgar texts, in anticipation of its appearance as a passive in the Romance languages. The use of the construction in Celsus is matched by that in other classical writers, such as Cicero, but with the difference that the events described by a medical writer do not come up so often in literary or oratorical genres.

II Vitruvius

II.1 Natural events, processes

Vitr. 2.3.2 cum postea siccescendo se contrahit (of bricks drying in the sun and contracting; for *se contrahere* see below, 12, p. 715).

7.1.2 quercei, simul umorem perceperunt, se torquentes rimas faciunt in pauimentis (understand *axes* with the adjective *quercei*: common oak planks when they become moist warp and make cracks in paving).

7.1.2 uti nulla ex parte possint se torquendo anguli excitare (same passage: nails are put in so that the corners of the planks cannot warp and rise up; *se* goes with *excitare* as well as *torquendo*; cf. *se citauerint* at *Mul. Chir.* 592).

7.1.5 mouendo se faciunt uitia pauimentis (same type of context).

7.3.1 cum ea se torquendo rimas faciat quibus inest operibus (same context again).

7.4.1 (umor) non minus in noua structura se dissipabit (of moisture; see 10.1, p. 707 for this term (*umor*) as subject of a reflexive verb, in Celsus and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*).

8.2.4 semper uapor calidus in altitudinem se trudit (of a natural process, steam rising; this usage is not unlike that in Cicero and Varro with *calor* 'heat' as subject of a reflexive).

II.2 Rivers and the natural landscape

Vitr. 2.10.1 montis iugum se circumagens (landscape).

8.2.6 ab hisque paludibus se circumagens (of a river).

8.2.6 eoque se praecipitans (river).

II.3 Heavenly bodies

Vitr. 9.1.7 cum (stellae) eripiant se ab necessitate morae.

9.4.6 haec autem intorta replicataque se attollens reflectitur (of a constellation, the Dragon; for *se (at)tollere* in different connections see 10.2 on

Celsus, and for reflexive constructions with heavenly bodies as subject in Pliny, above, 7, p. 687).

II.4 Automata, machines designed to work themselves

Vitr. 9.8.10 de administratione autem aquae, quemadmodum se temperet ad rationem, sic erit faciendum (on the control of the water supply to an anaphoric clock; the water, the subject of *se temperet*, must be regulated to control itself, as the device is an automaton; this example could be interpreted as close to a passive: see below, 12, p. 714).

9.8.15 per scorpionis uero spatia et sagittarii procliuius deprimens se (again of the operation of a water dial).

10.2.7 se inuoluendo pariter extendunt (of parts of a machine working by equilibrium).

II.5 Other constructions

Vitr. 6.8.4 cum cunei ab oneribus parietum pressi per coagmenta ad centrum se prementes extruderent incumbas (here the reflexive seems to have the same function as the passive of the same verb that precedes; of buildings resting on piers, with arches constructed with wedges. See further below, 12, p. 714, with a translation).

7.3.3 cum enim grandes sunt, pondere deducuntur nec possunt se sustinere (of cornices, which should be as light as possible; if they are not they will not support their own weight).

10.9.7 eae (rotae) autem inuoluendo se agent axem (the wheels of a device for measuring distance travelled by sea; they are activated by movement through the water).

10.12.2 tunc autem cuneis ad foramina concluduntur, ut non possint se remittere (ends of ropes are 'secured by wedges so that they cannot become loose', of ropes used in a catapult; the context is similar to that at Cato *Agr.* 20.1 (34), where a pivot has to be wedged so that it cannot work itself loose; for *se remittere* see Celsus, above, 10.1).

II.6 The human voice

Vitr. 5.4.2 namque cum flectitur, uox statuit se in alicuius sonitus finitione (preceded by a passive form).

5.4.8 cum uox constiterit in una sonorum finitione ab eaque se flectens mutauerit.

5.5.3 uox . . . se circumagens.

5.8.1 in quo leniter adplicet se uox.

These examples have to do with the modulation of the voice. The same usage is found in Cicero: *Sest.* 10 *cum (puerilis tua uox) se corroborarit.*

There are twenty-four examples here, several of them close to passive. The first three categories have been seen in other writers. The human voice may be personified (Virg. *Georg.* 4.525), but is nevertheless controlled by human agency (as in a verb phrase such as *X uocem flectit*), and these examples are replaceable by *-r* passives (*uox flectitur*) and close to the passive in function. It was noted that the example at 10.12.2 is similar to one in Cato. If ropes 'become loose', they may do so spontaneously through the natural outcome of the working of the machine.

In Vitruvius, as in Pliny (see 7.1, p. 694), a morphological factor seems to have played a part. Nine of the verbs are present participles and five are ablatives of the gerund, both forms without a mediopassive correspondent. This determinant was not, however, the only one at work, as there remain ten examples that cannot be explained thus.

12 The reflexive middle and the reflexive passive

There has been a tradition of interpreting late Latin reflexives of the type illustrated here (those with non-personal subjects) as passive-equivalents. Pirson (1906: 401) lists on the one hand some reflexives which are reflexive in the full sense: 'le sujet fait et subit l'action'. These are direct reflexives, where an animate subject acts upon himself. In Pirson's examples from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* the subject is the horse, as at 261 *difficiliter se praegirat*. These direct reflexives are distinguished on the other hand from usages of a different type. The 'true subject' or 'logical subject', from which the action proceeds (one might say the 'agent'), is indeterminate and understood in these other cases. The expressed subject only participates in the accomplishment of the action in a restricted way or not at all; its role is to undergo the action. These reflexives 'ont en réalité le sens du passif'. Pirson cites (401–2) many of the instances quoted above (9.1.2–3) where the subject is a disease, bodily condition or body part displaying a spontaneous or natural change. However, these are not genuine passives at all, but middles or anticausatives, without, as Pirson himself makes clear, an expressed agent, human or otherwise. He goes on (402) to offer a general conclusion, that the reflexive passive, which has an important role in the Romance languages, particularly Italian and Romanian, is already a fait accompli 'dans le latin de la décadence', at least in the third person singular and when the subject is inanimate. But it has been shown here that reflexives of exactly this type are common in Celsus and found in other

classical writers, and have nothing to do with decadence. The idea behind this account is much the same as that seen earlier (see above, 6): one must look for anticipations of Romance constructions in the vulgar texts of late antiquity. It is a view that may lead to neglect of the evidence from a much earlier period. Reflexive middles that most obviously approach the passive in function are those with an agent, particularly a human one, present in the context, such that the Latin could be rephrased with a passive *-r* form and an agent expressed by *ab* + ablative.

Supposed passive reflexives tend to be cited without attention to the context. The following passage from Tertullian is such a case: *Pall. 5.3 id uno circumiectu licet, et quidem nusquam inhumano; ita omnia hominis simul contegit. humerum uolens exponit uel includit, ceteroquin humero adhaeret, nihil circumfulcit, nihil circumstringit, nihil de tabularum fide laborat, facile sese regit, facile reficit; etiam cum exponitur, nulli cruci in crastinum demandatur*. This is referred to by Bulhart (1957: xx) under the heading ‘verbum reflex. pro passivo’, and *facile sese regit* is paraphrased as *facile regitur*. The (medio)passive *-r* form would certainly be possible in the context, but the reflexive construction has been chosen by Tertullian to rule out an ambiguity that the passive form would allow. The point of the passage is that the *pallium* is a garment easy to wear and easy to manage. It takes care of itself, without needing to be prepared for the next day by a *crux* (to get rid of creases and so on): ‘it readily takes care of itself and readily refreshes itself’. We might say that ‘creases fall out’. This is something spontaneous not requiring human agency, whereas *regitur* might have been taken to imply that someone must treat the garment regularly.

Another of Bulhart’s examples (1957: xx) looks at first sight more convincing. The Angers manuscript of Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.210 has:⁵ *mittes herbas in olla noua aut in cacabo stagnato et mittes aq(ua) SS xviii. et infundant se in ipsa aqua diebus xv et sic coquantur donec sucos faciant spissos* (for the Greek see Alex. Trall. 2 p. 349.5 Puschmann ἔασας . . . ἐμβρέχεσθαι ‘having allowed them to be steeped’). If ingredients were poured into water a necessary participant would be the person who carries out the pouring. But that is not what the Latin says. The *herbae* are already in the water (*mittes herbas . . . mittes aq(ua)*) when the process described by the reflexive verb takes place. It does not express an act of pouring, but a state that goes on for fifteen days. *Infundant* does not mean ‘pour in’ but something like ‘soak’; the soaking takes place on its own over a period, without human

⁵ Information from David Langslow.

agency. This is the use of the verb given the meaning 'saturare' at *TLL* VII.1.1510.67ff.

In recorded Latin the reflexive is never grammaticalised as a passive equivalent. It does however sometimes enter the sphere of the passive by chance, in ambiguous contexts. These transitional cases provide part of the background to the later, Romance, grammaticalisation, but centuries of occasional overlap with the passive were probably required before a reflexive passive emerged. Another requirement was the disappearance of the synthetic passive in the infectum, and that too must have been a very slow development. It is a mistake to look for transitional examples exclusively in later Latin, as if one might find there the first signs of the emergence of the new usage. Transitional examples turn up from the early imperial period (even the late Republic) onwards, and there is no evidence, say in the substandard Latin of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* in the fourth century, for reflexive expressions that are in any sense of new type, or indeed for any increase in the ambiguous examples. There follows a review of reflexives that seem to be intruding into the territory of the passive. The beginnings of change are not to be pushed aside into lower sociolects but are found, we might say, in 'Latin' in general.

A transitional case is at Cels. 7.5.4A: *si telum uel ossi inhaesit uel in articulo se inter duo ossa demersit* ('if a missile has become fixed in bone, or has buried itself in a joint between two bones'). The missile must have been propelled by human agency, and a passive form would have been possible and might even have been expected. For the active use of this verb with a weapon as object see Apul. *Met.* 1.13 *per iugulum sinistrum capulo tenus gladium totum ei demergit*. But although a person must have cast the missile, it is not difficult to see a motivation for the reflexive. So in English it is possible to say that a 'bullet/arrow lodged itself in a joint etc.' The object is propelled by a human but takes on a life of its own in the body, finding a dangerous resting place in some cases but not others. The human agent is not necessarily directly responsible for the final result. Nevertheless this example is in the sort of context in which it might have been subject to reinterpretation.

There is another case at Cels. 7.26.2G: *ergo ultra calculum dextra semper manus eius se opponit* ('[t]herefore the right hand of the surgeon is always kept above [i.e. beyond] the stone', Loeb). The human agent is mentioned in the same sentence (dependent on *manus* itself), which might have been rephrased with the surgeon as subject and his hand as object, or alternatively in the passive, 'the right hand is kept by the surgeon above/beyond...' The phraseology here anticipates a reflexive passive usage of the Romance

languages, which reflects the grammaticalisation that eventually took place. In Italian the sentence 'the hand is placed on . . . ' may be expressed by *la mano si mette su . . .* (alternatively *va messa*), and in French by *la main se place sur . . .* in unambiguous contexts; *on place la main sur . . .* is the more familiar construction. The hand in the passage of Celsus is not subject to a spontaneous or natural process, like, say, a body part described in a medical text as suffering the consequences of a disease. It has activated itself, in Celsus' terminology, to do something, and there must be a degree of personification. But given that the doctor has made his hand do what it does (= *medicus manum ultra calculum opponit*) and is explicitly present, and that there is a straightforward passive equivalent to this active construction showing a nominative form *manus* expressing the role of patient (*manus ultra calculum (a medico) opponitur*), the reflexive construction, also with a nominative *manus*, might have been equated semantically by some readers with the passive, with the personification fading and *manus* interpreted as the implied object of the verbal action.

As early as Caesar there is a suggestive example: *Gall. 1.25.3 Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque euellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant* ('[t]he Gauls were greatly encumbered for the fight because several of their shields would be pierced and fastened together by a single javelin-cast; and as the iron became bent, they could not pluck it forth, nor fight handily with the left arm encumbered', Loeb). The bending of the iron javelin is not spontaneous but the consequence of the resistance applied to it by the shields: it is bent by violent contact with the shields. The agent or instrument is not human but clearly expressed, and a passive construction might have been used.

There is an ambiguity about a reflexive construction at Vit. 9.8.10 (see above, II.4): *de administratione autem aquae, quemadmodum se temperet ad rationem, sic erit faciendum*. This is translated by Soubiran (1969: 34) thus: 'En ce qui concerne l'admission de l'eau et la façon d'opérer un réglage correct, on devra procéder ainsi.' The passage concerns an anaphoric *horologium*, but there are difficulties about relating this section of it to such an instrument (see the discussion of Soubiran 1969: lxvi–lxvii). The subject of *temperet* seems to be *aqua*, but it hardly 'regulates itself', except as a consequence of human ingenuity, and the verb phrase is open to a passive interpretation, 'may be regulated'.

Also of interest is Vit. 6.8.4: *cum cunei ab oneribus parietum pressi per coagmenta ad centrum se prementes extruderent incumbas* (of buildings resting on piers, with arches constructed with wedges: 'since the wedges,

being pressed down by the weight of the walling though the vertical joints, might press themselves towards the centre and push out the upper course of the pillars'). Here the reflexive *se prementes* seems to have the same function as the passive of the same verb that precedes, which is accompanied by an expression of agency, *ab oneribus . . . pressi*. Indeed *se prementes* might have been left out and the sense would have been unaffected. Here it may be significant that this quasi-passive reflexive has a present participial form (see 7.1, p. 694, II.6). It is possible that some Latin speakers would have seen *se prementes* as the present participial correspondent to the (passive) past participial *pressi* (+ agent).

An example from building is found at Plin. *Nat.* 36.31: *namque supra pteron pyramis altitudine <m> inferiorem aequat, uiginti quattuor gradibus in metae cacumen se contrahens* ('[f]or above the colonnade there is a pyramid as high again as the lower structure and tapering in 24 stages to the top of its peak', Loeb). The pyramid 'contracts itself' towards its peak. *Se contrahere* has been seen a number of times in this chapter, and it is usually used of spontaneous events:

Vitr. 2.3.2 cum postea siccescendo se contrahit.

Plin. *Nat.* 16.209 quorum plaga contrahit se.

18.330 cum meridiem adesse senties, pastor, [aestate] contrahente se umbra.

Mul. Chir. 161 horum statim nerui se contrahent.

Veg. *Mul.* 2.129.4 stricturam tamen contrahendo se et asperitatem faciunt.

But the pyramid does not contract naturally, as it is man-made: it has been tapered by the builders and designers. Pliny seems to have personified the pyramid. It would not be easy to rewrite the passage in the passive with an expressed agent (of the type *a fabris contrahitur*), because the verb would probably not allow this usage/meaning. But personifications of comparable kinds might be interchangeable with passive constructions. For example, *pyramis se attollit* could be rewritten *pyramis a fabris attollitur* (for *attollo* of erecting a building see *OLD* s.v. 4).

This example shows that reflexive constructions with personified inanimates as subject, where the subject by implication is under the influence of human agency rather than of spontaneous natural processes (e.g. *telum se demergit*, *pyramis se attollit*, *manus se opponit*), may admit of a passive rewriting in the full sense, with a human agent expressed by the *ab*-construction (e.g. *telum demergitur ab aliquo*). The natural or spontaneous processes that are expressed by reflexive constructions are often not convertible into passives with an agent for the reason that there may be no obvious agent (least of all a human one) apart from nature itself. *Vulnus se claudit* may be

rewritten with an *-r* form (*uulnus clauditur*), but that form would usually remain middle or anticausative in sense. However, there are at least two circumstances in which this sentence too may approach a passive meaning. First, a doctor may be imagined as employing surgery (*uulnus a medico clauditur*). Second, a non-surgical treatment, for example by means of an ointment, may be envisaged as assisting in the closure (*uulnus a medico aliquid faciente clauditur*). In the second case the natural process is pushed into the background. In medical texts it is not unusual for a reflexive construction, which might in isolation be taken as referring to a spontaneous development, to follow a description of the treatment to be undertaken to achieve the result described by the reflexive. For example, *Antidot. Brux.* 9 *et sanguis se stringit* follows an instruction to the practitioner: *sanguis si huius currere coeperit, surculos ipsius rutae, de cuius foliis sucus expressus est, in ignem mittat*. Several of the examples quoted above from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (9.1.3) fall into this class (25, 78, 640, 697, 704, 735). Note the reflexives in the following three passages, all of them describing the presentation of veins as a result of intervention by the practitioner:

Cels. 7.7.15G *sed tamen, ut inflentur (uenae) magisque se ostendant, ceruix ante modice deliganda est*.

Mul. Chir. 25 *battes de tabella aliqua belle ponderosa diu, usque quo uena se demonstret*.

Veg. *Mul.* 1.27.2 *caede caudam cum tabula aliqua ponderosa, quousque se uena demonstret* (taken from the last passage).

These may be compared with *Mul. Chir.* 21, where there is a passive form in a similar context: *haec uenae . . . colliguntur pollice subtiliter depresso*.

This type of ambiguity is not only identifiable in medical texts. Sometimes even when ‘forces of nature’ might be thought of as determining an event expressed by a reflexive there is a more specific cause of the event stated in the context. Note e.g. *Plin. Nat.* 17.251 *macie corticis ex aegritudine adstringente se* (of thinness of the bark of a tree caused by disease). The reflexive is replaceable with a passive form, accompanied by an expression of agency (*ex aegritudine adstricta*).

The reflexive construction quoted in this chapter that comes closest to a passive is at *Mul. Chir.* 23: *quae scalpello separasti, ita subpremes, ut solum se ab ungula leuet*. The clause, about the sole of the foot ‘raising itself’ from the hoof, does not describe a spontaneous event. The separation is effected by the *ueterinarius*, who inserts a scalpel between the parts and presses from beneath. The sole ‘is separated from’ the hoof, and in this case the reflexive is a passive equivalent, with the agent alluded to in the context. Vegetius

does not have a reflexive in his account, but has the passive *subleuetur*, though it is not clear that he has retained the point of the treatment: *Mul.* 1.26.2 *totumque simul ungulae solum in circuitu scalpello circumgyrabis, ut a corona ungulae subleuetur ex parte, tunc circumcisorium inseres inter unguem et solum* ('and the whole sole of the hoof you circle with a scalpel, so that it is partly raised from the corona [perhaps a cornu: see *Mul. Chir.* 22, p. 11.1] of the hoof, and you then insert a *circumcisorium* between the hoof and sole'). This passive reflexive is a step beyond the usual reflexives of spontaneous events, and it may be significant that Vegetius eliminated the construction.

There are reflexives in Cassiodorus open to a passive interpretation (see Bulhart 1957: xx). Note e.g. *Var.* 2.39.9 (CC 96) *uirgulta quoque noxia importunitate nascentia euulsis cespitibus auferantur, ne radicum quidam capilli paulatim turgentes fabricarum uisceribus inserantur et more uipereo prolem sibi fecunditate contraria nutriat, unde se compago casura disrumpat*. If the roots of bushes (*radicum capilli*) are left in material used in a construction they may grow and the structure 'burst itself', i.e. be caused by them to burst. In the following two cases there are personifications that might be rephrased as passives, or as actives with human subject and the noun in the accusative: *Var.* 7.2.1 *annus uniuersus et ad declaranda conscientiae bona sufficit et facilius se ab errore custodit* (a position of power should not go on too long; one year is sufficient; the idea might have been expressed either by *principes annum ab errore facilius custodiunt* or by *annus facilius a principibus ab errore custoditur*), 6.7.1 *actus innocens, pietatis officium illud semper ingerere, unde se fama principis possit augere*.

13 Conclusions

A full account of the reflexive middle would have to compare the distribution of the reflexive with that of the *-r* middle in a variety of texts, but that would be a vast undertaking and probably not worth the effort. The synthetic middle is still very common in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, as it had been in Celsus, and the synthetic passive is the norm in all the texts considered here. There is no substantial difference between the usage of Celsus and that of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, or between that of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and that of Vegetius. There are no grounds for suggesting that the reflexive as illustrated here (i.e. the middle or anticausative use; the passive use might have been different) belonged to lower social varieties of the language, or that it increased in extant late Latin. The Romance constructions, middle or passive, were the outcome of Latin usage in general,

not Latin usage located exclusively down the social scale. The reflexive was an old construction coexisting with the *-r* form, determined by factors that are difficult to disentangle. There was probably an ancient tendency to personify natural forces or phenomena, and whether or not the personification continued to be felt the manner of speaking once established lived on (see, in a different connection, the suggestive discussion of Langslow 2000: 193–9 and especially 195–7 of what he calls ‘Metaphorical promotion to (at least) animate status’ of e.g. anatomical terms, diseases and remedies). The passive reinterpretation is no more possible in late Latin texts than it is in the early Empire, and there is no sign of the passive usage being grammaticalised: reflexives are merely from time to time in ambiguous contexts, which allow one to see where the reflexive passive came from, but no more than that.

Although reflexives of the types that led to Romance anticausative and passive usages had been in evidence from the beginning of recorded Latin, the decisive developments that have to be assumed to account for the Romance situation (the total loss of the inflected passive forms in the infectum, and the grammaticalisation of the reflexive passive) are lost to us, and there would be little point in speculating further about why they happened or collecting indecisive opinions. The most plausible explanation of the first is along the lines of J. N. Green (1991): the synthetic passive must have been so restricted to formal registers that many speakers never used it. But there is a chronological question hanging over both developments. Either they must have occurred very late indeed, i.e. well beyond the fourth century, to which this chapter has extended, or they must have been submerged if they had taken place earlier. It does not seem plausible to push them forward into a sort of dark age well beyond the fourth century, because even if one looks into early medieval Latin the Romance state of affairs is not to be seen.⁶ Whatever the chronology adopted it has to be assumed

⁶ Herman (2002) has argued that by the eighth century the synthetic passive forms were no longer understood, but that they still had some currency in the seventh century. The case has a remarkable similarity to that of Muller (1924), who would have it (85) that the ‘date of the disappearance of the synthetic passive is definitely ascertained, to wit, 780–800’. The argument of Herman is based on a minuscule selection of texts and also on the assumption that one can argue directly from the Latin of a historical chronicle to the state of the spoken language. Herman suggests that the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* (finished in 727) eliminated synthetic passives that he found in his source Gregory of Tours, because his readers would no longer have comprehended them. By contrast in the previous century the chronicle of Fredegar did not exclude such forms, which, it is suggested, must still have been understood. Herman’s highly selective corpus from the *LHF* comprises (34–5) just seventeen examples, and in three of these the passive form of the source is actually kept by the *LHF*, and in another two the *LHF* uses a synthetic form not found in the source at all. The corpus thus reduces to twelve, and in two of these (nos. 1 and 2) it is not a passive that is eliminated but a deponent.

that the written language resisted the new developments at first, and once that assumption is made there is no reason why the resistance should not have been going on already at, say, the time of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. The distinctive passive example in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* may be an isolated glimpse of the reality.

There is a paradox about this account of the transition from Classical Latin to proto-Romance. On the one hand the reflexive with anticausative and occasional passive function is attested in Latin of both high and low educational levels, and Latin of the Republic as well as late antiquity. But on the other hand it is still necessary to assume that there was a submerged Latin, which differed in degree even from the substandard writing of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. One cannot get away from that assumption.

14 Some other replacements for the synthetic passive of the infectum

There were other replacements of the synthetic passive forms of the infectum in Romance (see above, 4), consisting of various periphrases comprising the perfect participle and an auxiliary. Three of these are discussed here: the question in each case is whether in Latin itself the periphrasis is already attested in its Romance function.

14.1 *esse* + *past participle*

A conventional view is that the ambiguity of a form such as (*domus*) *clausa est*, which may refer to a present state ('is closed') or a past action ('was closed'), was the starting point for a readjustment of the passive formation (see e.g. Väänänen 1981a: 129). Grandgent (1907: 51) puts it thus:

In the first case Gregory has *curso ueluci perlabitur* and the *LHF* *per fugam lapsus . . . aufugit*. Herman has presumably taken *aufugit* as the correspondent of *perlabitur*, but it is obvious that *lapsus*, still a deponent form, is the real correspondent. The corpus should be further reduced to ten. Moreover there is another disturbing element in the material. No. 6 has been chosen to show the replacement of *commoueri* by *commouere*, but later in the same sentence the source has *commoueretur* and the *LHF* *moueretur*. This retained case of a synthetic passive does not find its way into Herman's few examples of passives kept by the compiler of the *LHF*. On such material is based an argument about the very dating of the disappearance of the synthetic passive. There are many reasons why a writer might remove passives he found in his source, even if it could be shown with proper evidence that he actually did so: he might, for example, have preferred a more direct form of expression, or, like other writers from Plautus onwards, he might have felt that the passive was wrong for the register in which he was aspiring to write. It is also a problem for Herman's argument that in the few cases where a passive is eliminated, it is replaced by an active and not by one of the new passive formations. Only evidence of the latter sort would be potentially interesting. As it is the compiler may simply have preferred the active.

Amatus est came to mean 'he is loved', etc. Hence *amatus fuit* signified 'he was loved' . . . Then a whole passive inflection was made up of the perfect participle + *esse*.

Periphrastic passive forms, including a perfect comprising past participle + *fui*, did survive, but the Romance situation is complex. In Latin itself adjustments to the tense of the auxiliary (such as the emergence of *fueram* alongside *eram*, which goes back a long way) have not been systematically studied, and this is not the place to embark on such an undertaking. One point is, however, worth making. According to various handbooks (see above, and Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 306) *amatus sum* in late Latin may sometimes be equivalent to *amor*. This equation is, however, misleading if it is taken to mean that *amatus sum* came to have a continuous sense ('I am (being) loved'). Unambiguous examples of this type are difficult, perhaps impossible, to find in late Latin: those cited are usually open to a perfective interpretation of one type or another. Here are a few.

Jeanneret (1918: 146) comments on some perfect passives, from the first century BC, 'du subjonctif plus particulièrement, en fonction et avec le sens de présents'.

He cites a *defixio* from Ptuj in Slovenia originally published by von Premerstein in 1906 (see now Kropp 2008a dfx 8.4/1), which runs as follows: *Paulina auersa sit a uiris omnibus et deficsa sit, ne quid possit mali facere. Firmianam claudas ab omnibus humanis*. But these may be interpreted as that type of legal/religious usage (seen in the legal formula *ne quis fecisse uelit*) in which a prospective future event is referred to by means of a perfective verb which has the effect of presenting the event as already a concrete reality ('let not anyone be in the position of having done so and so': see Daube 1956: 37–49): e.g. Plaut. *Mil.* 297 *si falso insimulas Philocomasium, hoc perieris*, Cato *orat. frg.* 101 *prorsum quodcumque iubebat fecisse neque quemquam obseruauisse*, *Tab. Vindol.* 628 *cras quid uelis nos fecisse rogo domine praecipias*; for the passive see Cato *Agr.* 139 *siue ego siue quis iussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet*. See also Mynors (1990: 90) on Virg. *Georg.* 1.450–1 *profuerit*, 2.51–2 *exuerint*. Väänänen (1981a: 130) paraphrases the above *defixio* as *Paulina auertatur et defigatur*, which may look plausible but fails to allow for the special use of the perfectum; see also Reichenkron (1933: 43).

Other possible examples are generally subject to the interpretation that there has been some past action leading to the present state, and cannot simply be equated with synthetic presents, e.g.:

Plin. *Nat.* 14.141 uolgoque ueritas iam attributa uino est (truth is not merely now attributed to wine, but has been for a long time now).

Per. Aeth. 5.7 nam ostenderunt nobis etiam et illum locum, qui appellatus est Incendium (it is called *Incendium* now but was so named in the past).

36.3 tantus rugitus et mugitus totius populi est cum fletu, ut forsitan porro ad ciuitatem gemitus populi omnis auditus sit (*est* is a historic present, and there is then a switch to an explicitly past-tense verb; this example was most effectively disposed of by Muller 1924: 82–3).

There is a circumspect account of possible cases in the *Peregrinatio* by Väänänen (1987: 64–5), in which suggested examples are rejected. The cases of past participle + *est* cited by Pirson (1906: 404–5) from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* are also not genuine passive equivalents, as Pirson himself makes clear. Muller (1924: 69) goes so far as to say that ‘for over nine hundred years afterwards [i.e. after 200 BC] we do not find a single case of an AMATUS SUM used for AMOR in the written language’ (but see Muller 1924: 79 for an instance in a Merovingian document). One or two candidates are, however, cited by Svennung (1935: 456–7), most notably Pallad. 4.9.II: *his coeuntibus radix conexa nascetur, quae adpellatur sfongea. sed et haec moras habet, nam per biennium in seminario suo est stercore et adsidua runcatione nutrita*. Here the periphrasis could surely be replaced by *nutritur*. See further Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 306).

14.2 uenio + perfect participle

The outcome of this construction in Italian was noted above, 4 (on which see in particular Squartini 1999). Examples cited from Latin, which usually come up in the context of *uenio* assuming the functions of *esse* in a more general sense (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 395), are a mixed bag and must usually be rejected. Some of the passages below have been commented on often because they are in literary texts.

Lucr. 4.562, cited by Michaelis (1998: 78), has no place in a discussion of passive periphrases: *usque adeo confusa uenit uox inque pedita* (‘in such a confused and entangled state does the voice come (to you)’). The passage from 549 is about the transmission of the voice across space to the hearer, and *uox* is several times used as subject of verbs of motion, as at 553–4 *unde illa profecta | perueniat uox quaeque* and 559 *uocem, dum transuolat auras*.

Prop. 1.10.25 (also cited by Michaelis 1998: 78) comes closer to a passive (see too E. Löfstedt 1938–9: 184): *irritata uenit, quando contemnitur illa* (‘[w]hen she is slighted, she shows annoyance’, Goold, Loeb). Enk (1946: 98) on 1.10.25 equates the phrase with *irritatur*, and at 49 on 1.4.9–10 cites

various instances of *uenio* (not however with participles) where it at least approaches *esse* in meaning. But see Shackleton Bailey (1956: 31): '*irritata uenit* is not quite *irritatur* (Enk). *uenire* marks the impact of something or someone previously unknown or appearing in a fresh or peculiar guise.' Shackleton Bailey, and also Fordyce (1977: 147) and Fedeli (1980: 262) as well as Enk, refer to numerous examples of *uenio* that might be thought to approach *esse*, such as Tib. 3.6.21, Virg. *Aen.* 5.344, Manilius 5.620, Sen. *Phaedr.* 437, Stat. *Theb.* 2.321, Juv. 7.29. There may usually be some such nuance as that suggested by Shackleton Bailey (so, at 1.10.25, 'she comes over/comes on/comes forth irritated'; see also Hubbard 1974: 26 n. 1, suggesting that the verb carries an implication of the divinity of the mistress), but the context at 1.10.25 is such that *uenit* at least intrudes into the territory of an auxiliary. Courtney (1980: 354) on Juv. 7.29 (*ut dignus uenias hederis et imagine macra*) translates *uenias* as 'you may come forward', but adds that 'it differs very little from *fias*', and it might similarly be said of the Propertian example that the phrase is very close to *irritata fit* in meaning. There is not a grammaticalised auxiliary use here, but it is reasonable to see the starting point of a development that would lead to such a use.

Prop. 1.18.15, cited by Enk (1946) on 1.4.9–10 (*non ita saeua tamen uenerit ira mea*) (see also E. Löfstedt 1938–9: 182) is an unconvincing example of *uenio* approaching *esse* in meaning, because it is of anger bursting out, coming forth. So too at 2.34.81 (see E. Löfstedt 1938–9: 182) (*non tamen haec ulli uenient ingrata legenti*) the *carmina* referred to may be interpreted as coming forth, appearing.

Ernout (1909: 149) cites various alleged cases of *uenio* + past participle from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (cf. E. Löfstedt 1938–9: 184, Michaelis 1998: 79–80, giving two examples (the first two quoted here) with anticausative value and a third passive): 157 *si equus de uia coactus uenerit, sic intelligis*, 158 *si iumentum de uia coactum ueniet et suffusionem in pedibus habuerit*. Any attempt to associate *coactus* with *uenio* is misguided, as a glance at the context ought to have made clear. *Cogo* was a technical term of 'forcing a horse beyond its capacity', leading to serious physical harm, such as 'bursting' of the lungs and even death (Adams 1995b: 606): note Pel. 403 *quibusdam etiam pulmones rumpuntur in cursu coactis*, Amm. 15.1.2 *ut nimietate cogendi quosdam (equos) extingueret*, Veg. *Mul.* 1.38.11 *praemonendum autem est, ne iumento ex coactionis iniuria laboranti pulsus uenas calentes*. Indeed *coactio* (see the last passage) acquired a pathological sense (Adams 1995b: 606), and the heading to the two passages above is

de coactionibus. The meaning is therefore ‘if a horse comes from the road having been pushed too hard (and suffering certain symptoms)’. The third example cited by Ernout (cf. Michaelis 1998: 80: her ‘passive’ example) is equally unconvincing: 266 *hoc accidit ex corruptione sanguinis . . . tunc cibum, quem conceptum uenire oportet in duas partes, ita ut natura postulat, si in his constet uenis, quae circa tempora* (‘this happens from corruption of the blood . . . then food, which on being digested ought to pass in two directions, as nature demands, if it gets caught in the veins which (are) around the temples’; the condition discussed is *capitis dolor*). *Conceptum* and *uenire* are not a unit. These various examples were already well dismissed by Muller (1924: 80–1).

14.3 *fio* + perfect participle

This construction, which survives in northern Italian dialects, is attested mainly in later Latin (but see Petron. 74.4 *quem Trimalchio iussit ut aeno coctus fieret*), and there usually in texts with a northern Italian connection, such as the *Compositiones Lucenses* (e.g. s 14 *ad auro coquendo indicamus uobis comodo coctum fieri possit*), Anthimus and the Oribasius translations (see Adams 2007: 466–70, with other bibliography; add Michaelis 1998). An additional example is in another text of almost certain north Italian provenance, the translation of Alexander of Tralles (see Adams 2007: 474–5, 497 on the possible origin of this work): 2.158.6 *diabrosin dicunt quando uena, amisso nutrimento, caro desuper ipsam extenuatur*, with *fit extenuata* for *extenuatur* in two manuscripts. Details are at Langslow (2006: 118), who translates (capturing the anacoluthon): ‘They call *diabrosis* the case when the vein, because its nourishment has ceased, the flesh over it is extenuated.’ It is as usual necessary to eliminate from consideration some alleged proto-Romance examples that turn out not to be relevant (see e.g. Muller 1924: 81–2, Adams 2007: 467–8). Two of the examples cited above are from the context of cooking, and there are other culinary examples as well, and it is possible that the usage originated before grammaticalisation in reference to thorough (slow) cooking (see Adams 2007: 470).

Occasionally there are cases of *deuenio* with the participle used in much the same way as *fio*:

Anthimus p. 6.4 *quomodo uaporata sic deueniat, et salis cum uino mixtus, quando assatur, cum pinna diffundatur.*

p. 7.10 *ut deueniant quasi uaporati* (however, the separation by means of *quasi* is not suggestive of a periphrastic form).

14.4 Conclusions

The most interesting construction seen here is *fio* + perfect participle, which in late antiquity starts to turn up in the area where it was to survive. Otherwise it is not possible to find decisive anticipation in Latin of the Romance passive periphrases, though one can glimpse their starting points.

15 Final remarks

Was the reflexive construction with inanimate subjects and anticausative (or passive) function a feature of Vulgar Latin in the sense that that term was given at 1.5? In one sense the answer is definitely 'no', because it turns up throughout Latin in the literary language, and admits of ad hoc reinterpretations as a passive just as often in high-style texts as in substandard texts of the later period. On the other hand there is no real sign in the written language, even that located well down the social or educational scale, of the massive loss of synthetic passive forms of the infectum, or of the grammaticalisation of the reflexive as a passive, and it must be assumed that developments were happening faster in ordinary speech than even low-register texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis* would lead us to believe.

*The ablative of the gerund and
the present participle*

1 Instrumental and 'participial' uses of the ablative of the gerund

Throughout Latin the gerund is frequently used in the ablative with instrumental force, as at Plaut. *Amph.* 1014 *sum defessus quaeritando* (see e.g. Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.751–2, and especially Lyer 1932: 223–6, 382–4). It has often been pointed out that the instrumental sense came to be weakened such that an ablative gerund might be replaceable with a present participle, a form which usually expressed an action concomitant with that of the main verb (see e.g. L. R. Palmer 1954: 324). Such semantic weakening definitely took place, and from a quite early period. A particularly clear-cut (late) example is at Amm. 24.3.7 *moriar stando*, which means 'I will die while standing on my feet' (*stans*), not 'I will die from/because of/by means of standing'. It is not surprising that the ablative should have tended to lose its full instrumental force. The instrumental in origin expressed accompaniment as well as means. Moreover the present participle itself could have an instrumental nuance (see Lyer 1932: 222, Laughton 1964: 25–6, and below, p. 733 on Vit. 2.8.20), and even an instrumental use of the ablatival gerund might sometimes have been replaced by a present participle. On the relationship of the ablative gerund to the present participle see the comprehensive treatment of Lyer (1932).

It may be true that the present participle can take on an instrumental nuance in particular contexts, but the ablative of the gerund constantly has that function and has it unambiguously. By contrast an authoritative survey of the nuances of the present participle in Classical Latin (Laughton 1964: 20–38) has very little to say about an instrumental function (see too Woodcock 1959: 73). It follows that in looking for evidence of encroachment by the ablative of the gerund on the present participle one should be seeking out cases where the instrumental force of the ablative appears to have faded. Lyer (1932: 384) refers to such cases as 'modal et circonstanciel', terminology

that is used by others too, such as Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.752) and Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 379). The point is that the gerund may come to convey an action or circumstances merely accompanying the action of the main verb, and not the means or instrument by which the action of the main verb was effected (see further below, p. 728).

This weakened use has a historical importance. The ablative of the gerund survived in Romance languages and 'became in effect a new present participle, ousting the latter, e.g. CANTANTEM, from its verbal function and confining it purely to an adjectival role' (Elcock 1960: 111). Treatments of this usage may be found in many handbooks. On Spanish, for example, Lloyd (1987: 315) notes that the gerund in *-ndo* remained as a present participle, citing *amando, comiendo, viviendo* (see also Penny 2002: 235–7). Maiden (1995: 124) remarks that in Italo-Romance the meaning of the gerund (in *-ndo*) 'remains close to that of the Latin ablative gerund ("while/by doing something")'. He adds that in the modern language, but less consistently in the medieval, 'its grammatical subject must always be the subject of the main verb of the clause, citing *vidi l'uomo camminando lungo la strada*, meaning 'I saw the man while I walked along the road', not 'I saw the man walking along the road'. Here the gerund lacks any instrumental force, and is equivalent to a Latin nominative present participle. It must be noted, however, that the gerund in Italian retains the old instrumental meaning as well (see Maiden above): e.g. *ho perfezionato le tecniche studiando accanto a maestri di pittura* ('I have improved my techniques by studying together with masters of painting').¹ In Spanish and other Romance languages too the gerund does not exclusively express concomitance. See further Maiden (1995: 156) on the combination in Italian of the gerund with various auxiliary verbs, notably *stare* (e.g. *sta facendo*) (cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 5.14.5 *quae fidei merito nunc stat spargendo medellas*). The morphology of the French participle is more complicated. See Buridant (2000: 237), who seems to treat the *-ant* form (*chantant* etc.) as a conflation of the accusative of the participle (*cantanter*) and ablative of the gerund (*cantando*) (on such conflation see also Vincent 1988a: 47 and Langslow 2009: 352 n. 15).

This Romance outcome of the ablative of the gerund has influenced discussions of the construction in Latin. The belief that Romance develops not from Latin in general but from lower sociolects (Vulgar Latin) has left its mark on some accounts of the phenomenon. E. Löfstedt (1911: 159) refers to the 'volkstümlichen Charakter' of the (weakened) usage, giving

¹ See e.g. Aalto (1949: 73) for examples of Romance gerunds retaining an instrumental meaning.

special prominence to examples from two early (republican/Augustan) texts regularly interpreted as abounding in colloquial language (*B. Hisp.* 36.2, *Vitr.* 2.8.20). Examples in poetry (or high literature) can be put down on this view to the poets' readiness to accept the odd colloquialism (see Löfstedt 1911: 160). A remark by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 379) can be interpreted as similarly doctrinaire. They state that the ablative of the gerund is used freely and as equivalent to the present participle by the correspondents of Cicero; by implication Cicero himself would not have fallen into such a usage (note 'auch Cic. bietet keine eindeutigen Belege'). The only example cited from a correspondent is Caelius *Fam.* 8.15.1 *nunc tibi nostri milites, qui durissimis et frigidissimis locis, taeterrima hieme, bellum ambulando confecerunt*. The point is presumably that the usage was substandard and therefore acceptable to the slangy Caelius if not to Cicero. But this is not a satisfactory example. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb) translates: 'And what about these troops of ours who have finished a war by the use of their legs, in the roughest and coldest country and the filthiest winter weather . . .?' (emphasis added). The instrumental force is obvious, and a distinction between the practice of Cicero and that of his contemporaries cannot be sustained on this evidence. Also, despite the remark of Hofmann and Szantyr referred to above, in Cicero himself there are some examples that lack instrumental force (see below). In similar vein Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 380) find that in postclassical 'Volkssprache' the usage spreads at the expense of the present participle. Again, Riemann (1927: 514), observing that the ablative of the gerund comes to express the circumstances in which the action of the main verb is carried out and therefore may be replaceable with a present participle, adds that this construction belongs 'à l'usage vulgaire' (yet illustrating it from Cicero). Lyer (1932: 397), despite citing many weakened examples from the literary language, nevertheless holds on to the view that it was the popular language that generated the weakened use: 'Le gérondif en *-ndo* modal est donc une construction du latin parlé.' This remark is the conclusion to a curious narrative of the development of the construction. The modal ablative gerund (in the Republic) 'disappeared almost completely from texts', but it lived on 'dans le langage courant'.

Kooreman (1989: 220) writes as follows of the loss of instrumental force:

This development is considered to belong to Vulgar Latin, i.e. Latin as it was spoken in the period from approximately 300 BC to AD 800.

This leads her to use texts 'that are generally considered to contain many elements of colloquial speech' (220). But why pass over the construction in

high literary texts? Burton (2000: 187) refers to the ‘vulgar extension of the construction [the ablative of the gerund] to function as a participle’ (i.e. losing its instrumental sense). Similarly Maltby (2002: 220) alludes to the ablative gerund as overlapping in Vulgar Latin with the present participle, and then classifies it as a colloquial type. Haverling (2010: 369) more appropriately finds the overlap in Classical Latin. Wackernagel’s generalisation (1926–8: I.281) is also to the point:

In the ablative, the gerund can denote an accompanying action, rather as the so-called absolutive in Sanskrit, a usage especially clear in imperial Latin from Livy on (quoted from Langslow 2009: 352).

In this chapter we will accept what the evidence itself tells us, that the instrumental sense had long been subject to weakening into a modal sense, expressing not instrument but circumstances attending the action of the main verb (see further below), and that that development might show up at any social level of the language (see below).

Another tendency in the literature is to push back the weakened use to the earliest period. But attention is not always paid to the context, and alleged examples (and not only in early Latin) often turn out to retain an instrumental nuance. L. R. Palmer (1954: 324) cites Plaut. *Truc.* 916 *ita miser cubando in lecto hic exspectando obdurui* as displaying weakening. This passage has long had a place in the literature (see Brix and Niemeyer 1891 on Plaut. *Men.* 883, E. Löfstedt 1911: 159, Lyer 1932: 384), but it is not a good one, as the gerunds can be taken as causal; an instrumental complement goes naturally with a verb in *-esco* (‘and so poor wretch I have grown numb from lying on the bed (and) from waiting here’). Another Plautine instance cited (see Lyer 1932: 384) is *Men.* 883: *lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando dolent*, | *manendo medicum dum se ex opere recipiat* (‘my loins hurt from sitting, my eyes from watching, while waiting until the doctor returns from his work’). The first two gerunds are instrumental/causal, but the third looks different (= *dum maneo*, ‘in the course of waiting’, according to Brix and Niemeyer 1891: 75 ad loc.). Gratwick (1993: 220–1) prefers to take all three gerunds as instrumental. He states that the third ‘looks like an abl. of time “in the course of waiting”’, but adds that the usage, while it would be unremarkable for late Latin, is very rare in old Latin, and that the concomitant interpretation ‘only suggests itself to us because of the meaning of *manere*, rather than for a syntactical reason’. The chronological argument is not decisive, but it would be right to say that *manendo* could not be replaced in this context with a present participle;

while *sedendo* is associated instrumentally with *lumbi dolent* and *spectando* with *oculi dolent*, *manendo* can be associated instrumentally with *lumbi (et) oculi (dolent)*.

The two other early examples cited by Brix and Niemeyer on *Men.* 883 (Plaut. *Truc.* 916, Ter. *Andr.* 938) can both also be taken as instrumental. Nevertheless the weakened usage is to be found in republican comedy. Note Ter. *Eun.* 847 *ita miserrimus | fui fugitando nequis me cognosceret* ('[a]ll the time I was running away I was terrified someone would recognize me', P. Brown 2006). Barsby (1999: 245) observes that *fugitando* has no real instrumental force. Here *fugitando* could be replaced by *fugitans* (note the translation of Brown).²

Any suggested non-instrumental use of an ablative of the gerund in the republican or Augustan periods (or indeed much later) needs to be assessed; the material cited e.g. by Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.752–3) and Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 379, 380) must be considered with caution. Tränkle (1960: 14) makes the important point that the usage as an equivalent of the present participle is not unconditionally to be attributed to *sermo cottidianus*, and cites in proof examples from high literature, namely Ennius, Lucretius, Virgil (numerous), Horace (*Odes* 4.11.30) and Ovid (see also Fedeli 1980: 72–3 for the same point, discussing Prop. 1.1.9 *fugiendo*). The general point, about distribution, may stand, but the evidence cited is not convincing, because almost all of his examples can be given an instrumental interpretation.³ Note e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 394 Skutsch *sed nec pote quisquam | undique nitendo corpus discerpere ferro*. This is translated by Warmington (1956: 155; line 412) as: 'but not one of them, though strain they did from every side, could rend apart his body from the iron'. Skutsch (1985: 561) on 394 appears to take *nitendo* as equivalent to a participle (while observing aptly that the (ablative) gerund 'tends to be used instead of the participle in a wide range of stylistic fields'), but the concessive force that it has should not blind one to the fact that it is instrumental as well: they were unable to achieve their aim 'by straining'.

There follows a discussion of selected passages from the late Republic onwards, in which an attempt is made to distinguish between instrumental and modal uses.

² Barsby's translation ('I was desperate in case someone recognised me as I fled', Loeb) has the effect of putting *fugitando* into the next colon, where, if it were converted into a present participle, the participle would have to be in the accusative. Perhaps better: 'I was desperate as I fled, lest anyone . . .'

³ The example in the passage of Horace just cited may be an exception (R. F. Thomas 2011: 224).

In the later republican period note *B. Afr.* 47.2:

Caesar non more superiorum temporum in hibernis exercitum continebat, sed in tertio quartoque die procedendo propiusque hostem accedendo castra communibat.

Caesar was not, as he had usually done on previous occasions, keeping his army in winter quarters, but on every other or every third day he would advance and move closer to the enemy and fortify a camp.

A series of advances is referred to, at the end of each of which a camp is set up. As Caesar advanced every few days, he would fortify a camp. The advance is not the means by which each camp is set up, but accompanies or, to be more precise, precedes the setting up. The gerunds could be replaced by *procedebat* and *accedebat*. The clause might be translated 'but advancing every two or three days and drawing closer to the enemy he would fortify a camp', a rendering which brings out the idea that there is no discernible instrumental force but does obscure the fact that the gerunds are shading into the role of perfective rather than straightforward present participles. There is nothing particularly surprising about this. The present participle itself in Classical Latin, while usually expressing an action concomitant with that of the main verb, may sometimes seem to breach such concomitance. Note Laughton (1964: 38):

In certain contexts the concomitant present participle appears to express action not simultaneous with that of the main verb, but either immediately preceding or immediately following. This is most evident with verbs of arrival and departure.

Adueniens predominates in this idiom (Laughton 1964: 39), but in Cicero there are other verbs of setting out, including compounds of *cedo* (see Laughton 1964: 40, citing examples of *proficiscens*, *discedens*, *decedens* and *egrediens*). The gerunds in the passage of the *B. Afr.* fall into the semantic categories of advancing/setting forth, and reaching, and both are compounds of *cedo*. The ablative gerunds here thus seem indistinguishable from a particular use of the present participle.⁴

Lyer (1932: 385) says that in Cicero the 'modal and circumstantial' use is very rare, and he finds only eleven examples. His list must, however, be

⁴ Another example from one of the ps.-Caesarian works, cited by E. Löfstedt (1911: 159) to illustrate the popular character of the weakened use, also seems to express an action anterior to that of the main verb, though the semantics of the verbs are different in this case: *B. Hisp.* 36.3 *ita erumpendo navis, quae ad Baetim flumen fuissent, incendunt*. The Loeb edition translates in such a way as to imply concomitance ('they made a sally, and in the process fired some ships which were alongside the river Baetis', emphasis added), but the bursting forth from confinement precedes the firing.

approached with some scepticism. At 384 he quotes (with a wrong reference) Cic. Nat. 2.122 (*alia animalia gradiendo, alia serpendo ad pastum accedunt, alia uolando, alia nando*), with the remark that 'les gérondifs indiquent la manière dont s'effectue l'action du verbum finitum'. He then goes on to say that the gerunds here express something that Classical Latin likes to express by the present participle. This is misleadingly put. These gerunds are manifestly instrumental, and in two cases would be readily replaceable with the (instrumental) ablative of a verbal noun (*uolatu, natatu*).

The difficulty of interpreting ablatives of the gerund is brought out by another of Lyer's examples (see too Lebreton 1901: 402–3), at Cic. Fam. 1.2.1: *uidebatur enim reconciliata nobis uoluntas esse senatus, quod cum dicendo tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perspexeram* ('we seemed to have regained the goodwill of the senate, which I had noticed both when speaking and when addressing and appealing to individuals'). The distinction here between a full instrumental sense and the weakened sense is a fine one, because the remark can be taken in more than one way. Shackleton Bailey (1977: 297) states on *dicendo* that the 'gerund can be understood instrumentally: Cicero took the feeling of the House by speaking, i.e. noticing reactions as he spoke'. On this view Cicero chose to speak to gauge the opinions of the senate. If on the other hand he happened while speaking to detect the senators' opinions, then the gerund is not really instrumental. The verbs in the following gerundive construction (*appellare, rogare*) imply deliberate investigation on Cicero's part, and that favours the view that the gerund(ive)s are all instrumental.

A further example cited from Cicero (*Cat.* 2.8) by Lyer (1932: 385) is worth quoting along with the note of a recent commentator: *aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo uerum etiam adiuuando pollicebatur*. Dyck (2008: 137) says: '*impellendo* and *adiuuando* show a loose use of the gerund, more like an abl. of attendant circumstances than an instrumental; such construction is rare in C. but becomes more common as the gerund gains ground at the expense of the participle'. We may translate: 'to others he promised the death of their parents, not only urging them on to it but even assisting'. The verbal instigation is not the means by which the promise is made but accompanies it, and here Cicero has indeed used the construction indistinguishably from a present participle. On the other hand an instrumental reading of the second participle (*adiuuando*) is easier ('he held out the prospect of the death of their parents, by assisting them in carrying out the act'). An example such as this does not suggest the existence of an established subliterate use of the ablative gerund on which Cicero occasionally drew. We seem rather to be observing ambiguities of

interpretation generated by particular contexts. If in a single sentence one gerund may be instrumental and another not so clearly so, that implies not a social variation, such that popular usage might have employed the ablative of the gerund in one way but educated usage in another, but rather that the construction was tending to lose a clear-cut instrumental function in some contexts.

There is a well-known ablative gerund in Virgil that is the subject of a note by Austin (1964) seeking to establish that it is a present-participle equivalent (see also Horsfall 2008: 51): *Aen.* 2.6 *quis talia fando | Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixī | temperet a lacrimis?* ('What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of the stern Ulysses, could refrain from tears in telling such a tale?', Goold, Loeb). The sense is taken to be 'in the telling of', or, we might say, 'while telling'. That is possible, but an instrumental idea cannot be ruled out. The question expects a negative answer, and the implication of the question and verb phrase might be paraphrased: 'any Myrmidon or Dolopian would weep from telling this tale'. Examples such as this and the last one show the ease with which the instrumental use might shade into ambiguity, losing an overt instrumental meaning.

The first writer to use the construction with frequency is said to be Livy (see Lyster 1932: 387; also Riemann 1885: 308–9, Oakley 1998: 368, 2005: 345, 567), though it has to be said that an instrumental nuance seems often to be present in the examples cited (note e.g. 2.38.1, 24.26.11, both quoted by Lyster). Note however 2.32.4:

ibi sine ullo duce uallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad uictum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.

There without any leader they fortified the camp with a rampart and ditch and confined themselves quietly for several days, neither provoked nor provocative, taking nothing except what was necessary for their subsistence.

The occasional taking of supplies implied here is concomitant with the self-confinement, and not its instrument.

Or, again, 2.59.9:

tandem conlectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul, cum reuocando neququam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit.

When at last the soldiers had been collected from their scattered flight, the consul, after he had followed his men vainly calling them back, pitched camp on peaceful ground.

Of particular interest is 8.17.1:

noui deinde consules . . . ingressi hostium fines populando usque ad moenia atque urbem peruenerunt.

Then the new consuls . . . , having entered the territory of the enemy, got as far as the walls of the city while laying (the territory) waste.

Here it is possible to interpret the ravaging as anterior to the arrival, and this is a context, as we saw above, in which Cicero uses a present participle.

At 24.4.9, cited by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 380) (see also Lyer 1932: 387), a present participle and ablative of the gerund are coordinated:

ceteros tutores summouet Adranodorus, iuuenem iam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem; deponendoque tutelam ipse, quae cum pluribus communis erat, in se unum omnium uires conuertit.

Adranodorus got rid of the other guardians, saying that Hieronymus was already a young man and capable of rule; and laying down his own guardianship, which he shared with a number of others, he transferred the power of everyone to himself alone.

Here *deponendo* is not clearly instrumental, though some might prefer to take it that way. If it is taken as interchangeable with a nominative present participle, it resembles those present participles in Classical Latin the action of which seems to be anterior to that of the main verb.

In Tacitus there are particularly clear-cut cases of the ablative of the gerund (and gerundive: see below) indistinguishable from the present participle (see Lyer 1932: 388).⁵ Note for example *Ann.* 15.38.3 *peruagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando anteiiit remedia* ('the conflagration – ranging across the level at first, then surging to the heights and contrariwise ravaging the depressions – outstripped all remedies', Woodman 2004). The conflagration did not outstrip remedies by ravaging the depressions, but as it ravaged them. The ablative gerund is coordinated with a present participle, though that coordination does not in itself establish that the gerund is without instrumental force. Contrast the alternation at *Vitr.* 2.8.20 *recipientes umorem turgescunt, deinde siccescendo contrahuntur*. Wattlework walls, when plaster is applied, on taking in moisture swell and on drying contract. Here an instrumental interpretation is possible both for the present participle and for the ablative gerund ('by receiving moisture they swell, and they contract by drying').

⁵ See the useful remarks by Woodcock (1939: 23, 89).

Another Tacitean example without instrumental force is at *Ann.* 14.31.3: *exturbabant agris, captiuos, seruos appellando* ('they evicted them from their estates, calling them captives and slaves'). The removal was not effected by the name-calling itself; that merely accompanied the removal.

Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.281) = Langslow (2009: 352) cites *Ann.* 15.69.2 *nihil metuens an dissimulando metu* 'fearing nothing or dissembling fear' as a clause in which the synonymy of participle and ablative construction (here a gerundive rather than gerund) is particularly clear.

In a non-literary text of much the same date as Tacitus' *Annals* there is an interesting example:

Terentianus 471.30 attonitus exiundo dico illi: da m[i] pauquum aes, ut possim uenire con rebus meis Alexandriae, im inpendia.

It has been suggested (Adams 2003a: 745) that, since earlier in the letter Saturninus was the one 'going out' (*exire*), so here *exiundo* must allude to him. Since the *illi* that comes two words later certainly refers to Saturninus, therefore *exiundo* would on this argument be some sort of dative form in agreement with *illi*. But Cugusi's argument (*CEL* 11.175) should be accepted that the word order is against taking *exiundo* as agreeing with *illi*, from which it is separated. *Exiundo* must be a non-standard alternative form to the ablative of the gerund *exeundo*, used as an equivalent of the present participle and referring to Terentianus himself, meaning 'astonished, taking my leave I say to him ...' B. Löfstedt (1983: 460) also takes the form in this way. Moreover *exeundo* itself recurs in later Latin as a participle equivalent (see below on the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*). On this view there is no instrumental idea present; the form expresses simultaneity with the event referred to by the main verb. Here is evidence that the weakening of the ablative of the gerund was not confined to any one social dialect. *Exeo* is often used of going forth on long distance travel (see Terentianus 471.14–15), but it could also be used of merely leaving a place such as a house or taking one's leave from someone (e.g. Plaut. *Epid.* 650, and particularly, from the Terentianus archive itself, 472.3).

A use of *maerendo* at Apul. *Met.* 5.21 has entered the literature on the weakened use: *at Psyche... aestu pelagi simile maerendo fluctuat* ('[b]ut Psyche... was tossed to and fro in her anguish like the waves of the sea', Kenney 1990). In his note Kenney (1990: 167) translates *maerendo* as 'in her grieving', and comments: 'the ablative (of means) of the gerund is used as the equivalent of the present participle'. But it is not unequivocally so: it can be translated as causal or instrumental ('she was tossed by grief/because of her grieving').

In later Latin weakened examples are not hard to find. Extensive material is assembled by Lyer (1932: 389–95), though not all examples are equally convincing. Here is a small selection of passages:

Per. Aeth. 5.11 omnia loca, quae filii Israhel tetigerant eundo uel redeundo ad montem Dei (see E. Löfstedt 1911: 159, and compare 7.1 *omnia loca, quae filii Israhel exeuntes de Ramesse tetigerant euntes*; also Maltby 2002: 223, noting that there are just five such ablatives of the gerund in the text).

Pallad. 11.20.1 dehinc in melle decoques, donec ad mensuram mediam reuertatur, et coquendo piper subtile conspergis (expressing concomitance alone without any instrumentality).

Amm. 17.12.3 et per spatia discurrunt amplissima, sequentes alios uel ipsi terga uertentes, insidendo uelocibus equis et morigeris, trahentesque singulos, interdum et binos (here the gerund is coordinated with a string of present participles and could certainly have been replaced by a participle).

Aug. Conf. 5.15 sed ea nocte clanculo ego profectus sum: illa autem remansit orando et flendo.

Hist. Apoll. RB 3.5, p. 281 (Kortekaas) questiones proponebat dicendo (compare the other version, RA 3.5, p. 280 *questiones proponebat dicens; dicens*, rendering λέγων, is the normal idiom: see Kortekaas 2007: 36, with another instance of such alternation; for λέγων variously rendered in Bible translations by *dicens* and *dicendo* see Burton 2000: 187).

Ven. Fort. Carm. praef. 4 aut equitando aut dormitando conscripserim (following a string of present participles).

Greg. Hist. Franc. 5.11 cum sacerdos de aeclesia ad basilicam psallendo procederet (see further Bonnet 1890: 655–6, Lyer 1932: 394).

Some examples from translation literature, where the ablative gerund renders a Greek present participle in the nominative, are cited by Burton (2000: 186 n. 26).

A question which can only be alluded to here concerns the relationship between the ablative gerund (without instrumental force) and the present participle in individual texts. In the *Peregrinatio*, it was noted above, there are just five ablative gerunds, all of them equivalent to present participles (see Maltby 2002: 223; also Väänänen 1987: 86). It may be added that these are very restricted in type: they comprise four instances of *eundo/redeundo* and one of *dicendo*. This non-standard text is replete with conventional present participles. It could not, one might think, be deduced on this evidence that the ablative gerund had encroached to any extent in lower sociolects on the present participle: the gerund seems rather to be lexically restricted. However, the participial style of the text almost certainly reflects the influence of Biblical Latin (see Väänänen 1987: 87; both types of present participle discussed there could be put down to Biblical imitation), and

may give a false impression of the state of the language. Terentianus by contrast hardly uses the present participle (Adams 1977a: 53). There are just two instances in the corpus, one of them accusative (468.13 *iacentem*) and the other (470.21 *pergentes*) in a fragmentary context where its case is uncertain. Terentianus' one example of the ablative gerund (*exiundo*), we saw, is equivalent to a nominative present participle, and it belongs to the same verbal root as most of the examples in the *Peregrinatio*. The restricted use of the present participle in Terentianus' Latin letters contrasts with the frequent participles in his Greek letters (see Adams 1977a: 53), and suggests that in ordinary Latin the present participle had little place.

2 Extended uses of the ablative of the gerund

The nominative present participle has the same subject as the subject of the main verb (except in special cases, as when there is an anacoluthon), and similarly the ablative gerunds that have been seen so far (whether instrumental or participial) refer to an action carried out by the subject of the main verb. So Pallad. 11.20.1, quoted above (*coquendo piper subtile conspergis*), may be paraphrased as *dum coquis piper conspergis*, with the subject of both verbs the same. But the ablative gerund was potentially more flexible than the nominative present participle. Wackernagel (1926–8: 1.352) as translated by Langslow (2009: 352) puts it thus:

Since the nominative participle must agree with the subject in number, while the ablative of the gerund is independent of the subject, the gerund is more convenient, if less precise, than the participle.

The underlying subject of the gerund is sometimes different from that of the main verb (see the remarks of Svennung 1935: 425; also Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 380, on the so-called 'adverbial' use). On earlier Latin see the informative note of Horsfall 2008: 110 on *fando* at Virg. *Aen.* 2.81 *fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit ad auris | Belidae nomen Palamedis*). Horsfall states that 'commonly enough, the gerund does *not* have the same subject as the sentence (so here), and is best to be understood as a verbal noun with, often (despite the grammars), a pass. sense (so here, again)'. He translates the above as '[i]f in the telling something of the name of Palamedes, son of Belus . . . has by chance reached your ears', and would presumably allow the passive rendering 'if by being told'.

Late examples in which agreement has lapsed are variable in type, and not easy to classify. Note first Veg. *Mul.* 2.82.5 *post sensim deambulando*

temptabis. The subject of the main verb is the *mulomedicus* whereas it is the animal under treatment which does the walking (cf. *ambulando* at Ter. *Hec.* 435 with xxxi.4.2). It is possible here to translate *deambulando* as an abstract verbal noun in an instrumental sense, without a specified subject ('you will try him out by means of the act of walking').

More striking is Veg. *Mul.* 1.42.2 *ex quo iumenta se proiciunt ac uolutant extensisque pedibus calcitrant. sed per impatientiam se saepe iactando uentus increscit*. The idea behind the last clause is expressed grammatically a few pages later: 1.43.2 *sed ex hac iniuria frequenter uolutando uentum sibi nutrit* (the horse, by frequently rolling because of its injury, produces wind for itself; again we might paraphrase with a *dum*-clause, with the subject of both verbs the same). At 1.42.2, however, the subject of *iactando* is the horse but that of the main verb the wind. There are at least two ways of explaining the construction. First, one might opt for an anacoluthon. The intended idea is that the horse, by tossing itself about through impatience (causes wind), but Vegetius might inadvertently have changed construction, making *uentus* rather than the horse subject of the main verb. Second, one might be tempted to take *se iactando* as a sort of absolute construction (on a literal rendering, 'with him tossing himself about, wind increases'). A passive interpretation would not work here.

Mul. Chir. 215 (*hac ipsa ratione iumenta uolutando tympana similiter fiunt*) may also have an anacoluthon. The condition *tympanum* (in the plural) is the subject of the verb. The author might have intended something along the lines of 'horses by rolling (cause *tympana*)', but changed subject after the gerund. It is hard to see how an absolute construction could be made out of *iumenta uolutando*, with a free-standing nominative and an ablative gerund. Maltby (2002: 223) cites Isid. *Sententiae* 3.7.26 *multi orantes non exaudiuntur, prouidendo illis deus meliora quam petunt*, which he translates 'Many people's prayers are not heard, as god provides them with better things than those they seek.' He comments (224): 'the gerund *prouidendo* is used in an absolute construction, in place of the nominative present participle' (on this passage see too Kooreman 1989: 221). On this view (it would seem) the construction would be akin to a nominative absolute, but with the ablative gerund replacing the expected nominative present participle. Whether a construction 'nominative absolute' genuinely exists has been the subject of debate (see e.g. Adams 1976a: 60–5, Pitkäranta 1978: 78–85). Certainly in an ill-written text such as the *Mulomedicina* an anacoluthon is more likely.

One late instance that is open to the same interpretation as that advanced by Horsfall for *fando* in Virgil is at Anthimus p. 10.6: *ceruisa bibendo uel*

medus et aloxinum quam maxime omnibus congruum est ex toto. The subjects of *est* are *ceruisa*, *medus* and *aloxinum*. *Bibendo* may be translated 'in the drinking', or, in the passive, 'by being drunk'.

Some interesting, but variable, material, is cited by Svennung (1935: 425). Note first the following three passages:

Diosc. Lat. 2, p. 209.25 *spargendo cum oleo myrsino . . . reumatismum uentris conpescit.*

ps.-Apul. *Herb.* 1.2, p. 22 *herbae plantaginis sucum tepefactum fomentando uentris dolorem tollit.*

84.1, p. 151 *herbam radiolum contusam, ante curiose depurgatam, cum aceto scillitico usque adeo decoctam, donec non pareat, perunguendo capitis dolorem sedat.*

Svennung translates *spargendo* in the first as 'if/when one scatters', i.e. *hordeum*, in which case *hordeum* ('it') could be taken as the subject of *conpescit*. The same type of translation would fit the other two pages. But while it might give some sort of sense to translate the gerunds in this way, the mere translation is far from explaining how they are functioning. A second possibility is that the ablative gerund operates as a verbal noun standing as subject of the main verb (scattering *hordeum* checks something, fomenting a certain type of juice removes pain, smearing certain substances eases headache). On this view the ablative gerund as verbal noun has lost its instrumental force. Another possibility, more straightforward, is that the writer has merely changed constructions. The first sentence, for example, could be rendered grammatical if *conpescit* were changed to *conpescis*. Perhaps the writer used *spargendo* instrumentally with some such outcome in mind, and then midway performed a switch: 'by scattering *hordeum*, – it checks . . .'

Two further examples in Anthimus are not open to the first two of the explanations/translations suggested for the three examples above, but they are open to the third:

p. 5.7 *et sic coquat lento foco agetando ipsa olla frequenter manibus* ('let it cook on a slow fire, shaking the pot frequently with your hands').

p. 7.10 *et inde intingendo in oximelli simplici ad hora facto, ut duas partis de mel et una pars de aceto adhibeatur, et sic coquat in uas fictile* (here the writer has so far lost the thread that *intingendo* is coordinated to the main verb by *et*).

In the first passage (*agetando*) we may suspect a conventional recipe usage, with the subject of the gerund understood to be the cook and the change of subject in the main verb treated as a matter of indifference. The second passage is much the same, though there is a redundant *et*.

The most economical explanation of all the examples in this section other than that in Isidore is that the instrumental gerund had developed a free-standing character and was prone to be accompanied by an anacoluthon.

3 Conclusions

It is remarkable that the ablative of the gerund should have been subject to the conventional narrative attached to so many usages reflected in Romance languages. If a usage survives in Romance, an attempt will often be made to locate it in the Latin period in low-register texts. Many of the examples cited here (excluding those in the last section), and most of those in the far more extensive collection of material presented by Lyster (1932) are in high literature, and it gives a false impression to fasten onto texts such as the ps.-Caesarian works to the exclusion of Cicero, Livy and Tacitus. It is significant that at virtually the same date there are clear-cut participial equivalents with no instrumental force found on the one hand in the rarified prose of Tacitus and on the other in the substandard Latin of Claudius Terentianus. This suggests that the semantic development of the ablative gerund was not restricted to any one social dialect. In late Latin, though one might be able to cite the construction from an archetypal low-register text such as the *Peregrinatio*, there are also particularly clear cases in (e.g.) the highly artificial Latin of Ammianus.

In late low-register texts, as we saw in the last section, there is an increased tendency for the ablative gerund to be used loosely, such that its implied subject is not the same as that of the main verb. Even in this case there is some anticipation of later practice in the earlier literary language.

The most striking feature of early examples of the construction that might be thought to have lost their instrumental force is not that they are confined to low-register texts but that they are ambiguous and not unequivocally to be assigned a non-instrumental participial function. The ambiguities are suggestive of a construction that was subject to ad hoc shifts of meaning determined by the context. At this period it had not been grammaticalised as an equivalent of the present participle but was merely used occasionally with its instrumental function not so obvious in a particular context.

In later Latin it is probably easier to find instances where the instrumental sense is unambiguously lost, but ambiguities are still often present, and the corpus of examples in Lyster (1932) is provided with insufficient classifications. In this connection it is worth drawing attention to the interesting

remarks of Burton (2000: 186–7) on the ablative gerund in the Old Latin Gospels. Lyer (1932: 391) cites various places from the *Vetus Latina* where a participle of the Greek is rendered both by a present participle and an ablative gerund. Burton on the other hand points out that in the Old Latin Gospels the ablative of the gerund in such renderings always retains its instrumental force. Burton (2000: 187) comments:

The use of the ablative of the gerund in the OLG does not reflect the vulgar extension of the construction to function as a participle. It is rather an illustration of how the translators show a native speaker's knowledge of Latin idiom, and furthermore of their slight conservatism in preferring the classical usage to that which was undoubtedly widespread in the spoken language.

PART 6

Aspects of subordination

Reported speech

Speech is usually reported in Classical Latin by direct quotation or by the accusative + infinitive.¹ The latter construction developed a considerable complexity in literary and legal Latin. In lower registers, as for example in non-literary letters found on writing tablets of the early Empire from Britain, Egypt, Africa and elsewhere, or in special texts such as the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, there is a far more rudimentary use of the acc. + inf., with the subject accusative (often a pronoun) attached directly to the higher verb, a minimum of infinitives in any one construction (usually only one), and an absence of subordination (see Adams 2005a). Such texts also make liberal use of direct speech.

The main feature of late Latin in the reporting of speech lies in a proliferation of clauses introduced by *quod*, *quia* or *quoniam* standing in an object relation to the higher verb (e.g. *dico*) (for details see e.g. Herman 1963: 32–44, 1989, R. Coleman 1975: 119–21, Cuzzolin 1994, Baños Baños 1998, 2009: 550–6, Burton 2000: 189–90). The origin of the *dico quod* construction can be traced back to the pre-classical and classical periods, in literary Latin (starting in ambiguous contexts: see e.g. Baños Baños 2009: 550). From non-literary texts of the type mentioned in the previous paragraph it is absent. Here was a usage that developed in the literary language, not, as far as we can tell, in submerged varieties, and certainly not exclusively there. The *quod*-construction became more frequent in later Latin (in literary texts), and by analogy alternative subordinators made an appearance, *quia* (from Petronius, it seems: see below) and *quoniam* (mainly late, but attested from the second century, though precise details are unclear: see Svennung 1935: 504 for texts from the *Vetus Latina* onwards that have it; note e.g. Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 8.11 *uidemus autem quoniam in quadragesimo et primo anno imperii Augusti, quo post mortem Cleopatrae*

¹ This short chapter is dependent on Adams (2011) (with a few alterations), and that in turn is dependent on Adams (2005a).

xxviii anno imperavit, nascitur Christus, with Hoppe 1903: 76–7, Baños Baños 2009: 554).

This type of construction was the forerunner of the Romance constructions such as *dire quelque*, though in most it is (*dicere*) *quid*, the latter supplanting (*dicere*) *quod*, that is reflected (Rohlf 1969a: 188–90, Maiden 1995: 206). In Sicily and across the whole of the south of Italy and in large parts of the centre (southern Lazio, southern Umbria) reflexes of *quia* also continue (see now Ledgeway 2004a, 2005, 2006 for full details, replacing earlier accounts such as Rohlf 1969a: 189, Maiden 1995: 226 n. 12).

Quod = ‘the fact that’ introduces noun clauses regularly in Classical Latin. By definition such clauses stand in a subject or object relation to a higher verb, and they may be interchangeable with an acc. + inf., which is often a noun clause.

Note e.g. Plaut. *Aul.* 226: *uenit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem, ted esse hominem diuitem*. The primary subject of the verb phrase *uenit in mentem* is the pronoun *hoc*, but this serves merely to introduce the acc. + inf., which syntactically is subject of the same verb phrase. A *quod*-clause might have been used instead, as at Gell. 13.30.6: *ecce autem id quoque in mentem uenit, quod etiam Plautus in Poenulo ‘faciem’ pro totius corporis colorisque habitu dixit*. Here again there is a pronoun (*id*) as subject, but this time it anticipates a *quod*-clause that is the (appositional) subject of the verb.

Quod-noun clauses (= ‘the fact that’) may also be sole object or subject of a verb (see Baños Baños 2009: 551–2). As early as Terence *addo* is used with a *quod*-clause as object without a supporting pronoun: *Ph.* 168 *ut ne addam quod sine sumptu ingenuam, liberalem nactus es*. It is no great extension when *quod*-clauses turn up as object of *verba dicendi*, something that happens in the Republic: *B. Hisp.* 36.1 *dum haec geruntur legati Carteienses renuntiauerunt quod Pompeium in potestate habent*. This example cannot merely be dismissed as belonging to *sermo castrensis* or vulgar language (so Baños Baños 2009: 554), because the ps.-Caesarian works, despite their reputation, are full of literary artifice (see Adams 2005b), and corroborating evidence for such an interpretation is lacking. Indeed the construction continues in the literary language of the early Empire, as for example in Tacitus: e.g. *Ann.* 14.6.1 (with a verb of thinking) *illic reputans se fallacibus litteris accitam . . . quodque litus iuxta . . . nauis . . . concidisset* (in alternation with the acc. + inf.). By contrast, as was noted above, the *dico quod*-construction is absent from the non-literary writing tablets and the like that we now have from scattered parts of the Empire, in which the acc. + inf. in simple forms abounds, and quoted direct speech is also common. In Petronius there are

two possible instances of the *quod*-construction (see Stefenelli 1962: 102), one in a freedman's speech (Trimalchio) (71.9 *scis enim quod epulum dedi binos denarios*), but the other outside the *Cena Trimalchionis* (131.7 *uides quod aliis leporem excitauī*), and this distribution does not establish that Petronius was setting out to characterise the construction as belonging to lower sociolects. Moreover the construction uttered by Trimalchio could be interpreted as an indirect question with indicative verb ('you know what dinner I gave at two denarii a head') (but see XXIX.1.7.1.1). On the other hand there are two apparent examples of the *quia*-construction in freedmen's speeches (see Stefenelli 1962: 100–1), which was definitely not a component of literary Latin at this period: 45.10 *sed subolfacio quia nobis epulum daturus est Mammea, binos denarios mihi et meis*, 46.4 *ego illi iam tres cardeles occidi, et dixi quia mustella comedit*. It is possible to see a trace of a causal meaning in these two examples, particularly in the first and also in the second if there is a slight anacoluthon ('I am getting a whiff – because Mammea is about to give us a dinner, two denarii each for me and my family', 'I killed three of his goldfinches – and said (they were dead) because a weasel ate them'). If the *quia*-construction, as distinct from the *quod*-, was substandard at this period it does not surface in non-literary documents, and it was to become commonplace in later literary Latin (see below).

While such clauses (whether with *quod*, *quia* or *quoniam*) became a feature of late literary Latin, they remained in a minority compared with the acc. + inf. Herman (1989: 134–5) notes that for five or six centuries their frequency remained constant (at about 10 per cent of the cases where one might expect an acc. + inf.). Even a text as late as the *Anonymus Valesianus* II (sixth century) has only four instances, compared with twenty-four of the acc. + inf. (Adams 1976a: 94). Some principles of selection between the two constructions have been noted. Herman (1989) shows that the *quod*-type construction is almost always after the verb (a preposed *quod*-clause might be taken as causal, and ambiguity is avoided by flagging the construction with an initial *verbum dicendi*), and he also suggests that the frequency is highest when the agent of the subordinate clause is not the topic. In *Anonymus Valesianus* II most *quod*-type clauses follow the higher verb but are separated from it (Adams 1976a: 94), whereas the acc. + inf. is usually juxtaposed with the higher verb. It has also been shown that in much Christian Latin *quia* is preferred as the subordinator to *quod* and *quoniam* (see Herman 1963: 40–1, and also Saloniū 1920: 325 on the *Vitae patrum*), though Herman (1963: 41–2) finds signs of a regional variation, with *quod* favoured in Gaul and *quia* in Italy.

It is worth noting finally a common substitute for the acc. + inf. or clauses of the *quod*-type, namely quoted speech. In the letters of Terentianus, for example, most instances of the acc. + inf. consist of a single clause, with the subject (accusative) pronoun attached directly to the higher verb (Adams 2005a: 199–200). In only one place did Terentianus set out to report an utterance that had a subordinate clause, and instead of *oratio obliqua* he adopted quoted speech (Adams 2005a: 201): 467.9–10 *negavit se habere aspros. ait mihi si n[on mi redd]as. [.]. ri [. . .]. referam pa[t]ri tuo*. Here the actual words of the speaker are quoted. A variant on this pattern is found at *O. Faw.* 3: *dic Serapiadi: si uult (denarius) xv accipere, afferam illei*. These are not quite the words that the speaker might have used to the intended addressee, because the person of *uult* has been changed (from *uis*), just as a third person pronoun has been adopted in the next clause (*illei* for *tibi*), to mark the fact that the addressee is not present. The form of the dependent clause would remain exactly the same if *quod* were inserted as a complement of *dic*, but there is no need to suppose that the construction derives from deletion of *quod*. The writer has merely adjusted the person of the verb in the conditional clause.

Quoted speech cannot simply be assigned to lower sociolects but was a resource of the language in general (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 361–2, *TLL* VII.1.1765.47ff.). The grammarian Pompeius in the late period switches freely between the acc. + inf., dependent clauses of the *quod/quia/quoniam*-type, and direct citation, as for example at *GL* v.138.15–18 *uide ne qui tibi faciat quaestionem in hac re et dicat tibi: quare Donatus ita dixit, nomini accidunt hae res, qualitas comparatio genus numerus figura casus? ita definiuit Donatus, nomini accidunt hae res*. Here there are three such citations in succession. Note too 208.11 *sed diximus in illa priore parte artis . . . esse aliqua pronomina quae crescant in casibus, esse aliqua quae decrescant in casibus, . . . sunt aliqua quae omnino non habent aliquid*, where two infinitival clauses (with *esse*) are followed by the indicative *sunt*.

Indirect questions

1 Indirect questions with indicative verbs

1.1 Introduction

The subjunctive in indirect questions (sometimes called ‘embedded questions’: Lahiri 2002) probably arose from those questions (indirect) that were deliberative/jussive or potential and therefore independently required the subjunctive. From there it was generalised to all indirect questions (see e.g. Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 171). In early Latin the subjunctive was not yet standardised over the indicative, though the subjunctive came to be strongly favoured by the classical and early imperial periods, with some retention of the indicative under special conditions. Indirect questions in Latin embrace both yes–no questions in an embedded form (‘they are asking whether he has arrived’) and requests for information (*wh*-questions) (‘they are asking where the book is’), but also exclamations (‘I see how happy she is’). For the indicative in early Latin and some discussion of the significance of the variations of mood see e.g. Lindsay (1907: 66), Bennett (1910–14: 1.120–2), Wackernagel 1926–8: 1.242–3 = Langslow 2009: 306–7, Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.488–92, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 537–9, Hannah Rosén 1999: 111–12, Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 171–2, and also below for several more specialised treatments.

There have been various ways (usually overlapping) of classifying the early indicative uses (see further below, 1.3). Many apparent cases of indirect questions with the indicative are not really such at all, but real questions or exclamations. As Bolkestein (1995: 61) puts it, ‘it is not always clear whether we are dealing with an indirect question governed by a verb of speech or with a direct question, with the verb of speech added to it, parenthetically or preceding the utterance, or added to it as a [t]ail’. One might add after ‘direct question’ ‘or exclamation’. An example such as Plaut. *Mil.* 64 (*uide caesaries quam decet*) can be translated with a free-standing

exclamation, 'Look, how his hair becomes him!' (cf. e.g. *Curc.* 126 *uide ut ingurgitat impura in se merum auariter*, 'Look at that – how the filthy creature is pouring undiluted wine into herself greedily!'). Similarly a question may have an independence, as at *Bacch.* 203 *dic ubi ea nunc est*, 'Tell me, where is she now?' Again, some possible instances may be classified as relative clauses rather than indirect questions (Bräunlich 1920: 44–74, Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.491–2, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 538; see also on specific relatives, sometimes misinterpreted, Housman in Diggle and Goodyear 1972: III.1235, Austin 1977: 196). It is not the aim of this chapter to offer a comprehensive account of the early material or of earlier discussions of it, though some details follow. The intention is to address the question whether the indicative in this construction came to be socially stigmatised and whether therefore its Romance outcome should be seen as an inheritance from Vulgar Latin. Possible continuities between indicative uses in early Latin and those in Classical and later Latin will be discussed, and an attempt made to identify innovations.

1.2 Romance languages

In Romance languages the subjunctive in indirect questions has largely been dropped (see e.g. Stefenelli 1962: 143, Salvi 2011: 377), though in Italian it is optionally retained and 'is, by and large, semantically conditioned. When the factual content of the question is at issue, the indicative is used . . . when the questioner's uncertainty is to the fore, the subjunctive may be used instead' (Maiden 1995: 222). Register comes into it. In higher registers the subjunctive is more likely to occur than in lower. On the relationship between the indicative and subjunctive in indirect questions in Old French see Buridant (2000: 345–7). Whatever the situation in early Latin, in late Latin we might expect to see some increase in the frequency of the indicative in anticipation of Romance constructions, though admittedly late written forms of the language were capable of obscuring the underlying developments of speech. In this case, however, there is something to go on in written texts, one of which (the grammatical work of Pompeius) will be discussed in detail here (1.8).

There is evidence that in the late period there was some attempt by grammarians to stigmatise the indicative use. Note Diom. *GL* 1.395.15–24:

hanc speciem in consuetudine parum multi obseruant inperitia lapsi, cum dicunt 'nescio quid facis', 'nescio quid fecisti'. eruditius enim dicetur 'nescio quid facias', 'nescio quid feceris' . . . praeposito sermone interiecta parte orationis, 'quid quare cur' et similibus, subiunctiua sequitur species.

On the date of Diomedes (second half of the fourth or fifth century) see Kaster (1988: 270–1). Not many, he says (*parum multi*), observe the rule (that the subjunctive should be used), lapsing ‘because of ignorance’. *Imperitia* is a term that might be applied to the uneducated classes in a linguistic context (see above, I.1, III.6), but it is every bit as likely that Diomedes was referring to the usage of the educated class. We will return to this question below (1.8).

1.3 *The indicative in early Latin*

It was suggested above that many so-called indirect questions in early Latin may be interpreted as free-standing exclamations or questions, with the construction paratactic (the most extensive collection of relevant material is probably that by Bennett 1910–14: 1.120–2, though it is not complete). But while some clauses may strike us as blatantly exclamatory or the like and independent, in other cases it is impossible to deny that the clause might have been expressed as dependent, with a subjunctive verb. The fineness of the distinction between the independent and dependent construction emerges, for example, from coordinated clauses, one with a subjunctive verb and another with an indicative, as at Plaut. *Cist.* 56–7 *eloquere utrumque nobis, | et quid tibi est et quid uelis nostram operam*. Again, the same expression may occur now with an indicative complement, now with a subjunctive. Lodge (1924–33), for example, quotes (II.866 col. 1) about fourteen examples of *uide ut* with the indicative, and on the next page (867 col. 1) five examples of the same phrase with the subjunctive. *Non uidet ut* is followed by an indicative at *Most.* 811, but by the subjunctive at *Bacch.* 1136 and *Pseud.* 1297. It is assumed here that the indicative originated in paratactic constructions, where the question-clause might have an overtly free-standing character, but then, as the subjunctive became standardised, continued to be used from time to time to complement the same governing verb phrases (e.g. *uide ut*, *non uidet ut*, *uide si*, *uiden*) merely because it had a traditional association with such expressions, not because the clauses in which it was embedded continued to be viewed as independent exclamations or questions. We may perhaps speak of the higher verbs such as *uide*, *uidet*, *uiden* as on the one hand parenthetical (when the following clause looks to be free-standing) and on the other quasi-parenthetical (when the following clause is not obviously independent but tradition influences the use of the indicative after a particular verb form).

However, uses of the indicative in early Latin are rather more varied than the above paragraph might imply, and there have been attempts to offer more comprehensive accounts of them.

Stephens (1985: 205–6) lists four categories of what he calls Q-clauses in early Latin where the indicative is used (or, as he puts it, where modal shift – to the subjunctive – does not apply). These are (1) simple enquiries to which the speaker ‘wants an immediate answer and in which the topic of the Q-clause is present or established in the discourse’ (1985: 198); (2) clauses introduced by the first person singular present indicative *scio*; the question-clauses are ‘all anticipations of a second person’s words’ (1985: 204); (3) ‘exclamations about present topics introduced by interrogative forms’ (1985: 205); and (4) ‘exclamations about present topics introduced by imperative forms’ (1985: 206; see also Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.490). It might be added that, whatever classifications are adopted, a glance at the material in Bennett shows that (1) many instances of the indicative follow an imperative main verb, most notably *uide* but also *opserua*, *specta*, *fac me certum*, *nosce*, *uideto*, *eloquere*, *commemora*, *cedo*, *animum aduortite*; the type with verbs of seeing, such as *opserua*, *specta*, *animum aduortite*, is very persistent in the history of Latin, as we will see; (2) many follow other forms of *scio* or *nescio*, such as *scimus*, *scin*, *scis*, *scibo*, *sciat*, *scire*, *nescis*; and (3) many are in a clause introduced by *si* (Bennett 1910–14: I.122, stating that there are twenty-three such cases). Several times it is *uide si* that is followed by an indicative (Bennett loc. cit. cites Plaut. *Trin.* 763, Ter. *Ph.* 553, *Ad.* 239; see also Bräunlich 1920: 81–2).

The material could no doubt be classified in different ways. Bodelot (1987), for example, offers as two of her main categories cases where ‘[l]e verbe introducteur et le mot interrogatif forment une expression toute faite’, such as *nescio quis*, *scin/scis quid* and *scio quid* (1987: 86–90 with 146; see also Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.491), and cases where ‘[l]a proposition interrogative est introduite par un verbe logiquement superflu’, such as *audin*, *uiden*, *uide* (1987: 93–8 with 146; Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.490). It must be stressed that the indicative is by no means obligatory in the former category. For the numerous case of *scio quis/quid* etc. with the subjunctive in Plautus see Lodge (1924–33: II.591 col. 2); for *scio quis/quid* with the indicative see Lodge (1924–33: II.593 col. 1).

Pinkster (in preparation, §7.4.1, ‘The use of the moods in finite subordinate clauses’) has a threefold classification of the indicative in Plautus: it is used (1) after first person present tense performative expressions such as *quaero*, *rogo*, *uolo scire*; (2) in second person questions, often with a directive illocutionary force, introduced e.g. by *uiden*, *audin*; and (3) after imperative verb forms, such as *uide*.

Of more importance for our purposes is to define contexts in which it is the subjunctive that is regular in early Latin. In theory that might open

the way to the identification of developments in later Latin displaying the spread of the indicative to contexts in which it had been resisted in early Latin.

Stephens (1985) classifies indirect questions in early Latin according to whether modal shift occurs as a rule or does not occur. Several of his categories of the first type may be noted.

First, his subclass 5a 'consists of simple declarative statements: no question is being asked, no command given' (1985: 204, with the examples at 199). One example is at Plaut. *Rud.* 573 *at uides me ornatus ut sim uestimentis uuidis*. The remark needs no answer. Later (1985: 206) he defines this category more precisely: 'Modal shift always applies to Q-clauses associated with third person and non-interrogative second person indicative verb forms' (see also Bolkestein 1995: 66, summarising with approval Stephens' classification). It may usually be true that modal shift occurs in association with third person verbs, but the odd exception can be found. Note Caecilius 42–3 *nam quam duriter | uos educauit atque asperiter, non negat*. Here the *quam*-clause is no more detached or exclamatory than many clauses in Plautus that have a second person or imperatival governing verb; indeed here the construction looks very much like an indirect question.

Second, Stephens (1985: 206) states that when 'the topic of the Q-clause is not present or already introduced into the discourse, modal shift regularly applies, regardless of the associated verb form'. This claim is less easy to assess, given that it may be difficult to say whether and in what sense a topic is not present.

Finally, Bräunlich (1920: 170) observes that in the republican and Augustan periods indicative indirect questions follow verbs in primary tenses, not historic.

We will return to these various observations and discuss them in relation to later usage.

1.4 *The status of the indicative and a familiar narrative*

We come now to the social or stylistic level of the indicative construction. There is a view that, after the early period, the indicative was vulgar, colloquial or the like. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 538) say that 'plebeian diction' used the indicative often, referring to Vitruvius and Petronius (to both of whom we will come below). As for later Latin, Bolkestein (1995: 61) observes that there is a view that the reappearance of the indicative in late texts such as the *Mulomedicina Chironis* 'is a matter of colloquial or vulgar use', and that this usage 'in the later period is in some sense

a continuation of the earlier phenomenon' (she refers to Kühner and Stegmann 1955: II.489, which may be quoted: 'nur die Dichter sowie die vulgäre Sprache einzelner Schriftsteller (namentlich im Spätlatein) und die Archaisten greifen wieder zum Indikative'). Similarly Hofmann and Szanyr (1965: 538) state that the indicative 'mit dem Überwuchern der Volkssprache im Spätlatein sich überhaupt immer mehr durchsetzt'. Bolkestein herself contends that 'there is no clear continuity between the two: for the first stage there is a functional motivation for the variation in mood, . . . whereas for the later, fourth century stage such a motivation is absent' (61).

There are various questions to be distinguished here. First, was there any continuity between early Latin and Classical or late Latin? Second, was the indicative socially stigmatised in the classical and imperial periods, such that it appeared only in special texts? Third, is it the case that in late Latin the indicative was restricted to low-register or 'vulgar texts'? This last question is relevant to the interpretation of the passage of Diomedes quoted above. The first question will come up at 1.5, 1.7 and 1.8, the second at 1.5 and 1.7, and the third at 1.8.

We now turn to the classical period and attempts to classify the indicative in stylistic or social terms.

1.5 *Classical Latin*

Determining the incidence and distribution of the indicative in indirect questions in literary Latin of the classical period is extremely difficult (at least for prose), because editors constantly emend examples away and the evidence, such as it is, is hard to find. Bräunlich (1920: 96–104) has a long list of passages from the classical period in which the manuscripts have the indicative and which she regards as certain cases of the construction, but a glance at the most recent editions will usually reveal that the indicative has been removed, often by the change of a single letter (e.g. *sint* for *sunt*). Who is right, medieval scribes or the modern editor? In late Latin, as we will see (1.8), the indicative definitely became common, and scribes might have been influenced by the language of their day. On the other hand it is unsatisfactory to have a possibly idealised grammatical rule upheld by constant emendation, particularly since there are examples in classical verse that cannot be emended away.

The extent of the problem posed by editorial vagaries may be seen from the eleven (on the figure see below) allegedly certain or probable cases of the indicative in the speeches of Cicero (see Bräunlich 1920: 160–I nn. 6–7). We note here simply the mood of the version of the OCT without trying to

determine what might be the correct text. In the supposedly certain cases (*Verr.* 1.22, *Cat.* 2.5, *Har. resp.* 37) subjunctives are always printed. In the probable cases subjunctives are printed at *Verr.* 2.131, 3.64 and *Flacc.* 80. At *Rosc. Am.* 95 the OCT has *sunt* for *sint*, but the clause is relative. *Verr.* 1.72 is printed as a direct question. At *Leg. agr.* 2.49 *arbitrantur* is kept, but the clause can be taken as relative. There are only nine cases here; the remaining two could not be found.

This pattern of emendation is repeated in the letters. Here for example is the list of Bräunlich's certain instances from the letters to Atticus, and Shackleton Bailey's (1965–70) treatment of them: *Att.* 1.19.4 (emended away), 3.7.3 (*sim* printed, not *sum*, with no textual variant noted in the apparatus), 7.12.1 (*putes* for *putas*), 7.26.3 (*quod* for *quid*, and the clause looks like a relative: *quod habebo certi, faciam ut scias*), 10.12.4 (*quicquid* for *quid*), 11.19.1 (same emendation again). None of Bräunlich's certain cases is printed by Shackleton Bailey.

Another problem is that editors are not consistent. Shackleton Bailey almost invariably removes indicatives, but he prints the following at *Att.* 13.18: *uides propinquitat quid habet* (translating '[y]ou see the virtue of propinquity'). On the other hand at *Att.* 10.12a.2 he prints *in quo si quod σφόλμα, uides quam turpe sit*. The constructions are similar (note *uides*; cf. Plaut. *Most.* 811 and the use of *uiden* to introduce an indicative clause in early Latin), and the manuscripts have the indicative in both places. In a third place, at *Att.* 8.13.2 (*uide quam conuersa res est*), he changes *est* to *sit*, though translating with an exclamation mark. For *uide quam* + indicative in Plautus see *Amph.* 360. On the first passage (*Att.* 13.18) Shackleton Bailey cites Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 11.490), who quote all three examples as illustrating the retention of the indicative in free-standing exclamations, but on the second and third he has no note. If anything the free-standing character of the clauses is more marked in the second and third cases, and in the third in particular the phraseology and construction are old.

It must finally be noted that not every indicative can be readily emended away. Note Cic. *Amic.* 96 *atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo fratre Scipionis et L. Mancino consulibus quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi uidebatur!* It would be a radical change to emend *uidebatur*. A subjunctive would definitely be possible here, but the construction had its origin in paratactic exclamations, and wherever there lingered a feeling that there was an exclamatory element the possibility remained open into the classical period of using the indicative. Note also *Amic.* 37 *uidetis quam nefaria uox!*, with Seyffert and Müller (1876: 266) ad loc. The absence of a verb suggests that *quam nefaria uox* was not felt to be strictly dependent

on *uidetis* but was derivable from parataxis (and hence *est* might have been possible in the context). Deletion of the subjunctive copula would not be expected.

However, given the ease with which so many indicatives may be removed by the change of a single letter, or, from a different perspective, with which subjunctives might have been corrupted into indicatives, the textual evidence on which any generalisations about the stylistic and social status of the indicative construction must be based is weak. There is though a conventional narrative, which seems to go back largely to Bräunlich.

According to Bräunlich (1920: 160) the indicative in indirect questions was more usual in the classical period 'in conversational than in literary, and in inelegant than in elegant styles'. As grounds for this view she cites, first, the distribution in Cicero's prose works of 'the certain or probable' instances of the indicative. There are said (1920: 160–1) to be twenty-seven instances in the letters, twelve in the philosophica, four in the rhetorical works and eleven in the speeches (see above). It is added that in the letters twenty of the twenty-seven are in those *Ad Atticum*, which are 'more colloquial than *Ad Familiares*' (1920: 161). The problem is that these figures have no standing, partly because Bräunlich was not entirely reliable in her interpretation of individual passages, but particularly, as we have seen, because modern editors have rarely accepted such indicatives. That does not mean that editors are always right, but it does mean that every single case would have to be assessed again if statistics were to be taken seriously. A reassessment would hardly be worth the effort, as agreement would be unlikely to be achieved about the totality of cases. Nevertheless Bräunlich's view of things is reflected in handbooks. See e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 538) on Cicero: the construction is found in early works and in letters by and to Cicero. Kroll (1929) on Catull. 69.10 refers to Bräunlich and finds the 'vulgar' construction occasionally in Cicero's letters and 'often' in Vitruvius (on whom see below).

Second, Bräunlich turned to poetry, where there may be a metrical foundation to instances of the indicative. She remarks (1920: 162) that in poetry 'examples of the indicative indirect question generally occur in works or passages that are more or less colloquial'. Horace is mentioned, as avoiding the construction in the *Odes* but admitting it in the *Epistles* and *Satires* (once in each): *Epist.* 1.7.39 *inspice, si possum donata reponere laetus*, *Sat.* 2.4.37–9 *nec satis est cara piscis auerrere mensa | ignarum, quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis | languidus in cubitum iam se conuiuia reponet* ('nor is it enough to sweep up fish from the expensive table, not knowing to which sauce is more suitable, and for which, if boiled, the tired dinner guest will

now raise himself onto his elbow'). But the second of these can be taken as a relative construction. The first has a typical imperative of a verb of seeing followed by *si*, an old construction (see above, 1.3) with the indicative, which can be derived ultimately from a free-standing conditional clause (note such ambiguous examples as Ter. *Phorm.* 674–5 '*quantum potest me certiozem' inquit face, | si illam dant*', 'if they are giving me the girl, let me know as soon as possible' and O. *Faw.* 1.3–4 *quid est quod mi non rescripsisti si panes percepisti*, 'If you received the loaves, why have you not written back to me?' > 'Why have you not written back to say whether you received the loaves?'; on conditionals see the discussion of Bräunlich 1920: 75–84). The Horatian example is a special, quasi-formulaic, case. All that we can say is that Horace hardly uses the construction in any genre.

Bräunlich (1920: 163) also states that in 'the elevated epic style, the construction is not frequent', adding that 'Virgil has six probable examples in the Aeneid, while he has five in the much shorter Eclogues and Georgics'. The distribution across the three genres is hardly significant, and the nature of the individual examples must be looked at. They are listed at n. 14 (*Aen.* 6.615, 779, 855, 7.207, 8.190–2, 9.269, *Ecl.* 4.52, 5.6, *Georg.* 1.56, 2.122, 4.150). The example at *Aen.* 6.615 might possibly be eliminated (the clause may be taken as relative: see Austin 1977: 196, approved by Horsfall at 2000: 167; against, 2008: 519). At 7.207 *penetrarit* is a preferable reading to *penetrauit* (see Horsfall 2000: 167). 6.779 has the old construction *uiden ut*, where the *ut*-clause is paratactic or derivable from the old paratactic usage (see Austin 1977: 239). 6.855 has *aspice ut*, a variant on *uide ut*, with the exclamatory *ut*-clause arguably free-standing. The same construction with *aspice* is at *Aen.* 8.190–2, *Ecl.* 4.52, 5.6 (see further Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 11.491 for *aspice ut* + indicative in Virgil, Ovid and Catullus). Bräunlich does not cite *Aen.* 6.771 (*qui iuuenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, uiris*), where *aspice* is even more obviously parenthetical and the associated clauses overtly exclamatory. At 9.269 (*uidisti, quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis | aureus*) the clauses can be taken as relative. Another passage not referred to by Bräunlich is 2.738–40 *heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa | substitit, errauit ne uia seu lassa resedit, | incertum* (translated by Horsfall 2008: 39 '... whether my wife Creusa was swept off by fate as she stopped, or strayed from the path, or sat down exhausted, is not clear'). Horsfall (2008: 518–19) refers (with some justification) to the 'tedious dogma' that indirect questions require the subjunctive, inclining to the view that this is indirect while referring to alternative explanations. He then lists, as probable indirect questions with the indicative in Virgil, 6.771, 779, 855, 8.190–2, whereas above we have suggested a degree of parataxis in these passages. At 2.738–40 above

subjunctives would be normal, but the construction could more certainly be taken as an indirect question if *incertum* preceded the question clauses. As it is *incertum* might be an afterthought, following direct questions. We might cite in this connection Lucan 1.126 *quis iustius induit arma | scire nefas*. Housman (1926) mentions with disapproval Heinsius' punctuation *quis iustius induit arma? scire nefas*, referring to 9.563 *quaere quid est uirtus*, where *sit* could not be written and 'inepte sic uerba distinguerentur, *quaere 'quid est uirtus?'* It remains true, however, that when the interrogative clause (*quis induit*) precedes the governing verb it is more easily taken as detached and a direct question. Nor is the ridiculed punctuation of the second passage out of the question. There are often ambiguities of interpretation possible when there is an apparent indicative in an indirect question.

At *Georg.* 1.56 (*nonne uidēs . . . ut*) the construction is much the same as that at *Aen.* 6.779 (see Austin 1977: 239). At *Georg.* 2.121–2 the clauses *ut . . . depectant* and *quos . . . gerit* come several lines after the introductory verb-phrase *quid tibi . . . referam* (118) and have a detached character, though subjunctives would surely have been required in classical prose. Finally, the construction at 4.150 is relative. If relatives and two other cases (*Aen.* 2.738–40, *Georg.* 2.121–2) are left aside, Virgil has confined himself to constructions of the old-Latin type, where the main verb is a verb of seeing, either imperative or marked as interrogative, and the associated clause has a certain detachment.

There is however one significant feature of the construction in the *Aeneid*. Without exception the examples from the *Aeneid* cited in the last paragraph but one above are in direct speeches (see Bräunlich 1920: 163), whereas outside speeches the subjunctive is regular in the *Aeneid* (Bräunlich 1920: 163 n. 20). Here is a hint that a certain type of quasi-indirect question, that in which the clause is either paratactic or derivable from an earlier paratactic type, was associated by Virgil with speech. This is far better evidence for an informal character of the usage than any that can be extracted from Cicero.

Bräunlich (1920: 163), in her attempt to establish the colloquial character of the indicative in the classical period, makes a distinction between Catullus and Lucretius. The indicative is supposedly more common in Catullus than Lucretius. It occurs five times in Catullus (against twenty-one examples of the subjunctive). Bräunlich does not, however, make it explicit, first, that four of the five examples are in the longer poems, and second that all of these are in traditional quasi-parentetical uses (the phrase is used by Fordyce 1961: 245 in a good note on 61.77f.), namely *uide(n) ut*

(61.77, 61.94, 62.8) and *aspicite ut* (62.12). There is one other example that is not formulaic (69.10 *admirari desine cur fugiunt*), in a shorter poem of abusive content. This distribution would suggest that the parenthetical formula was acceptable in high-style poetry (Fordyce makes the point that Virgil is the only other poet to have *uident ut* + indicative), but that extended uses were possibly substandard. Kroll (1929) ad loc. refers to this last example as vulgar. More will be said below (1.7) about non-formulaic examples.

Despite the reservations expressed above about the evidence used by Bräunlich, there are some grounds for thinking that the construction belonged to colloquial or casual style in the classical period. It is the use of the construction by Virgil that points to this conclusion. Not all of the constructions discussed here are unreservedly to be spoken of as indirect questions, because it is usually possible to see their origin in detached independent exclamations or questions. Nevertheless a subjunctive would have been possible in virtually all of the contexts that have been seen. We have also just raised the question in reference to Catull. 69.10 whether the indicative in non-formulaic contexts (where there is no possibility of finding an independent exclamation or question) might possibly have been stigmatised. But first we may take up briefly again the point that in a classical prose writer it is not always straightforward to remove an indicative by emendation.

At Livy 34.3.5 Briscoe accepts the form *prodest* of the manuscripts, rejecting Madvig's emendation to *prosit*: *id modo quaeritur, si maiori parti et in summam prodest*. He makes the point (1981: 49) that *si* is found with the indicative in such contexts in early Latin (see above, 1.3, and also *si possum* at Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.39, above, this section), adding that *si* is common at the head of indirect questions in Livy, though elsewhere always with a subjunctive verb. He argues that corruption to *prosit* seems unlikely. Here is a place where the evidence is strong that a classical writer admitted an indicative in an indirect question. The construction in this context was an old one, and there is no reason why it should not have been lingering on alongside the standard subjunctive. A writer only had to have a sense that a clause that to us looks dependent had in the context a certain detachment, and he might have adopted the indicative. Briscoe refers to the indicative as used 'occasionally as a colloquialism in literary Latin', and this example, like those in the *Aeneid*, is indeed in a direct speech.

This construction in Livy prompts one to consider a passage in Caesar. In the manuscripts of a letter of Caesar at Cic. *Att.* 9.7C.1 the following construction occurs: *temptemus hoc modo si possumus omnium uoluntates*

recuperare. Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) predictably prints the emendation, which in this case only requires change of a single letter, *possimus*, along with a note ad loc. stating that the ‘subjunctive seems obligatory’. He cites five passages where *temptare si* is accompanied by the subjunctive, not one of which, however, has the expression *temptemus si* (see also Bräunlich 1920: 77 on the ambiguity of the *si*-clause here). *Temptemus si* + indicative is found in a speech by a freedman in Petronius: 33.5 *temptemus tamen si adhuc sorbilia sunt* (Trimalchio), where no editor would contemplate the equally simple change to *sint*, because this after all is in a well-known source for substandard Latin. But if Livy admitted an indirect question with the indicative introduced by *si* in a speech, why should Caesar not have admitted the same construction in a letter, particularly since *temptemus si* looks like an idiom?

It was noted above (1.4) that Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 538) referred to the ‘plebeian diction’ of Vitruvius as an explanation for his (apparent) use of the indicative in indirect questions. We now turn to Vitruvius.

Because Vitruvius has a reputation for writing non-standard Latin and because of a general acceptance of Bräunlich’s view that the indicative in indirect questions was colloquial, editors seem to have been more tolerant of indicatives in his text.

Note first Vitr. 2.9.17 *de singulis generibus, quibus proprietatibus e naturarum uideantur esse comparatae, quibusque procreantur rationibus, exposui* (‘Of the individual kinds (of trees), I have set forth the properties with which they seem to have been planned as determined by the nature of things, and the ways in which they are produced’). On the face of it there is an alternation of moods (*uideantur*, *procreantur*). Alternations, suggestive of the lack of a clear-cut distinction between the two moods, do occur in comedy (see above, 1.3, and also Plaut. *Amph.* 17–18 *nunc cuius iussu uenio et quam ob rem uenerim, | dicam*, Ter. *Andr.* 649–50: see Bodelot 1987: 106–7, also citing an example from Seneca’s tragedies), poetry (Propertius: see below, this section), and occasionally in the manuscripts of prose writers (Bräunlich 1920: 171–2: e.g. Livy 41.24.5), but what is emended away in e.g. Livy is retained in Vitruvius, even though the form *procreantur* might have been corrupted from *procreentur* under the influence of the coordinated *uideantur*. There is an assumption that Vitruvius might have committed what Livy would not. Alternatively the two clauses might be seen as relative (= *eorumque proprietatibus quibus . . . rationibusque quibus . . .*), in which case it would have to be argued either that there was some sort of modal contrast between the two verbs, or that one of them should be emended.

At 9.2.4, on the other hand (*nunc, ut in singulis mensibus sol signa peruadens auget et minuit dierum et horarum spatia, dicam*), corruption is not so easily assumed. The construction is of an old type, with a verb of saying complemented by an *ut*-clause: cf. Ter. *Ad.* 513 *ut res gestas narrabo*, Plaut. *Trin.* 749 *ut . . . edoceam ut res se habet* ('so that . . . I may inform him how things stand'). For this construction with an imperative verb see Enn. *scaen.* 169 Vahlen *eloquere eloquere, res Argiium proelio ut se sustinet*, Plaut. *Rud.* 1211 *eloquere ut haec res optigit de filia*. The construction in Ennius might be construed paratactically, with the repeated imperative an independent utterance and the following clause a direct question. The example in Vitruvius (and those in Terence and at Plaut. *Trin.* 749) cannot be construed in this way, but the general phraseology derives from the paratactic type.

At 7.5.4 (*neque animaduertunt si quid eorum fieri potest necne*, 'nor do they consider whether any of them can occur or not') there is another old type, with the clause introduced by *si*.

Finally note 2.6.4 *relinquetur desideratio . . . quid ita non etiam ibi nascitur puluis* ('there will remain the enquiry why the powder is not found there also'). Emendation would be easy here, but the question is widely detached from the head word *desideratio* and it can be read as quasi-paratactic.

There is then some evidence for the indicative construction in Vitruvius, but the examples appear no more 'plebeian' than those in Virgil. Several cases are of types that can loosely be traced back to early Latin, as are those in Virgil, and it is possible that these uses had lingered on in casual style. One possible development here is the presence of a third person verb at the head of such a construction, a feature to which we will come below, 1.6.

Finally, Propertius must be mentioned. He provides good evidence for the existence of the indicative construction in the classical period.

Note Prop. 3.5.25–30 *tum mihi naturae libeat perdiscere mores, | quis deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum, | qua uenit exoriens, qua deficit, unde coactis | cornibus in plenum menstrea luna redit, | unde salo superant uenti, quid flamine capret | Eurus* ('let my fancy turn to exploring the ways of nature, what god so skilfully controls this household that is the world, how comes the moon at her rising, how she wanes, how each month she draws her horns together and returns to fullness, how winds have mastery over the sea, what the East Wind chases with his blast', Goold, Loeb). There are six verbs here, the first and last in the subjunctive and the others in the indicative. Here metre may come into it. The two subjunctives could have been changed to indicative without affecting the metre. On the other hand three of the four indicatives could not be changed to

subjunctive. If the indicative was a metrical licence, it could hardly have been strongly stigmatised. The construction also has a certain detachment, as the primary complement of *perdiscere* is *mores*, and the following clauses are in apposition to this. Such a structure was favoured by Propertius (see below).

The example at 2.16.29–30 (*aspice quid donis Eriphyla inuenit amari, | arserit et quantis nupta Creusa malis*, '[s]ee what unhappiness Eriphyla obtained from her gifts, and in what agony the bride Creusa burned', Goold, Loeb) is of a commonplace type (with verb of seeing in the imperative) traceable to early Latin. We have seen *aspice* earlier with this construction in classical poetry. The indicative and subjunctive alternate.

At 2.30.27–30 (*illic aspicias scopulis haerere Sorores | et canere antiqui dulcia furta Iouis, | ut Semela est combustus, ut est deperditus Io, | denique ut ad Troiae tecta uolarit auis*) *furta* is the primary complement of *canere* and the *ut*-clauses are appositional (see above). This is another instance of a verb of saying complemented by an *ut*-clause (see above, p. 759 on Vitruvius). Again there is alternation between indicative and subjunctive.

Similar to the above is 2.34.33–6 (*nam cursus licet Aetoli referas Acheloi | fluxerit ut magno fractus amore liquor, | atque etiam ut Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo | errat et ipsa suas decipit unda uias*). Again there is a nominal complement (*cursus*) of the verb of saying (*referas*), followed by appositional *ut*-clauses containing alternation of subjunctive and indicative.

1.6 Conclusions

In classical Latin the indicative in indirect questions was definitely in use to some extent. There are examples in poetry that could not be eliminated by emendation except by radical rewriting, notably in Propertius and Virgil and also in Catullus and Ovid. Prose is more difficult to assess, and many examples have been removed by editors. Nevertheless we cited instances that can be defended from Cicero, Caesar, Livy and Vitruvius. There is a stereotyped character to many of the examples in classical Latin. We have seen, for example, verbs of saying complemented by *ut*, imperatives of verbs of seeing (*uide*, *aspice*, *inspice*) followed by *si* or *ut*, various *si*-clauses, and *uides* or *uiden* with an indicative clause as complement. These types can all be found in early Latin. Sometimes, particularly in early Latin, the clause can be taken as free-standing (exclamatory, interrogative) and the construction one of parataxis, but parataxis will not account for many of the examples. It is possible, however, that forms of wording

originating in paratactic constructions became stereotyped and retained a tendency to generate a following indicative. If we had only the poetic examples we might be justified in arguing that the poets had picked up the constructions from early Latin and were using them as archaisms, but it would be unconvincing to find such archaism in Vitruvius, and it is therefore likely that such phraseology had a certain currency.

But what sort of currency? That is the main question to be addressed in this chapter. Even if we disregard the statistics given by Bräunlich from Cicero, the distribution of the examples that have been treated here as textually defensible suggests strongly that in the classical period the indicative in the indirect question (or, one should say more precisely, in certain types of indirect questions) belonged among the educated to casual or colloquial style, and that in turn makes it likely that further down the social scale it would have been more common. We saw that in the *Aeneid* all examples are in direct speeches, and the one instance noted in Livy is also in a speech. In Cicero even Shackleton Bailey allows one example in a letter, and one or two other instances, which are similar to this example, should probably be printed in the letters as well. Caesar does not have the indicative in his *commentarii* (Bräunlich 1920: 161), but we supported one instance in a letter of his in the Ciceronian corpus. There are definite examples in Propertius, and elegy is a genre that admitted colloquial elements. The currency of the construction in lower sociolects cannot be determined for this period, but a little later there are examples in Terentianus, the Vindolanda tablets, the Vindonissa tablets and the ostraca of Wadi Fawâkhir, and that is to say nothing of the freedmen's speeches in Petronius, which (along with the corpora just listed) will be dealt with separately below (1.7.1).

We have stressed the continuity between early Latin and the classical period, but certain developments are in evidence as well. First, Stephens (1985: 206), it was noted (1.3 p. 751), suggested that after third person verbs the subjunctive was always used in early Latin (though we did note one exception). At Vitr. 7.5.4 on the other hand we saw the indicative construction following a third person plural verb. Second, while most instances are in stereotyped contexts, there is the occasional freer use, as in the abusive short poem of Catullus (69.10) and sometimes in Propertius.

Bräunlich (1920: 170) also observes that in the republican and Augustan periods indicative indirect questions follow verbs in primary tenses, not historic. We will come to the use of the construction after past tense verbs in connection with Pompeius (below, 1.8).

1.7 Imperial Latin and lower social dialects

If there was social variation in the incidence of the construction in the imperial period, that ought to show up in Petronius, and also in non-literary documents when compared with the language of literature.

1.7.1 Petronius and non-literary documents

Petersmann (1977: 265) found a clear difference between the usage of the freedmen and Petronius' 'urbane prose'. He gave some examples but did not provide systematic information. There follows a collection of all possible instances of the indicative in freedmen's speeches, a classification of the instances, a list of indirect questions (all of which have the subjunctive) in the narrative parts of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, and a list of places where the freedmen are attributed the subjunctive in such constructions.

1.7.1.1 Indicatives in indirect questions (?) in freedmen's speeches

- (i) 33.5 temptemus tamen si adhuc sorbilia sunt (Trimalchio; the same construction, we saw (1.5), is found in the manuscripts of a letter of Caesar).
- (ii) 44.1 cum interim nemo curat quid annona mordet.
- (iii) 48.4 sed narra tu mihi, Agamemnon, quam controuersiam hodie declamasti? (Trimalchio).
- (iv-v) 48.7 rogo, inquit, Agamemnon mihi carissime, numquid duodecim aerumnas Herculis tenes, aut de Vluxe fabulam, quemadmodum illi Cyclops pollicem . . . extorsit? (there are two possible examples here (underlined), the second following a verbal noun; cf. 41.1 for an indirect question in the narrative with subjunctive verb dependent on a verbal noun).
- (vi) 50.7 ignoscetis mihi quid dixero (editors tend to change to *quod*; see below).
- (vii) 55.5 Trimalchio 'rogo,' inquit 'magister, quid putas . . . ' (see Bräunlich 1920: 110).
- (viii) 58.9 dicam tibi qui de nobis currit et de loco non mouetur; qui de nobis crescit et minor fit.
- (ix) 61.2 nescio quid nunc taces nec muttis (Trimalchio).
- (x) 67.1 sed narra mihi, Gai, rogo, Fortunata quare non recumbit?
- (xi) 71.9 scis enim quod epulum dedi binos denarios (Trimalchio).
- (xii) 71.12 inscriptio quoque uide diligenter si haec satis idonea tibi uidetur.
- (xiii) 76.11 tantum quod mihi non dixerat quid pridie cenaueram (Trimalchio).

Nos. (iii), (iv), (vii) and (x) are direct questions with a detached introductory verb. Twice that verb is *narra*, as at Plaut. *Poen.* 1027 *narra, quid est?*

(xi) is open to the alternative (and universally favoured) interpretation that it has the *scio quod*-construction rather than an indirect question.

(viii) should be taken as having relative clauses, and the pronoun form is relative not interrogative.

(v) is not a compelling candidate for an indirect question with indicative verb, as it can be read as a detached explanatory clause following *fabulam* ('do you remember the story of Ulysses – how the Cyclops twisted off his thumb?').

Once these seven instances are removed from consideration, there remain some interesting clauses that look like indirect questions.

In (i) and (xii) the clause is introduced by *si*, which is often followed by an indicative verb (see above, 1.3, 1.5, p. 757). At (xii) there is the formula *uide si*, which not only goes back to early Latin with the indicative (see above, 1.3) but at this period is found in a letter of Terentianus (see below, 1.7.1.2).

Nescio quid at (ix) is an expression that tends to take the indicative (Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 11.491), though here it is not indefinite but means 'I don't know why'; cf. 37.6 *ipse nescit quid habeat*, where again the phrase is not indefinite and this time there is a subjunctive verb, in a freedman's speech. Cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 431 *ah, nescis quid dicturus sum, tace*.

There is thus a good deal of continuity between the usage of early Latin and that of the freedmen, not only in the detached clauses listed in the first paragraph above but also in the indirect questions. Since we also saw stereotyped expressions turning up in the classical period, it is clear that some old usages enjoyed a very long currency in casual style, and at different social levels. It is interesting to see the same expression in a letter of Caesar and a speech by a freedman.

There remain three examples, which look similar to one another, as will be seen if they are set out together:

44.1 cum interim nemo curat quid annona mordet.

50.7 ignoscetis mihi quid dixero.

76.11 tantum quod mihi non dixerat quid pridie cenaueram.

In each case the clause is introduced by *quid*, but in two is translatable as a relative. Thus, at 76.11, 'the only thing he had not told me was what (= 'that which') I had had for dinner the previous day'. 50.7 means 'you will pardon me (this) which I am about to say'. At 44.1 it might be tempting to translate *quid* as 'why', but it seems unlikely that the speaker is bothered about the cause of high prices; it is their extent that is causing hardship: 'no one cares to what extent prices bite'. This seems to be the use of *quid* that is identified at *OLD* s.v. *quis* 15, where it is described as an internal accusative and rendered 'in what respect, to what extent'. Velleius 2.124.1 is cited for this use of *quid* (= 'how greatly') introducing an indirect question

(with subjunctive verb): *quid tunc homines timuerint... neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere uacat neque cui uacat potest.*

The second and third examples appear to have relative clauses introduced by *quid* for *quod*, manifesting, it seems, the conflation of the relative and interrogative pronoun forms or, one might alternatively say, of relative and interrogative clauses (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 554, and the discussion of E. Löfstedt 1907: 55–9). Indeed, as noted above, editors have emended to *quod* at 50.7 (without noting that the same emendation would be needed at 76.11 if they were to be consistent). Note *O. Faw.* 1.10–12 *scribe mi ut pretium aeorum quit uis*, ‘as a payment for those things, write to me what you want’. This construction is in effect equivalent to *scribe mi id pretium quod uis*, and *quid* does not seem translatable as anything other than a relative equivalent. This construction with *quid* for *quod* seems to have been substandard, to judge from its distribution as described by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 554), and an innovation. We may speak loosely of a type of ‘indirect question’, because if the semantics of the construction derive from the relative construction the pronoun form derives from an indirect question. Note that at Plaut. *Merc.* 783 (*dicam id quid est*) *id* has merely been fronted out of the *quid*-clause and the construction is a conventional indirect question with indicative verb.

The third example, at 44.1, is an interesting one. It was seen above (1.3) that Stephens (1985: 206) stated that question-clauses in early Latin associated with a verb in the third person always have modal shift. Here the verb (*curat*) is third person, but the indicative is used in the dependent clause. The phraseology is also far from stereotyped. Though there is a marked element of continuity with the early language, in the three examples just listed we witness new types of construction with the indicative. Since the new usages are put into the mouths of freedmen, they must have been associated by Petronius with lower-class speech.

In the narrative parts of the *Cena* there are seven indirect questions, all with subjunctive verbs:

- 31.5 ego experiri uolui an tota familia cantaret.
- 37.1 coepi sciscitari(que) quae esset mulier illa.
- 40.2 necdum sciebamus <quo> mitteremus suspiciones nostras.
- 41.1 in multas cogitationes diductus sum, quare aper pilleatus intrasset.
- 52.7 Agamemnon qui sciebat quibus meritis reuocaretur ad cenam.
- 65.8 quaesivitque quomodo acceptus esset.
- 69.9 statim intellexi quid esset.

Usually the higher verb is first person, but twice (52.7, 65.8) it is third.

There is a difference between the narrative and the freedmen's speeches, but its extent should not be exaggerated. Petronius did not exploit the indicative in indirect questions as a strong means of characterising the speech of the freedmen, as he had exploited the use of the masculine for neuter. For the most part the freedmen too are given the subjunctive in indirect questions: 31.2 (*statim scietis . . . cui dederitis beneficium*), 37.6, 40.7 (*iam uidete, quam . . . comederit glandem*), 44.14 (*iam scio unde acceperit denarios*), 46.2, 50.4, 50.5 (*bene scio unde . . . nata sint*), 56.2, 57.3, 57.9, 59.3 (*scitis . . . quam fabulam agant?*), 62.8 (*nesciebam ubi essem*), 62.14, 69.9, 74.17, 75.11 (*scitis quid dicam*). The examples just quoted all have the subjunctive in contexts in which the indicative might have been used in early Latin, and this represents a shift to the subjunctive even in speech down the social scale. But Petronius must have been aware of certain substandard uses of the indicative, which he assigned to freedmen, and freedmen, as we saw, are also given some more stereotyped indirect questions with the indicative. There are writers in the early imperial period who rigorously avoid the indicative construction (e.g. Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Quintilian: see Bräunlich 1920: 161), and we thus have some indication of social variation, particularly if the evidence of writing tablets is added to that of Petronius (see below).

There is one other observation to be made about Petronius. In one place the more learned Ascylos is possibly given the indicative construction, in a direct speech: 8.1 *et 'si scires' inquit 'quae mihi acciderunt'*. Alternatively the clause might be taken as relative. If it is an indirect question that should cause no surprise. The indicative had long had a place in casual educated style, and, as we have seen constantly, casual style of the educated sometimes admitted usages that were more common in lower sociolects.

1.7.1.2 Non-literary documents

In non-literary texts of the early Empire usage seems to be much the same as that of the freedmen. Some clauses with the indicative are found, both of old type and also non-stereotyped. In the letters of Terentianus there is a typical old expression at 469.6–7 *uide si potes imbenire* (cf. Ter. *Ph.* 553 *uide si quid opis potes afferre huic*). In the letter of his 'father' Tiberianus there is both a subjunctive (472.3) and an indicative (472.12 *rescribere ubi constas*). Note too *Tab. Vindon.* 45.1 *itaque scias ubi conuiuium orno*, with a higher verb well represented already in early Latin. More striking are the following two instances: *Tab. Vindol.* 645.1.6 *in quibus (epistulis) scribit mihi ut ei notum faciam quid gessero de fussa*, *O. Faw.* 1.10–12 *scribe mi ut pretium aeorum quit uis* (on which see above, 1.7.1.1). Just as the freedmen in

Petronius often use the subjunctive construction, so too in the Vindolanda letters the subjunctive is usual (e.g. 218.2, 250.7, 292.b.iii.4, 310.7, 316.i.3, 316.ii.5, 670.ii.1). By this period the indicative was a non-standard variant avoided by purists but usually outnumbered even in lower sociolects by the subjunctive. A few stereotyped formulae probably lingered on in all varieties of the language.

1.8 *Late Latin*

Diomedes found fault with the indicative in indirect questions (see 1.2), describing it as 'more learned' (*eruditius*) to use the subjunctive. This remark should not be taken at face value as establishing that the indicative was stigmatised. The following is a selection of examples of both the indicative and subjunctive spread over about a hundred pages of the grammarian Pompeius (quotations are from *GL* v by page numbers). In each of the groups (designated by capital letters) there are quoted first some indicatives and then subjunctives found in similar or identical contexts:

A

- 135.19 ergo uides quo modo locutus est.
 209.25 ecce habes ergo ubi non inuenitur uocatiuus casus.
 128.6 uides ergo quanta breuitate hoc sit factum.
 210.12 habes ergo ubi duo desint casus.

B

- 149.38 quem ad modum discernimus quando est nomen, quando participium?
 149.21 et tamen apparet quando participium sit, quando nomen.

C

- 127.15 iam modo uideamus quo modo computantur accentus.
 151.23 uideamus quae res potior est.
 202.35 iam uideamus quae sunt infinita.
 215.27 uideamus si potest aliquis hoc intellegere.
 136.16 item uideamus utrum e contrario hoc ipsum possit fieri.
 191.15 modo illud uideamus, ipse genetiuus pluralis quando in um exeat, quando in ium.

D

- 179.33 illud uero quaesitum est, et prudenter quaesitum est, familias qui casus est.
 179.36 illud quaesitum est, qui casus sit.

E

182.11 non enim potes intellegere quid est inflexum.

182.20 ut intellegamus postea quid est ascendere.

170.33 per ipsum scimus quid sit cadere.

171.3 ab ipso discimus quid sit comparare.

171.5 per ipsum scimus quid sit cadere.

171.6 non enim possumus scire quid sit cadere.

F

156.7 et reddita est ratio non a Donato sed ab aliis quare non iunguntur.

182.10 tamen est ratio qua dicitur casus.

167.29 ut det tibi rationem quem ad modum possis colligere et quem ad modum declines.

210.8 est etiam alia ratio unde hoc planius intellegas.

G

200.5 quid scripsit notum est, qui scripsit non est notum.

200.3 et qui sit qui scripsit et quid sit quod scripsit notum est.

Pompeius was roughly contemporary with Diomedes. It is obvious from these passages that he used the indicative and subjunctive indifferently, and the former with complete freedom. Diomedes must have been attempting to uphold what he regarded as classical usage, but the reality of the age was that even a grammarian was happy to disregard such a rule.

There is some continuity between early Latin and late Latin as represented by Pompeius. For example, for *si* with the indicative see 215.27 *uideamus si potest aliquis hoc intellegere*, 217.17 *uideamus si non erit secunda coniugatio*. By contrast *utrum* seems almost always to generate a subjunctive (136.16, 171.24, 172.33, 181.35, 185.17, 188.35, 189.10, 190.6, 194.12, 202.4, 203.9, 211.23), except at 152.5 (see below), but there the higher verb is an imperative. *Vides* (A) with the indicative in the dependent clause goes back to Plautus (*Most.* 811) and is found in Cicero (above, 1.5).

When the higher verb is an imperative it is usually followed by the indicative (for this feature in earlier Latin see above, 1.3). Note:

127.25 uide quam bonam breuitatem inuenerunt Latini.

128.1 uide quanta breuitate colligis hanc rationem.

137.31 uide ergo quo modo et dixit rem communem cum ceteris et dixit . . .

152.5 dic mihi utrum possum dicere tam doctior.

159.6 et uide si stat.

170.3 plane uide quo modo dicit sibi aliqua contraria.

183.37–184.1 interim aduerte quem ad modum fit ut . . .

186.34 uide autem quid dicit ipse Donatus.

There are some familiar (early) uses here, such as *uide si* and *uide* with other complements; also *dic* (cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 203 *dic ubi ea nunc est*).

Contrast e.g.:

129.33 *sed tracta quando debeat accentum habere.*

203.9 *quaere utrum sit praesens.*

215.16 *noli quaerere utrum in uno deficiat.*

But continuity is only part of the story. According to Stephens (see above, 1.3) the indicative is not (one should say rather ‘rarely’) found in early Latin after a head verb in the third person. Third person indicatives followed by indirect questions are not all that common in Pompeius (see D, F and G) and they tend to have a passive verb, but such passives can usually be rewritten in the active with a third person indicative verb. *Reddita est ratio a Donato* can be rewritten *Donatus rationem reddidit*. Pompeius uses the indicative in the dependent clause.

This example also shows that one of Bräunlich’s observations no longer applies. She says (1920: 170: see above, 1.3) that in the republican and Augustan periods the governing verb is not usually in a historic tense.

Stephens also states (1985: 206: see 1.3) that when the topic of the question-clause ‘is not present or already introduced into the discourse’, the subjunctive is regular. Not much weight can be attached to such a claim, as we remarked, given that it may not be easy to say whether and in what sense a topic is not present. Note for example Pompeius 127.15 *iam modo uideamus quo modo computantur accentus* (C). Here the discussion takes a new turn. Pompeius has just mentioned that there are two accents, the acute and circumflex, and he now raises a new question: how are they determined. He gives an immediate answer (from the end, not the beginning). Should we say that the topic is new? If it is only partly new, does that allow us to say that it is ‘already introduced in the discourse’? There is no clear answer to these questions, and that is why notions of topic, given and new have such little explanatory power. It is however the case that when Pompeius writes *uideamus* (C) he is usually moving on to a new topic or question, and the indicative as well as the subjunctive is used.

But the main point is that the groups of passages above show that Pompeius was not restricting the indicative to particular contexts and employing the subjunctives for others. The two moods alternate without distinction.

Finally, Bräunlich (1920: 176–81) offers a survey of bibliography on the distribution of the indicative and subjunctive in a wide variety of late texts. This does not support the view that the indicative is a particular feature of low-register texts (for this question see above, 1.4). There are late low-register texts that prefer the subjunctive, and higher-style texts (such as Pompeius' grammatical treatise) in which the indicative is common. Here are a few details. In the archetypal low-register text, the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, the subjunctive is the norm (seventeen times: see Bräunlich 1920: 177; also Väänänen 1987: 76). Bräunlich refers to four instances of the indicative, but Väänänen suggests that those introduced by *quemadmodum* are special cases. Similarly Bräunlich (1920: 179) noted only seven possible instances in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* compared with twenty-five of the subjunctive. Nor are indicatives excluded by the purist Vegetius (Bräunlich 1920: 180). On the other hand in the high-style historical work of Ammianus the indicative is about as common as the subjunctive (Bräunlich 1920: 177–8).

There were no doubt purists with an eye to the past such as Diomedes who sought to avoid the indicative (Lactantius would appear to have been one such: Bräunlich 1920: 177), but the evidence would suggest that from about the fourth century it was in free variation with the subjunctive and that it cannot have been markedly stigmatised.

1.9 Final conclusions

The indicative in indirect questions occurs frequently in early Latin, though often in ambiguous contexts where the clause may be interpreted as free-standing. By the classical period it had receded (though modern editions are often out of line with the manuscripts), and there is some evidence that the old idea that it was colloquial is correct. Those uses that do turn up at this period are mainly stereotyped, and traceable back to early Latin. In the early imperial period the distribution of the indicative in Petronius suggests that it was now socially stigmatised, but there are no grounds for thinking that it was the norm in lower sociolects: it was an occasional variant. Various high-style writers such as Tacitus at this period rigorously avoid it, and that points to a purist reaction against it. In late Latin there were further developments. Purists such as Diomedes were still trying to hold to the subjunctive, which they, like Tacitus and others, saw as more correct, but the indicative had now become widespread, even in a learned writer such as a grammarian. Nor was it confined any longer to a few formulae.

Resistance had given way to acceptance, and this represents change from below, if usage in the first century (Petronius) is compared with that in the fifth (Pompeius).

2 The infinitive in indirect deliberative questions and potential/generic relative clauses

A particular type of indirect question is the deliberative (on Latin see e.g. Woodcock 1959: 133–4). A clause such as ‘where am I to turn’ may be embedded (‘I do not know where I am to turn’), with the subjunctive used in Latin just as it is in the direct form (note Plaut. *Rud.* 379 *quid faceret?* :: *si amabat, rogas quid faceret?*, where the direct and indirect constructions are juxtaposed).

In late Latin the infinitive makes an appearance in the indirect form, as at Coripp. *Ioh.* 1.273 *nescitque miser quo flectere puppem*, where it is confirmed by the metre; in prose such infinitives can often be emended away (so too sometimes in verse) by the addition of a single letter (*m*, *t*: see further below). Further examples may be found at Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 539).

The infinitive in indirect deliberative questions cannot be separated from the infinitive in relative clauses of potential or generic type, in which a subjunctive would be normal in Classical Latin (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 539). In such clauses, mainly in later Latin (but see below for Cuvigny 2003: 409, M689), the infinitive is better attested than it is in indirect deliberatives (for examples see e.g. Thielmann 1885a: 63–4, Petschenig 1890: 387, E. Löfstedt 1911: 251, Svennung 1935: 439, Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 539 and the references below). Note e.g.:

SHA Maximin. 29.5 de quo nos nihil amplius habemus quod dicere (the text has sometimes been changed, e.g. by the deletion of *quod*).

Schol. Juv. 7.87 non habebat unde se sustentare (so P).

Pallad. 11.1.2 non habet amplius quod nocere.

Grom. p. 350.3 (Lachmann) non inuenimus lapides peregrinos quos ponere.

Oribas. *Syn.* 8.12 (La) non potest . . . inuenire locum, ubi caput lenire.

In these examples there is usually an expressed antecedent, and the form of the pronoun may reveal that it was conceived of as a relative (*quod* for *quid*). The first example may be translated ‘concerning whom we have nothing further that we might say’ (lit. ‘which to say’) (CL *quod dicamus*, potential or generic subjunctive).

There are two possible cases in an African poem (dated 202–3) from Bu Njem in the name of a centurion, Avidius: 1–3 *quaesii multum quot memoriae tradere* | . . . | *uotum communem*, 6–7 *inueni tandem nomen et numen deae* | . . . *quem dicare*.¹ The second is a straightforward relative, though the antecedent of *quem* is unclear (either *deae*, with the masculine form of the relative used for the feminine, or *nomen et numen*, with masculine relative for neuter). The first can be construed as a relative construction with its antecedent taken into the relative clause (= *quaesii uotum commune quod memoriae tradere* (for *traderem*)). Another possibility is that final *-m* has been omitted (see Adams 1999a: 124–5 with bibliography).

Sometimes alternatively the antecedent may be unexpressed and indefinite, as at Schol. Juv. 7.87 above. Note too Cuvigny (2003: 409) M689 for an early example from Egypt (end of first century, first quarter of second): *et unde potere non abemus* (*sic*, = *potare*). The type with a positive main verb, as in the African poem, is rarer than that when the main verb is negated (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 539).

The infinitive in such relative clauses can be explained from a contamination of two equivalent constructions. The verb of the main clause is not infrequently *habeo* (see below), and accordingly we may compare Cic. *Att.* 2.22.6 *nihil habeo ad te scribere* ('I have nothing to write to you') with Cic. *Att.* 7.19 *nihil habeo quod ad te scribam* ('I have nothing which I may write to you') (cf. Norberg 1939: 265, R. Coleman 1971a: 216 for such examples). The constructions are identical in meaning. Conflated they become *nihil habeo quod ad te scribere* (see e.g. Thielmann 1885a: 63, Norberg 1939: 264–5, 1943: 259; E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.171–2 includes the new construction in his chapter on contamination). For the point that the conflated construction occurs particularly with *habeo* see *TLL* vi.2–3.2438.52ff.; also Petschenig (1890: 387), Norberg (1939: 264), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 539). Some of the examples cited by the *TLL* are from the *Vetus Latina*, where they are usually translated from the Greek (see the material in the *TLL*). Occasional examples in Christian writers such as Augustine and Gregory the Great may reflect the influence of the Biblical tradition. Others (such as *Anon. Val.* 11.82 with Adams 1976a: 30) are in texts down the educational scale that were not translated from Greek. The construction had entered literature but is not, even in late Latin, used freely in the higher literary language, and it may be deduced that it was long frowned on by the educated.

It seems likely that the starting point for the infinitive not only in relative clauses of potential/generic type but also in indirect deliberative questions

¹ For the text see e.g. Rebuffat (1987), Courtney (1995) no. 40, Adams (1999a).

lay in such contaminations in relative constructions. There is sometimes a fine distinction between a relative (particularly when its antecedent has been drawn into the relative clause) and a deliberative question. We have interpreted the first passage in the African poem of Avidius above as a relative construction, but equally it could be taken as an indirect deliberative ('What common vow was I to hand down to posterity?' > 'I sought what common vow I was to hand down to posterity'). As a result of such ambiguities the infinitive was able to shift from one construction (potential/generic relative) to the other (deliberative question).

The infinitive in indirect deliberative questions continued in all Romance languages, particularly after verbs meaning 'know': e.g. Fr. *je ne sais que faire*, It. *non sappiamo come arrivarci* ('we don't know how to get there'), Sp. *no sabía qué decir* ('he didn't know what to say'). For the infinitive in relative sentences cf. Fr. *je n'ai que faire* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 539).

A few words may be added about contamination. A feature of poor performance in writing or speech, whether motivated (particularly in the case of writing) by poor education or by some other factor, such as speed of composition, is the conflating of two equivalent constructions in the same sentence (see Adams, Lapidge and Reinhardt 2005: 14 on 'bad writing'). A straightforward case is Terentianus 471.19 *non magis curauit me pro xylospiongium*, which is intended to mean 'he treated me as if I were a *xylospiongium*' but is incoherently expressed. Terentianus combined two interchangeable utterances (*non magis curauit me quam x* and *curauit me pro x*) (Adams 1977a: 60). In some handbooks 'conflations' or 'contaminations' occupy a prominent place (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1911: 344 s.v. 'Kontamination', 1956: 11.154–72, with bibliography at 154, Svennung 1935: 664–5 s.v. 'Kontamination', Norberg 1943: 267, 1944: 123 s.v. 'Kontamination', Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 868–9 s.v. 'Kontamination', Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 331–3, 412 s.v. 'contaminazione'). Conflation frequently occurs ad hoc, in response to circumstances; the speaker or writer if given a chance to rephrase his utterance will opt for one or the other of the constructions that have been mixed up. In the case of the constructions seen here the infinitive deriving from conflation hardened into regular usage.

2.1 Conclusions

An interesting example seen above is that in an Egyptian writing tablet (Cuvigny 2003) dated to the late first or early second century AD. Most of the other examples cited here are much later, though there is also the

precisely dated African poem from the beginning of the third century. New non-literary texts often allow us to redate a phenomenon. These early examples, particularly the first, are from down the social scale, and most of the literary examples are from low-register texts, and it is safe to say that the history of the constructions reflects change from below.

PART 7

Aspects of the lexicon and word order

The lexicon, a case study: anatomical terms

1 Introduction

Many Latin terms that were to survive in Romance languages are not attested at all in Latin texts, or alternatively hardly make an appearance. In some cases the existence of a Latin term had long been known from its Romance reflexes and then it turned up in a new non-literary document to confirm the reconstruction of Romance philology. Herman (1991: 34), commenting on some *hapax legomena* in Jerome introduced by a phrase such as *uulgo dicitur*, remarks:

[A]ll these elements presented as being in general use, are in fact *hapax legomena*, or almost, at the level of the texts, and we would not have met them without Jerome's helpful commentary. We know very well from the 'hypothetical' forms reconstructed from Romance that hundreds of words and expressions, kept in the background by more distinguished and usually less specific written synonyms, lived in the language of the *vulgus*.

In recent decades certain terms or forms that were hitherto hardly attested have come to light in non-literary documents such as writing tablets. So for example the accusative form *sanguem* for *sanguinem* is now found in British curse tablets (see Adams 2007: 586) and must be the etymon of Romance forms such as It. *sangue* and Fr. *sang* (see further below, 2.1). *Vectura* in the concrete sense 'wagon' (> It. *vettura*, Fr. *voiture*) is now attested at Vindolanda (600, 862; see Adams 2003b: 559; also *P. Rein.* 1069.77, corresponding to ὄχημα). *Baro* 'man' is now in British curse tablets centuries before its appearance in the medieval period (Adams 2007: 599–600). Or again, on *cimussa*, now in a Vindolanda tablet (607a), see Adams (2003b: 563). Some idea of how widespread certain terms, unattested or scarcely attested in Latin, must have been may be obtained from the maps at the end of Rohlfs (1954), which display the distribution across the Romance world of the reflexes of groups of Latin words, some of them commonplace in Latin itself, some of them not.

An awareness that the spoken lexicon as it survives in the Romance languages differed in many respects from the lexicon of the literary language must have been one of the impulses behind the term 'Vulgar Latin' (see above, 1.5), which may be taken to imply that Latin existed on different levels, one of them visible in literary texts, others usually out of sight. Herman quoted above stated that these invisible terms were living in the language of the *uulgus*, and that might often have been the case. Many such terms would have been kept at bay by the literary classes because they were associated with the usage of the masses and stigmatised. Occasionally there is just enough evidence about a term to permit certainty about its long currency in speech. *Cam(p)sare* is attested for the first time in Ennius (*Ann.* 346 Skutsch), where, as Skutsch (1985: 516) notes, it is taken from the language of seafaring (of rounding a headland). The form of the word is revealing, because it derives from the aorist of κόμπτω, not the present stem, which would have been the expected source of a loan in literary Latin. Given this deformation it must have been originally a popular (acoustic) borrowing (see Adams 2003a: 164 n. 224), possibly picked up at a spoken level from Greek sailors visiting Italian ports. The word next turns up (a few glosses and the like may be left aside), in a more general meaning, of turning aside from the road, in a significant context in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, in a direct speech uttered by a *presbyter* (10.8). Direct speeches in the work are notable for items of non-standard Latin (see 1.7 (iii), xx.5.4.1, xxv.3). It is hard to believe that the word was borrowed twice from its aorist form: it is more likely that it had remained in spoken popular use for the 600 years separating these two texts, before passing eventually into some Romance languages (*REW* 1562). Another term with a suggestive distribution is *ebriacus* (on which see xxii.6). At one chronological extreme it occurs in the republican mime writer Laberius, and at the other is reflected in numerous Romance languages. In between it is castigated by a grammarian (Charisius), and is now attested in two recently published non-literary documents. It must have been in continuous spoken use between Laberius and Romance without finding its way into literature, where *ebrius* and *ebriosus* were used instead.

Lexical evidence of this type does give some justification to the term Vulgar Latin (note Stefenelli's survey of the 'traditional, Classical vocabulary [of Romance] versus the postclassical, vulgar Latin innovations' (2011: 571, and down to 575)), if it is used in a loose sense to embrace varieties of speech spoken across the Empire by those who had not had a literary education (see 1.5), and is not taken to imply that there was a rigid distinction between such

social varieties and those used by the educated or ruling classes. Stigmatised usages may be found in the speech of all social classes, but with a greater frequency down the social scale. So it is that certain terms that were to survive in Romance but are scarcely attested in Latin itself do turn up occasionally not only in low-register writing tablets and the like but also in the odd literary text. A case in point was *ebriacus* above (in Laberius). Two others, both found at Vindolanda, are *ne* for *ne . . . quidem* (Adams 1995a: 127, 131–2) and *caballus* (Adams 1995a: 124, 2003b: 563–4). Such terms may be used sometimes by the educated for their discordant tone or as suited to lower literary genres. *Caballus* falls into this category. On the one hand it was a neutral term for a cavalry horse in the usage of cavalrymen by the Empire, but on the other hand it was adopted in genres such as satire, or for pejorative purposes by the educated.

A systematic account of ‘submerged’ vocabulary, as it will be referred to here, could not possibly be undertaken in this book, but a case study of one lexical field will be offered. Such vocabulary is apparent in designations for parts of the body. Some commonplace terms of Classical Latin, such as the standard words for the mouth, ear and leg, are not reflected in Romance languages, and there is enough evidence from low-register, usually late, Latin sources to suggest that there were many popular terms current for different parts of the body that scarcely impinged on the literary language. In this chapter there is a selective discussion of more than fifty anatomical usages that will bring out the complex relationship between the submerged vocabulary and the vocabulary of Classical Latin (on this semantic field in Latin/Romance see the remarks of Dworkin 2011: 590–2). ‘Blood’ is dealt with first, and then the discussion moves *a capite ad pedem*.

2 Anatomical terms

2.1 *blood*

The classical words are *sanguis* and *cruor*. The latter leaves no trace in Romance. CL *sanguis*, *sanguinem* was replaced by *sanguem*, which produced the numerous Romance reflexes (see above, 1). The archaic neuter *sanguen* is unlikely to have been the etymon of these (Stefenelli 1962: 117–18), as has usually been maintained (e.g. REW 7574). *Sanguem* (genitive *sanguis*, etc.) shows a remodelling of the syllabic structure of the Classical Latin form (with oblique cases given the same number of syllables as the nominative). The new form is now well attested in Britain (see above, 1).

2.2 head

The classical term *caput* survived in parts of Romance (southern France, Catalonia, southern Italy and Raetia, Romania), but was replaced by *testa* in much of France and parts of Italy (the north), and in Sicily, northern Sardinia and Corsica; by *capitia* (from the neuter *capitium*) in much of the Iberian peninsula; and by *conca* in southern Sardinia: see map 37 in Rohlf 1954. *Testa* does not appear in Latin in the sense 'head' except in a few late glosses (André 1991: 29). The *TLL* cites no instances of *conc(h)a* in this sense. *Capitium* possibly means 'head' in a difficult passage of Isidore (*Etym.* 11.1.27) but is otherwise unattested in this sense (see Sofer 1930: 105). The three innovatory usages are all but submerged.

2.3 brain

The classical *cerebrum* had a very limited Romance survival (most notably Romanian: see *REW* 1827, *FEW* 11.1.603). *Cerebellum* on the other hand produced Fr. *cerveau*, It. *cervello*, Cat. *cervell* and various other reflexes. Fr. *cervelle*, Prov. *cervela* and several other terms reflect a feminine *cerebella*, which derives from the neuter plural (for which in the *Leges Alamannorum* see below) (*REW* 1826). In Old French *cerveau* was more learned, *cervelle* the more popular term (see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 117).

From the time of Titinius (90) *cerebellum* (on which see André 1991: 34–5) was a culinary or butchers' term for the brain of an animal used in cooking (Apic. 4.2.4 *postea adicies cerebella, fricabis iterum*). Like other culinary terms or terms strictly applicable to animals it was transferred to humans, presumably first in humorous slang (Adams 1982b for the general phenomenon, with 106). The first example used thus is in a freedman's speech in Petronius (76.1 *ceterum, quemadmodum di uolunt, dominus in domo factus sum, et ecce cepi ipsimi cerebellum*, 'I was the only thought in master's mind': Smith). Despite this example, doubts may be raised about the antiquity of *cerebellum* as applied to the human brain. It is possible (cf. Stefenelli 1962: 140–1) that the speaker (as presented by Petronius) had not drawn on established usage but had invented an affective or ironical usage for the particular context. On this view *cerebrum* at the time and for some centuries later might have been the only term current in this sense. On the other hand submerged anatomical terms and usages had a habit of surfacing only occasionally, sometimes quite early and then not for centuries (indeed in some cases not until the Romance languages). *Cerebellum* does not turn up again in application to humans until the sixth

century, in the Latin Dioscorides (*TLL* III.858.67f., André 1991: 35). For *ceruella* in the rather later *Leges Alamannorum* in the sense ‘human brain’ see 57.6 *si autem testa trescapulata fuerit, ita ut ceruella appareant, ut medicus cum pinna aut cum fanone ceruella tetigit* (also 81), with Adams (2007: 324).

The example in Dioscorides refers not to the brain but the outside of the head (*TLL* loc. cit.), a semantic shift typical of anatomical terms, including words of this semantic field. The word survives in the sense ‘forehead’ in some French dialects (André 1991: 35, *FEW* II.1.60I, sect 1.1b), and also in Logudorese, where *kerbèddos de innànti* is the popular word for ‘forehead’ (Wagner 1960–4: 1.331). Similarly *cerebrum* itself by metonymy came to be applied (often, from the first century AD) to the head (external: the part over the brain) (*TLL* III.860.71ff., André 1991: 34, Adams 1995b: 552), and the same metonymical transfer had affected *cerebellum* as applied to animals, to judge by the derivative *cerebellare*, which is found in veterinary Latin, = ‘covering of the head’ (of a horse) (Adams 1995b: 552). *Cerebellum* itself may refer to an external part of the head (of the horse) at *Mul. Chir.* 281 (*et oleum liquidum in auriculas suffundito, et ex sacellione cerebellum uaporabis cerebellare opposito*), though this example could just be taken to refer to the animal’s brain (see Adams 1995b: 364; *TLL* III.858.67 classifies this example under the meaning *caput*).

If Petronius had dipped into current submerged Latin, *cerebellum* of humans must have been substandard and pejorative at the time. On this view it would have existed at a subliterate level for many centuries before reappearing again in the sixth century and eventually surfacing fully in the Romance languages. The semantic shifts seen above are paralleled, but in reverse, in the case of *sinciput* (< *semi-* + *caput*), which was strictly applicable to the side of the head (of a pig) but was transferred by Plautus to the human brain (*Men.* 506, 633) (Adams 1982b: 106, *OLD* s.v.).

2.4 ear

The classical designation *auris* was almost everywhere replaced by the diminutive *auricula*: *REW* 797, André 1991: 42. The diminutive often has diminutive force of one type or another. For example, in the proverb *oricula infima molliorem* at Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.14(13).4 and Catull. 25.1 (form *oricilla*) the reference is to part of the whole, the lobe. Diminutives often designate part of a larger whole. But at Varro *Rust.* 2.9.4 (*auriculis magnis ac flaccis*, of dogs) there is no diminutive force, as the ears are large and floppy, and the reference is to the whole ear and not a part of it. See further IV.3.1.2 for evidence of the word in low-register sources (and on the *o*-spelling).

2.5 eye

Oculus survives in Romance (*REW* 6038, André 1991: 49).

2.6 nose

Nasus is the standard term in Romance (*REW* 5842).

2.7 mouth

CL *os* was dropped entirely by the time of Romance. On its main replacement, *bucca*, which shifted meaning from 'cheek' to 'mouth', see also below, 2.8. This new sense of *bucca* is already admitted in letters by the educated in the late Republic (see Cic. *Att.* 1.12.4, Aug. ap. Suet. *Aug.* 76.2, cited above, 1.7. (vi)). See also Adams (2007: 82, 385–9, 543–4) on *rostrum* (with a reflex in Old Romanian meaning 'mouth': Adams 2007: 387), a term originally used of the snout of animals but transferred to parts of the face of humans (including the mouth) as a pejorative term in lower genres such as satire in the Republic. On *gula* surviving in the sense 'mouth' in Romanian see André (1991: 38); the word does not seem to have this meaning in extant Latin.

There is another term from this semantic field which, though it is applicable to animals, illustrates the extent of a submerged anatomical vocabulary. According to Suetonius (*Vit.* 18) Antonius Primus, who was of Gallic origin, had the cognomen *Beccus*, meaning 'beak (of a cock)', during his childhood (at Toulouse): *nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui . . . non aliud portendi praedixerant quam uenturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem, siquidem ab Antonio Primo aduersarum partium duce oppressus est, cui Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat: id ualet gallinacei rostrum*. This is an allusion to the Gaulish word *beccos* (see Delamarre 2003: 70), which survives widely in the Romance languages, including Gallo-Romance (e.g. Fr., OProv., Cat. *bec*, It. *becco*, Pg. *bico*; see *REW* 1013, *FEW* 1.304–11), designating primarily the beak or bill of an animal. The term was synonymous with Lat. *rostrum*, which it largely replaced, and which it glosses in one of the glosses of Reichenau (1380a *rostrum beccus*). The names *Beccus* and *Becco* are both attested in Gallic Latin inscriptions, one of them indeed from Toulouse (*CIL* XII.5381; cf. XII.2514 Ruffieux). The use of the animal term *Beccus* as the nickname of a person represents the same type of popular humour as that seen (e.g.) in the transfer of *rostrum* itself to parts of the anatomy of humans. In Gallo-Romance from an early

period reflexes (e.g. OProv. *bec*) have been applied to the human mouth (see *FEW* 1.304); in Italian to this day a reflex of *beccus* is used as a pejorative equivalent of *bocca*, particularly but not exclusively in the expression *chiudi il becco* 'shut up'. To judge from the above names in Latin inscriptions the transfer of *beccus* from animals to humans might have gone well back in spoken Latin.

Beccus used as a common noun is not cited by the *TLL* (but note the Reichenau gloss just referred to), but Suetonius knew of it when explaining the name.

2.8 *cheek*

Bucca for the most part changed meaning to 'mouth' (see above), but was kept in the sense 'cheek' by Romanian (André 1991: 38). *Gena* is well represented in Classical Latin in the sense 'cheek' (*OLD* s.v. 1) but the meaning hardly survives in Romance (see André 1991: 45, *REW* 3727, *FEW* IV.95). Several Romance terms of this meaning are of problematic origin, namely Fr. *joue* (< **gaba* ?), It. (strictly literary Tuscan) *gota*, Prov. *gauto*, Franco-Prov. *dzouta* (< **gabota*, **gabuta*, **gaba*?) (Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 351, André 1991: 39). *Malae*, which is well attested in Classical Latin of the cheeks (and jaws) (*OLD* s.v. 1, 2, André 1991: 40), leaves no trace in Romance. *Maxilla*, which strictly means 'lower jaw (bone)' (*TLL* VIII.509.3ff., André 1991: 40), survives in some Romance languages in the sense 'cheek' (e.g. Sp. *mejilla*: see *REW* 5443). This meaning in the strict sense (the soft fleshy parts of the sides of the face above the jaw bones) is not recognised by the *OLD* for the period down to the end of the second century AD; the secondary meaning is given more precisely as the 'jaw viewed externally, the lower part of the face'. The *TLL* (VIII.509.29) similarly refers to the 'exterior pars oris, qua ossa maxillaria teguntur', but adds *gena* as a gloss; also in line with the definition of the *OLD* is the further specification in the *TLL*, 30f. 'interdum tota compages ossium et partium tegentium significari uidetur'. On this semantic field (the meanings 'cheek' and 'jaw' are difficult to separate) see in general André (1991: 37–41).

2.9 *shoulder*

The CL term *umerus* survived in Spain, Portugal and Romania (for this semantic field in Romance see Rohlf's 1954, map 25; also pp. 41–3). It was replaced in Gaul, Catalonia, Italy, Sicily and Corsica by *spatula*, literally

flat piece of wood (< *spatha*), which in the language of butchery came to be applied to part of the pig: Apic. 4.3.4–7 *spatula porcina*, defined by André (1991: 84) as ‘palette de porc’, i.e. ‘partie de l’animal comprenant l’omoplate et la chair qui la recouvre’. It must have been taken over from butchery and applied to humans, but the new sense is not attested in Latin texts (see André 1991: 84, with 85 on the derivation). Here is a term that became widespread but is submerged in Latin. In much of Sardinia the metaphorical term *pala* (literally ‘spade, winnowing shovel’) caught on. It is attested in this sense in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and some late African texts (Adams 2007: 537). *Scapulae* (of the shoulder blades and also less precisely of the part of the upper back surrounding them) is well attested in the more general sense in Latin from Plautus onwards (André 1991: 83–4, *OLD* s.v.), but has only a limited Romance survival, in the Dolomites (Rohlf 1954: 43).

2.10 arm

Brachium, the classical term, is standard in Romance (*REW* 1256).

2.11 hand

Manus is the standard word in Latin and also Romance (*REW* 5339). André (1991: 97) refers to metaphorical and other colourful modern Romance terms for ‘hand’ not found in Latin (either at all or in this sense). One such was *branca*, a late Latin word of uncertain origin designating the paw of an animal (see *TLL* 11.2163, 61ff.), which survives widely with related senses (e.g. It. *branca* ‘claw, paw’) but also has a few reflexes which can have the meaning ‘hand’ (*REW* 1271). If it had been transferred from animals to humans in the Latin period the new usage remained out of sight.

2.12 elbow

Cubitus survives widely in Romance (*REW* 2354).

2.13 finger (toe)

Digitus was the usual term in Latin, and it continued into all the Romance languages (*REW* 2638, André 1991: 99–100).

2.14 *breast/nipple*

Across the whole of the Romance world a reduplicated term **titta* is reflected, with meanings variable between 'breast, teat/nipple, udder': see e.g. *FEW* XVIII.333–4 (for Old French meanings in particular), 338 (general discussion). Yet this word never seems to occur in a Latin text (see André 1991: 223). A diminutive formation, *titina* (with simplification of the geminate *tt* by the 'law of *mamilla*'), occurs several times, once of a baby's drinking vessel shaped like a nipple (Soranus Lat. p. 43.6 Rose), and a few times meaning 'breast/nipple' (e.g. ps.-Theodorus Priscianus p. 276.27, *CGL* I.307.10) (see Adams 2005c: 595, 2007: 539, 540). Another reduplicated term with limited attestations, *dida* (Soranus Lat. and the Latin Dioscorides: see Adams 2007: 538–9 for details), also survives in Romance (Catalan). These two words probably remained beneath the level of literature because they were nursery terms. Several classical terms for 'breast/nipple' (the meanings shade into each other and a distinction cannot always be made) survive to some extent in Romance, such as *sinus* (*REW* 7950) and *mamilla* (*REW* 5276), the latter of which supplanted *mamma* in this sense (André 1991: 222). Others disappeared, such as *papilla* and *mamma* (as an anatomical term) (see *REW* 5277 for the other meaning). For a review of the semantic field see André (1991: 222–5).

2.15 *belly*

The CL term *uenter* is widespread in Romance, but a late development was the emergence of a feminine form, which is reflected in the south of Italy, Sicily, much of Sardinia, Romania and Liguria (see map 11 in Rohlfs 1954). The feminine must be put down to interference from the Greek equivalent γαστήρ, which may have taken place in the Latin of Greek doctors (see Rohlfs 1954: 24–5). Indeed *uenter* occurs as a feminine in a translation of a ps.-Hippocratic text in which the original has γαστήρ (Adams 2003a: 519). *Venter* had some equivalents of lower stylistic level, most notably *pantex*, which occurs a few times in lower genres such as Atellan farce in pejorative contexts, and is reflected in several Romance languages (Rohlfs 1954: 24, André 1991: 138–9; on *pantex* see also Adams 1995b: 310, 337). Another was *aqualiculus*, literally denoting a vessel for water but applied to the belly of the pig and from there occasionally to the human belly, as pejoratively at Pers. 1.57 (see Adams 1982b: 100 and Kißel 1990: 184–5 with n. 247). It did not survive in Romance. Both *aluus* (see André 1991: 137) and *abdomen*

(André 1991: 135–6) disappeared. For an account of the whole semantic field see André (1991: 135–9; also Adams 1982b: 100–1).

2.16 liver

Ficatum ousted CL *iecur* throughout the Romance-speaking world. It also drove out the loan-word (*h*)*epar*, which is quite common particularly in medical and veterinary texts (*TLL*).

The history of *ficatum* may be seen from the article at *TLL* VI.1.646.20ff. It is first used as a culinary term of an animal's liver stuffed with figs (*TLL*, 25ff.: e.g. Anthimus p. 11.5 *de ficato porcino frixo*, sc. *iecur*; cf. ἥπαρ συκωτόν),¹ and then of an animal's liver in general (Marc. *Med.* 22.34 *ficatum lupi integrum foliis lauri inuolues*; *TLL*, 31ff.). The only examples of *ficatum* of the human liver are late and in glosses (*TLL*, 35ff.).

The Romance forms reflect two different accentuations, *ficatum* and *ficátum*. For details of the survival see Rohlfs (1954: 18–19 with map 6). The accentuation *ficátum* is that expected for Latin. In Greek (unlike Latin) a long vowel in a penultimate syllable that was not accented was possible (εἰδωλον), but in later Greek such vowels were subject to shortening (see Leumann 1977: 56), and the new short vowel may show up in late Latin loan-words, such as *idolum* (with a short *o*) and *eremus* (with a short second *e*) (see André 1957–8: 142, Leumann 1977: 56), in both of which loans the stress fell on the first syllable, in keeping with the normal Latin pattern. If the ω of συκωτόν were shortened such a word in Latin would also have its stress on the first syllable (*sycotum* does turn up in Latin: see Souter 1949: 409); thus *ficatum* follows the structure of its Greek model, with a shortened second vowel, and a consequent Latinate shift of accent to the first syllable (Leumann 1977: 56; see too *FEW* III.492, with bibliography).

2.17 leg

Crus, an old and very common word throughout all periods of Latin, disappeared without trace and left no reflexes in the Romance languages. It had various replacements (see map 7 of Rohlfs 1954).

In Classical Latin the word for the 'hock' (the joint in the hind leg that corresponds to the knee in the fore limb) of an animal, particularly an equid, was *suffrago* (Plin. *Nat.* 11.248, Adams 1995b: 408). In later Latin (in

¹ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.88 *ficis pastum iecur anseris*.

the veterinary treatises of the fourth century) *gamba* (< κᾰμπή) is used in that meaning (Adams 1982b: 98–9, 1995b: 242 with n. 12). But *gamba* (and, with the original voiceless stop, *camba*) produced in extensive parts of the Romance world the terms for the human leg (in the whole of Gallo-Romance, with a split between *gamba* in the north and *camba* in the south, in Catalan, which shares the voiceless form with the adjacent Provençal, in much of the Italian peninsula including Sicily, and in the southern part of Sardinia).² There was both a widening of meaning (*pars pro toto*) of a type often found in anatomical terms, and a transfer to humans of the term appropriate to animals. The widening of meaning is attested in an African epigram, dated probably to the sixth century, from the Latin Anthology (149.14 *horrendum uitium est in aduocato*, | *orando solitum mouere caulas* | *subantis pecudis tenere gambas*, '[i]t is a terrible vice in an advocate, that one accustomed to sway the courts by his pleading should hold the hind legs of a mare in heat', Kay 2006: 255). The body part is still that of a horse, but in the context the reference can only be to the legs in general rather than to the hocks (see the discussion of Kay 2006: 257–8).

The transfer to humans is virtually unattested in the period covered by the *TLL*. There is only a gloss, *CGL* v.495.58 *crura gambae tibiae*, which must refer to the human leg. But this innovative usage covers such an expanse of the Romance world that it must have had time to spread, and it is likely to have been current as a submerged term during the Latin period.

Gamba is not the only oddity from this semantic field. Other replacements of *crus* were *perna* (Iberian peninsula), *coxa* (dialect of Naples and quite widely in southern Italy) and **hanka* (part of Sardinia, and pockets in the south of Italy and Sicily). The last (on which see also below, 2.18) usually had a more restricted field of reference. Both *perna* and *coxa* also show semantic widening (*pars pro toto*), in that the first originally denoted the upper part of the leg of an animal ('ham') and the latter the hip. *Perna* also shares with *gamba* the feature that it started out as a special term for animal anatomy. *Perna* was transferred to part of the human anatomy by Ennius (287 Skutsch), but the transfer might have been an ad hoc metaphor from butchery coined by Ennius himself rather than taken from colloquial language (Adams 2007: 389–91). *Coxa* of the whole leg is found a few times in late Italian texts (Adams 2007: 483–4). Thus four of the five terms mentioned in this paragraph (*crus* apart) for a prominent part of the body almost never surface in Latin texts.

² See Rohlfs (1954: 19–20, and particularly map 7).

2.18 *hip*

Coxa, the classical word, shifted meaning (see below, 2.19; also above, 2.17). In Romance it is scarcely found in the original sense (*REW* 2292). It was replaced largely (in Italian, French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese) by a Germanic loan-word **hanka* (*REW* 4032), the entry of which into Latin is traditionally put down to the influence of German soldiers in the late army (André 1991: 107 for details; *baro*, above 1, probably had the same route into Latin). *Hanka* was extended to the whole leg in Sardinian and a few other places (see above, 2.17). *Hanka* remained virtually out of sight in Latin, but turns up in the form *anca* in an epitome of Vindicianus (p. 482.5 Rose), apparently of the hip. Spanish *cadera* and Portuguese *cadeira* derive from *cathedra* (*REW* 1768), a word which in this sense does not seem to be attested in Latin.

2.19 *thigh*

The classical word *femur* disappeared almost without trace (*REW* 3240 cites Obwald *famau*, which is given the meaning 'Hüfte' 'hip, haunch'). *Coxa* shifted its sphere of reference from the hip to the thigh and survived in the latter sense (Fr. *cuisse* etc.). According to André (1991: 106) the transfer occurred first in the language of animal breeders and *ueterinarii*. Certainly in the fourth-century veterinary writer Pelagonius *coxa* is preferred to *femur* in the sense 'thigh' (Adams 1995b: 397). In the other veterinary texts (Vegetius and the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) *femur* is still in use. The meaning of *coxa* in these texts is variable; sometimes it refers to the hip joint, but it tends to shift to the upper leg as well (details in Adams 1995b: 398–400; see also Adams 2007: 483 on the complicated semantic shifts undergone by this term). The transfer from animals to humans is very late (André 1991: 106, 107, Adams 2007: 483); for a further metonymic change in the Neapolitan dialect and elsewhere (from thigh to the leg as a whole) see above, 2.17. Here is another anatomical usage that became established first in reference to animals and hardly surfaces in literature applied to humans.

2.20 *knee*

Genu does not survive as an anatomical term (see *REW* 3736 for a metaphorical reflex). It was replaced by its diminutive (*geniculum/-uculum*: *REW* 3737), like various other anatomical terms (Adams 1976a: 105). *Geniculum* is used as a genuine diminutive by Varro (*Ling.* 9.11). It appears as a term

for 'knee' mainly in texts of the fourth century and beyond (also Tertulian) (*TLL* VI.2–3.1810.8ff.). A reason for the shift to *geniculum* emerges from the use of this term and of *genu* in the veterinary writers Pelagonius and Vegetius (Adams 1995b: 545). *Genu* is regularly used for the knee of equids by both writers, but they were uneasy about admitting it in certain cases (the ablative singular and genitive singular and plural). *Geniculum* is found particularly in those cases. The weakly differentiated case forms of *genu* must have caused it to be replaced by the regularly inflected *geniculum*.

2.21 foot

The classical *pes* is found across the Romance world (*REW* 6439).

3 Conclusions

The terms or usages that have been referred to in this discussion may be put into three categories:

- (1) Classical words or usages (i.e. those that were either the norm in CL or were admitted in higher genres):

cruor (not in Romance), *sanguis*, *-inem* (not in Romance in that form), *caput* (replaced across large areas but with some Romance reflexes), *cerebrum* (almost non-existent in Romance), *auris* (not in Romance), *oculus*, *nasus*, *os* (not in Romance), *bucca* 'cheek' (all but non-existent in Romance in that sense), *gena* (all but non-existent in Romance), *mala* (not in Romance), *maxilla* (perhaps not strictly classical in the Romance sense 'cheek'), *umerus*, *scapulae* 'shoulders' (scarcely in Romance), *brachium*, *manus*, *cubitus*, *digitus*, *sinus*, *mamma* (not in Romance in the anatomical sense), *mamilla*, *papilla* (not in Romance), *uenter* (masc.), *iecur* (not in Romance), *crus* (not in Romance), *coxa* 'hip' (almost non-existent in Romance in this sense), *femur* (all but non-existent in Romance), *genu* (not in Romance), *pes*.

There are twenty-nine words or usages here. *Hepar* (not in Romance) might be added, in that, though it belongs to late Latin, it seems to be well established in texts that were not exclusively low-register. Of the twenty-nine or thirty terms, seventeen (including *hepar*) either do not continue into Romance or are extremely restricted there.

- (2) Words or usages that survive in Romance but are non-existent in extant Latin:

conca 'head', *beccus* (as a common noun), the etymon of Fr. *joue*, that of It. *gota* (and other terms), *spatula* 'shoulder', *branca* 'hand', *titta*, *hanca* 'leg', *cathedra* 'hip'.

There are nine terms here.

- (3) Words or usages with all or most of the following characteristics: (a) they survive in Romance languages; (b) they turn up mainly in late low-register texts (and there rarely); and (c) they appear sometimes in literary texts, but in genres or contexts influenced by casual speech:

capitium 'head', *testa* 'head', *cerebellum* (of the human brain or forehead), *auricula*, *bucca* 'mouth', *rostrum* (of humans), *pala* 'shoulder', *titina* (differs from all the other usages in this section in that it does not survive in Romance), *dida*, *uenter* (fem.), *pantex*, *aqualiculus*, *ficatum*, *gamba* 'leg' (of humans), *coxa* 'leg', also *coxa* 'thigh', (*h*)*anca* 'hip', *perna* 'leg' (of humans), *geniculum* (= *genu*).

There are nineteen usages here, about a dozen of which do not occur in Classical Latin.

Several observations are suggested by these lists. First, of the classical terms or usages listed at (1) just over 50 per cent do not live on into the Romance languages, despite being commonplace in several cases. *Crus*, for example, was the standard term for 'leg' and is very common throughout Latin, but it disappeared. *Cerebrum*, *os*, *auris*, *iecur* and *genu* are also prominent in extant Latin but suffered the same fate. Second, of the twenty-eight submerged or largely submerged usages that make up the other two lists, only one is not reflected in Romance: 96 per cent of these lived on somewhere.

In the sphere of anatomy there was therefore an extensive submerged vocabulary. Terms that are (largely) submerged but have a Romance survival may well be attributable mainly to lower sociolects, but it is a mistake simply to assume that every such term belonged exclusively to the social dialects of the *uulgus*. The difficulty of interpreting the social level of a usage that never or hardly ever surfaces in literature will be discussed at xxxiii.2. There is no reason why the higher social classes should not have said one thing but written another. We have also repeatedly pointed out in this book that stigmatised usages may occur across all social classes but be more unusual at the top of the social scale. Various terms seen in this chapter (*cerebellum*, *pantex*, *aqualiculus*, *rostrum*) occur in lower-level literary genres such as farce or satire, and others turn up in casual contexts in literary prose (*auricula*, *bucca*), and both groups of terms must have

had some place in the casual speech of the educated or have been used for special effect sometimes. On the other hand it may be conjectured that some other terms (e.g. *titina*, *dida*, *pala*, the accusative *sanguem* and some of the terms unattested in Latin itself) were all but restricted to lower sociolects.

The lexicon: suppletion and the verb 'go'

I Suppletion and the Romance languages

The CL verb 'go', *ire*, had various 'weak' (monosyllabic or near monosyllabic) forms such as *i*, *is*, *it*, *iit* (the last subject to contraction in speech), and apparently for that reason its paradigm was subject to suppletion (see in general on such phenomena in Latin Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 757–8, with bibliography), which shows up clearly in the western Romance present tense forms. Here *uado* has intruded completely or partially, and there are other, problematic, forms, such as It. *andiamo* (from **andare?*) and Fr. *allons* (see e.g. Elcock 1960: 127, *LEI* II.744–50) that have also displaced parts of *ire*. Here is the present tense of five languages (Elcock 1960: 127):

Spanish	Portuguese	Provençal	French	Italian
voy	vou	vau, vauç	vais	vado, vo
vas	vais	vas	vas	vai
va	vai	va, vai	va	va
vamos	imos ¹	anam	allons	andiamo
vais	ides, is	anatz	allez	andate
van	vam	van	vont	vanno

In this table forms of *ire* are seen only in Portuguese, in the first and second persons plural, but in southern Italian dialects as well *ire* survives in these same two parts of the paradigm. Rohlfs (1954: 29) gives full present tense forms of six different dialects, such as Sicilian (Mistretta), where the old forms are obvious: *vai*, *vai*, *va*, *imu*, *iti*, *vanu*. There has also been some replacement of the Latin indicative forms *imus* and *itis* with the corresponding subjunctive forms *eamus* and *eatis*, as in Latium (Ronciglione): *vo*, *vai*, *va*, *jamo*, *jate*, *vanno*. See also map 13 in Rohlfs (1954), where the various Romance forms for 'we go' are set out.

¹ But alongside this *vamos* is also used in Portuguese.

The Romance situation raises questions to do with the earlier history of *ire* in Latin. How early did forms of the verb, particularly the monosyllabic ones, start to recede? Once they did recede, what were their replacements? Are there diachronic developments to be seen in the means of suppletion? Was such suppletion a feature of Vulgar Latin or of the language in general?

A standard assumption in response to the last question has been that the decline of weak forms of *ire* and their suppletion were indeed 'popular', 'vulgar' or 'late'. Rohlf (1954: 28), for example, basing himself on the evidence of the *Vitae patrum*, states that 'in der Volkssprache' the monosyllabic forms of the present tense were lost. Hofmann (1926: 96–8) treated the subject in a paper on Vulgar Latin. E. Löfstedt (1911: 287–8) confined himself to low-register texts (the *Peregrinatio Aethiopiae* and *Mulomedicina Chironis*) in discussing the rarity of *ire*, particularly in monosyllabic forms. He stated (citing Meister 1909b: 375–6) that the author of the *Peregrinatio* uses only such forms of *uado* as survive in Italian and French, and concluded that her language in this matter was not literary, but 'volkstümlich und zwar wahrscheinlich dialektisch'. Later (1956: 11.38) he remarked that in 'late Latin' the imperative form *i* was eliminated, and his discussion of the infrequency of the weak forms dwells again on familiar low-register texts, though he does note (40) that *ii* and *iii* were absent from Cicero, and *iit* used by him only once, in a formula. In late Latin 'of vulgar colour', he says (40), the developments were clear enough, and the question is posed how far back they might be traced. Önnertors (1956: 49) addressed this last question, referring to the demonstration by Wölfflin (1887) and Wackernagel that (see below) 'formas monosyllabas verbi q.e. *ire* in vulgari sermone (posteriorum temporum) evanuisse', and going on (50) to find the disappearance of the monosyllabic forms already evidenced in Pliny the Elder. Wackernagel ([1906: 181–3] 1969: 1.182–4) did not in fact deal overtly with 'vulgaris sermo', but gave a very full account of the forms of *ire* and *uado* attested in the Vulgate, merely stating from the evidence of the Romance languages that the mixing of the *i*- and *uad*- forms was based in living popular use.

One or two others have taken a different line, finding traces of suppletion, or of the decline of monosyllabic forms of *ire*, already in literary Latin of the late Republic and early Empire (before Pliny). See Adams (1974: 56–7) and (1976a: 112) on Cicero and Livy. Recently Hannah Rosén (2000) has argued that signs of the developments traditionally seen as late are to be found as early as Plautus and Terence, and has provided some information about the usage of some other writers of the classical period.

In this chapter a fuller account will be given of the currency at different periods and in different genres of the weak forms of *ire*, and of the substitutes employed for these at different times. It will be shown that the attempt to place the loss and replacement of *it* etc. in vulgar or late varieties of the language is at variance with the facts. Equally, any attempt to relate the usage of Plautus directly to Romance patterns of suppletion will not work. Classical Latin prose is considered first, and then we will go backwards in time to Plautus. The verbs discussed will be *ire* itself, then *pergo*, *ambulo* and *uado*. Something will finally be said about the semantic field 'go' in subliterate Latin written on materials other than stone.

2 Classical Latin

The reality (despite the desire of scholars to see late or Vulgar Latin as the forerunner of the Romance situation) is that monosyllabic forms had already been dropped by the classical period. E. Löfstedt (1956: 11.40–1) offered a few observations about Cicero's letters, remarking that *ueni(t)* is sometimes used there where *ire* might have been expected (on this phenomenon see Adams 1976a: 111), but a distinction should not be implied between the letters and the other works. Cicero's writings in general suggest that the monosyllabic forms were no longer in use. He has almost 260 examples of *ire*, with only two monosyllabic forms, of which one is in a formula from the official language (*Rab. perd.* 13 *i, lictor*) and the other is linked with a supine in what was probably a fixed expression (*Nat.* 3.74 *sessum it praetor*; cf. *Sen. Contr.* 7.3.9 *ire sessum*). Of over 450 instances of *ire* in Livy only six are monosyllabic (1.26.7, 1.26.11 twice, 3.48.3, 8.7.19, 9.11.13), and all of these are in the same official phrase as that used by Cicero. Sallust (42 times), Caesar (62), Valerius Maximus (25), Velleius (4), Pliny the Younger (18), Pliny the Elder (49) and Suetonius (15) all use *ire* more or less frequently but avoid the monosyllables completely.² Petronius has *it* once, but in what looks like a traditional expression, of 'going to the head' (47.6 *anathymiasis in cerebrum it*: see Löfstedt 1911: 288 n. 1). In Quintilian, who uses *ire* forty-seven times, there are two monosyllabic forms, both in quotations (6.3.78,³ 9.2.48). Tacitus has *ire* well over a hundred times but avoids the monosyllabic forms as well as *ii(t)*. Seneca the Younger is an exception. He uses *ire* 132 times in his prose works, ten times in the form *it* and seven times in the form *i*.

² On Pliny the Elder see Önnersfors (1956: 49–50).

³ Here a joke is reported in which *is* is picked up by *redis*. The collocation *it/redit* is a common one, found several times, for example, in Ovid (*Fast.* 1.126, *Ars* 1.93).

Poetry was a different matter. Here a form such as *it* was bound to be useful, and if it was obsolete, so much the better in an archaising medium. In Ovid there are twenty-one examples of *i* and fifteen of *it*. In Virgil there are thirty examples of *it* (all but two in the *Aeneid*) and seven of *i* (all in the *Aeneid*).

Something will be said below about substitutes for the monosyllabic forms in Classical Latin, but first there is the question whether *i*, *is* and *it* were still current in early Latin.

3 Early Latin

The evidence is overwhelming that at the time of Plautus and Terence *ire* was in unrestricted use, with the monosyllabic forms freely current. *Is*, *it* and *i* are dealt with separately below, first in Plautus and then Terence.

3.1 Plautus

is

Asin. 480 in ius te uoco. :: non eo. :: non is?

Cas. 245 unde is, nihili? ubi fuisti?

Cist. 378 quin is, si itura es?

776 ere, unde is? :: ex senatu.

Curc. 183 quin tu is dormitum?

611 quin tu is in malam crucem?

Epid. 303 quin tu is intro?

Men. 382 quin, amabo, is intro?

915 quin tu is in malam crucem?

Merc. 671 quin is ocius?

Mil. 1387 quin intro is?

Most. 547 unde is?

785 unde is?

815 quin tu is intro?

Persa 191 quo ergo is nunc?

217 quo ergo <tu is>?

672 quin tu is intro?

Poen. 495 nisi aut auscultas aut – is in malam crucem.

698 is, leno, uiam.

Pseud. 242 quid hoc, malum, tam placide is, puere?

845 si nusquam is coctum, quidnam cenat Iuppiter? | :: it incenatus cubitum.

891 quin tu is accubitus?

1328 si is, aut dimidium aut plus etiam faxo hinc feres.

Rud. 122 quin tu in paludem is?

518 quin tu hinc is a me in maxumam malam crucem?

Stich. 247 quo nunc is?

319–20 unde is? quid fers? quid festinas?

Truc. 937 malam rem is et magnam magno opere.

There are twenty-eight examples, all but four of them in direct questions. In thirteen cases *is* comes after *quin*, in five after *unde* and in three after *quo*. Three examples accompany the supine of purpose, four *in malam crucem* and five *intro*. The fact that the same phrases recur is not a sign of the obsolescence of the form. That is the nature of colloquial dialogue. There are also non-formulaic examples, such as at *Poen.* 698, *Pseud.* 242, 1328, *Rud.* 122. A notable usage is that in which the term is used of someone coming into the presence of the speaker (*unde is?*) rather than leaving it (as for example in a phrase such as *quin is ocius*). An English speaker would say ‘come’ not ‘go’ in such a context, and here is an indication that languages do not correspond exactly in this distinction. There is an equivalent use of *it* (see below), and, as will be pointed out later, of two suppletives (4.1, p. 802, 4.2, p. 810). We have here an idiomatic usage, at least of early Latin, and the body of material in general is unlike that of the late republican and early imperial periods, when the monosyllabic forms are absent from prose.

in’

Bacch. 1185 in’ hac mecum intro?

Merc. 184 in’ hinc diirectus?

Poen. 1309 ligula, in’ malam crucem?

Pseud. 1182 in’ malam crucem?

The text is usually uncertain.

it

Asin. 864 ille it ad cenam cottidie.

Aul. 247 nam si opulentus it petitum pauperioris gratiam.

302 quom it dormitum.

Bacch. 106 turbare qui huc it.

446 it magister quasi lucerna uncto expretus linteo.

458 in mare it, rem familiarem curat.

592 ut hinc in Elatiam hodie eat secum semul. | :: non it.

1203 it dies, ite intro accubitus.

Cas. 213 quem uides? :: uir eccum it.

510 nostro omine it dies.

Curc. 116 adfert potionem et sitim sedatum it.

489 nemo it infitias.

Epid. 394 sed meus sodalis it cum praeda Apocides.

Men. 487 quis hic est qui aduersus it mihi?

Merc. 271 sed contiscam, nam eccum it uicinus foras.

561 atque eccum it foras.

Mil. 271 nam illic est Philocomasio custos meus conseruos qui it foras.
1282 nescioquis eccum incedit | ornatu quidem thalassico. :: it ad nos, uolt
te profecto.

Most. 25 quom peregre hinc it.
566 hic ad me it.

Poen. 683 bonam dedisti mihi operam. :: it ad me lucrum (this and other
examples show that *it* is often used in Plautus where English would use
'come': cf. *unde* is earlier; also *Men.* 487, *Mil.* 1282, *Most.* 566 above, *Stich.*
237, *Truc.* 503 below).

Pseud. 240a it dies.

846 it incenatus cubitum.

911 sed eccum uideo uerbeream statuam: ut it, ut magnifice infert sese!

1293 uir malus uiro | optumo obuiam it.

Rud. 176 sed dextrouorsum auorsa it in malam crucem.

382 etiam qui it lauatum | in balineas.

762 quo illic it?

1001 it dies.

Stich. 237 quis haec est quae aduorsum it mihi?

608 bis tanto pluris qui defendant ire aduorsum iussero. | ::

non it, non it, quia tanto opere suades ne ebitat.

Truc. 503 Astaphium eccam it mi aduorsum.

559 quandoquidem ipso perditum se it.

There are thirty-four examples, in a variety of uses suggestive of full currency. Some are in set phrases (e.g. *it* + supine of purpose) but others are individualistic (*Asin.* 864, all five instances in the *Bacch.*, *Epid.* 394, *Most.* 25, *Poen.* 683, *Pseud.* 911, *Rud.* 762, *Stich.* 608 both examples). There is the same idiomatic usage as that seen above, of someone or something coming into the presence of the speaker (see on *Poen.* 683).

i

There are about 120 cases of the imperative *i* in Plautus (see Lodge 1924–33: 1.497–8 for a full list and Rosén 2000: 277 for the total, which must be treated as approximate, as there are constant textual uncertainties). This massive number, along with the abundance of examples of other monosyllabic forms, cannot but be taken to show that *ire* was current at the time of Plautus in all its forms. There is such a stark contrast between this evidence and that of Cicero and Livy that one must put the decline of the verb in its monosyllabic forms into the period between the early second century and 50 BC (see further below on Terence).

Rosén (2000: 276–9), who wishes to show that suppletion of *ire* by means of *ambula* (*in*) is already starting in Plautus, plays down the significance of the large number of cases of *i* by suggesting that they fall

into three groups (attached to another imperative, accompanied by particles or modifiers, and accompanied by a postponed adverb), a fact which is taken to establish (279) that *i* was no 'more than a subsidiary member of the paradigm constituted by *ire* and *ambula*': it was formulaic, or a 'delexicalized, presumably proclitic, word'. Rosén's treatment of *ambula* reflects a familiar attempt to find proto-Romance features already present in Plautus (see further below, 4.2), and her dismissal of *i* is not convincing. The imperative should not be separated from the other monosyllabic forms, which are not discussed, and which were clearly still in use. The uses of *i* that are taken to justify the above conclusions are not at all compelling. For example, among the 'particles' that are said to follow *i* (2000: 278) are the polite modifiers *sis*, *sodes* and *obsecro*. But these regularly accompany imperatives. Their use tells us nothing about *i* as such, but only about the tendency to tone down orders. It is treated as significant (2000: 278–9) that *i* is regularly followed by adverbs such as *intro*, whereas other forms of *ire* may be either before or after *intro*; it 'is tantamount to a constituent of a preverb-carrying compounded verb'. One expects *i intro* to be the norm, given the tendency of imperatives in general to go to the head of the colon. Note too Ter. Andr. 424 *i nunciam intro*, where *i* is separated from *intro*, alongside several passages in Terence where the order is *i intro nunciam* (see below, 3.2). An example of *i* followed by another imperative at Aul. 829 (*i, redde aurum*) is said (2000: 278) to illustrate a use devoid of lexical value, because the content of the request is repeated, without reference to *i* (829 *reddam ego aurum?*). But attention must be paid to the full context here. The addressee immediately asks whence (*unde?*) he is to get the *aurum*, and is reminded that he has admitted it is in the chest (830 *quod modo fassus esse in arca*). He has to 'go and get it' from the *arca*. *I* is often accompanied by another imperative (Lodge 1924–33: 1.503), and it has full lexical value, as requiring that the addressee go off somewhere to do something (cf. too Fruyt and Orlandini 2008: 230 on some structures of the type *i, bibe* in Ovid (e.g. *Pont.* 4.3.53) and elsewhere, but these too ought to have been presented in context). These Plautine examples cannot be dismissed as formulaic, as there is a variety of verbs following. The form does not always come first: note *Bacch.* 497 *Mnesilochē, cura, i, concastiga hominem probe*. It is also stated (Rosen 2000: 279) that some Plautine instances have 'an appended, mostly pronominal, vocative'. There is nothing unusual about an imperative accompanied by a vocative. Nor is it significant that *i* occurs in set phrases. Many verbs do, in all their forms.

Ernout (1954a: 157) also leans towards the view that *ambulo* was becoming a suppletive in Plautus, and he suggests a phonological explanation of the

use of the imperative *ambula*: the expression *ambula in ius* is adopted 'pour éviter le monosyllabe en hiatus *i in ius*'. In other words the imperative *i* would have disappeared in pronunciation and had to be replaced. But this view is unconvincing. *I* often occurs before a vowel in Plautus where it does not count metrically (though it could scarcely have disappeared completely in pronunciation), not least in the expression *i intro* referred to above (*Aul.* 800, *Most.* 807, *Persa* 849, *Stich.* 396, *Trin.* 3, *Truc.* 196; see also below, 3.2 for this expression in Terence). There are at least another twenty-seven cases of the imperative before a vowel, including about eight of the expression *i hac* and six of *i in malam crucem* and the like. Whatever the reason for the use of *ambula* with *in ius*, it cannot have been the phonetic weakness of *i* in this environment but must have had to do with the semantics of *ambula* (see further below, 4.2).

The following small selection of examples of *i* shows the diversity of its use, and the pointlessness of trying to play down its frequency:

Asin. 921 *i domum* (same phrase at 923, 924, 925).

Aul. 696 *i, iam sequor te.*

Cas. 211 *i foras, mulier* (same phrase at *Poen.* 205).

854 *i, belle belliatula.*

Epid. 714 *i, illuc non temerest.*

Men. 405 *i hac mecum semul.*

435 *i quantum potes.*

Persa 487 *i ad forum ad praetorem.*

1331 *i hac. te sequor.*

Trin. 580 *i hac, Lesbonice, mecum, ut . . .*

Truc. 583 *iube auferri intro, i Cyame.*

In Plautus in the above material about 186 instances of monosyllabic forms of *ire* have been quoted or referred to, a figure which is in contrast to the virtual non-existence of such forms in the far larger bodies of material surviving from the hand of Cicero and Livy, both of whom (and particularly Livy) use *ire* in other forms very frequently.

3.2 Terence

The corpus is smaller but monosyllabic forms of *ire* are much in evidence.

is

Andr. 134 *quor te is perditum?*

Heaut. 315 *in mea uita tu tibi laudem is quaesitum, scelus?*

813 *is tu hinc quo dignus es?*

Eun. 363 *quo nunc is?*

in'

Eun. 651 *in'* hinc quo dignu's cum donis tuis | tam lepidis?

Ph. 368 *in'* malam crucem? (or *i in'*?).

930 *in'* hinc malam crucem . . . , fugitiue? (or *i in'*?).

it

Heaut. 655 ea lauatum dum it, seruandum mihi dedit.

Eun. 919 uide ut otiosus it! (cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 911 for such a context).

Hec. 189 it uisere ad eam.

i

Andr. 171 *i* prae, sequar.

424 *i* nunciam intro.

Heaut. 737 iube maneat. :: *i*.

831 *i*: quid stas, lapis?

Eun. 282 age modo, *i*.

715 *i* intro nunciam.

908 *i* prae, sequor.

Hec. 358 *i* sodes intro.

611 *i* ergo intro.

787 *i*, atque exple animum eis, coge ut credant.

Ad. 168 *i* intro nunciam.

175 *i* nunciam.

587 *i* sane.

Ph. 368 see above s.v. *in'*.

930 see above s.v. *in'*.

McGlynn (1963–7) also cites various cases (such as *Ad.* 277) where *i* is an editorial insertion. There are thirteen imperative examples, and another ten in other forms. One of the imperatives (*Heaut.* 737) is a complete utterance by one speaker, followed by a transition to another speaker. Several others are free-standing (*Heaut.* 831, *Hec.* 787). Temporal or local adverbs follow seven times. There is one case of a modifier (*sodes*) following.

The decline of the monosyllabic forms of *ire* in the educated language (of prose) falls in the period between Terence and Cicero.

4 Substitutes for monosyllabic forms of *ire*

4.1 *pergo*

One of the words employed as a partial substitute for *ire* was *pergo*. It was not only a verb of motion (frequently it expresses the idea of persevering or continuing: *TLL* x.1.1432.71ff.), but had the sense 'go' already in early Latin: note *TLL* x.1.1428.56ff. 'haud raro vergit in merum verbum eundi' and Donatus on Ter. *Hec.* 450 *modo pergunt pro eunt, alias persuerant* (cited

at *TLL* 1428.18f.). That *pergo* = 'go' was mainly a literary word is in keeping with the fact that the loss (and consequent need for replacement) of the monosyllabic forms of *ire* was not, as has just been shown (2), a late or vulgar phenomenon but a feature of the language in general, and it is likely that different registers resorted to different means of suppletion.

Of the five examples of *pergo* expressing motion in the speeches of Cicero, four are in forms in which *ire* is not used (imperative singular, first person singular, perfect: *ii(t)*, as we have noted, was subject to contraction in speech and tends to be avoided by those who avoid the purely monosyllabic forms): *Leg. agr.* 2.48 *perge in Siciliam*, *Cat.* 1.10 *perge quo coepisti* (but perhaps here 'carry on going'), 1.23 *recta perge in exsilium*, *Planc.* 98 *in Macedoniam ad Plancinumque perrexisti*. While Cicero has *ire* six times in polysyllabic forms with the phrase *in exsilium* in the speeches against Catiline (1.20, 1.22, 1.23, 2.12, 2.15, 2.16), at 1.23 above he replaces it by *pergo* when an imperative is required.

It is particularly clear that Livy uses *pergo* as a suppletive of *ire*. It occurs frequently in phrases or phrase-types in which Livy himself uses *ire* in polysyllabic forms:

9.41.10 ad urbem . . . magnis itineribus pergit.

28.17.11 quo . . . itineribus magnis ierat (cf. 8.30.12, 26.25.17).

1.23.4 infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit.

2.26.6 Ariciam infesto agmine itur (cf. 26.26.10).

4.39.9 ad urbem . . . pergit (cf. 37.13.10).

7.39.17 issentque confestim ad urbem (cf. 3.50.13, 3.51.9).

28.1.9 citato agmine ad hostem pergit (cf. 7.23.5).

37.37.5 consilium erat ire ad hostem.

35.36.1 ad regiam occupandam pergit.

26.44.6 ire ad oppugnandam urbem (cf. 28.29.1).

9.12.9 consules inter se partiti prouincias, Papirius in Apuliam ad Luceriam pergit.

10.25.16 si consul malit in suam prouinciam ire (cf. 21.63.9).

28.2.14 in ultimam Hispaniam aduersus Hasdrubalem pergit.

27.2.2 ire aduersus eum (cf. 10.35.15).

A curiosity is that after the first decade Livy largely replaces *pergit* by *pergit ire*, an old phrase that provided a way of avoiding monosyllabic forms while retaining a connection with the verb *ire* itself (see Adams 1974: 56–7). In Books 1–10 *pergit* occurs seventeen times as a verb of motion, but in Books 21–45 only six times. *Ire pergit* appears first at 21.57.9 and

is thereafter used fifteen times. Note 22.19.4 *ire obuiam hosti pergit* (for the usual *obuiam ire*, for which see 2.6.5, 9.23.4), 23.28.11 (also 21.57.9) *pergit ire . . . ad urbem . . . oppugnandam* (contrast 35.36.1 above), 26.17.3 (also 30.8.2, 30.11.5) *pergit ad hostes ire* (alongside 28.1.9 above), 33.1.2 *pergit ire ad urbem* (alongside 4.39.9 above), 25.15.10 *cum peditum agmine infestis signis ire ad urbem pergit* (alongside 1.23.4 above).

Pergit ire goes back to Cato, Terence and Cicero: Cato *orat. frg. ap. Charisius* p. 275.19 Barwick *inde pergo porro ire in Turtam*, Ter. *Ph.* 194 *domum ire pergam*, 847 *ad lenonem hinc ire pergam*, 867 *ad fores | suspenso gradu placide ire perrexi*, Cic. *Div.* 1.26 *conclauē illud ubi erat mansurus si ire perrexisset*, *Ac.* 1.1 *itaque confestim ad eum ire perreximus* (see *TLL* x.1.1434.54ff.). These examples would not suggest that the original motivation of the expression was merely to avoid monosyllabic forms of *ire*. It is just one manifestation of the frequent usage *pergo* + infinitive (for which in Plautus see Lodge 1924–33: II.314–15, and note in particular *Poen.* 433 *pergin pergere*, *Pseud.* 1249 *pergitin pergere*). Such periphrases (with *pergo* empty of meaning) are not unlike the use of *coeipi* with the infinitive (though *coeipi* is used only in the perfectum), which sometimes is without inceptive force and forms a perfect-equivalent with the dependent infinitive (see xxxii.4).

Some blanket figures from Livy will bring out the suppletive role of *pergo*. The form *it* never occurs, and *iit* occurs only once, with a supine (3.63.5 *iit supplicatum*). *Pergit* (with or without *ire*) is used fifty-two times (mainly as a verb of motion), and *perrexit* eight times. *Pergit* has thus completely displaced *i(i)t*, with the exception of one set phrase. It is a different matter in the third person plural (present and perfect), where the forms of *ire* are not monosyllabic. *Eunt* occurs twelve times and *ierunt* eleven. *Pergunt* is used nineteen times, *perrexerunt* twice and *perrexere* once. Thus in the plural the two verbs occur with equal frequency.

Pergo was occasionally used as an equivalent of *ire* already in Plautus. There is just one instance of *pergit*, but it is an interesting one: *Mil.* 1267 *mea Milphidippa, adi obsecro et congregere . . . | :: illa ad nos pergit*. Milphidippa is urged to go up to the soldier and Palaestrio. The latter says ‘she is coming to us’, with *pergit* used exactly as *it* sometimes is (and also *is*), where a speaker of English would prefer ‘come’ (see above, 3.1). The greater frequency of *it* shows that suppletion would not be an appropriate description; it is a case of synonymy or overlap. On the numerous substitutes for *ire* or *abire* adopted ad hoc in comedy see Lorenz (1876) on Plaut. *Pseud.* 535.

Pergis occurs twice (Lodge 1924–33: II.314 lists four examples, but two of these are not printed by Lindsay in the OCT). At *Bacch.* 570 (with an

infinitive) it is not a verb of motion. At *Cas.* 904 it is in a corrupt passage and is probably not a verb of motion: *quin tu pergis?*

Pergin is more numerous (fourteen times), but is never a verb of motion.

Lodge (1924–33: II.314) lists thirty-two instances of the imperative *perge* (some of them textually doubtful), but in the vast majority of these cases the verb does not mean 'go' but 'continue, carry on'. One or two instances resemble verbs of motion but are not necessarily to be taken thus:

Amph. 277 *perge*, Nox, ut occipisti (but cf. *Trin.* 162 *sed ut occipisti, perge porro proloqui*, which suggests that the other too merely means 'continue'). *Bacch.* 870 *perge*, opsecro, | pacisce quiduis. :: *ibo* et faciam sedulo (here the following *ibo* is suggestive, but does not establish that *perge* is meant to imply motion).

There are some other cases of *pergo* meaning 'go' in Plautus (usually accompanied by a preposition, especially *ad*: see Lodge 1924–33: II.314 §2; also *OLD* s.v. 1), but with very few exceptions (one is at *Mil.* 1267 quoted above) these are not in forms corresponding to monosyllabic forms of *ire* (in this section Lodge includes nine examples, only three of them replaceable by monosyllabic forms of *ire*, and one of these is in a doubtful fragment): e.g. *Amph.* IIII *pergunt ad cunas citae*, *Asin.* 245 *nunc pergam ad forum* (cf. with the latter *Cas.* 526 *ego ad forum modo ibo*).

Thus in Plautus *pergo* had only a partial overlap in meaning with *ire*, and when it was used as a verb of motion its motivation was certainly not to stand in for weak forms of *ire*.

McGlynn (1963–7: II.19 §II (1)) cites separately the examples of *pergo* in Terence that express motion (giving the equivalences 'eo, progredior, uado, sim.'). There are seven of them, only two of which correspond to monosyllabic forms of *ire*: *Eun.* 228 *sed quis hic est qui huc pergit?* (of 'coming' here: see above, 3.1), *Ph.* II2 *postridie ad anum recta pergit*.

Pergo emerges in early Latin as merely an occasional lexical variant of *ire* (possibly more stylised in character). It does not function as a suppletive, and is vastly outnumbered even by monosyllabic forms of *ire*. It was not until the classical period in literary prose, notably that of Livy, that it came to be used as a suppletive. At a lower social level, in the early second century AD there are two examples in letter 470 of Claudius Terentianus (19, 21), both in fragmentary contexts, but neither corresponding to a weak form of *ire* (one is infinitive, the other a plural present participle).

In later Latin *pergo* persisted as a literary term for 'go', but by then it had at least one rival (*uado*) as a potential suppletive, and it seems to be used for its stylistic character rather than its form alone. This character emerges

from its distribution alongside that of various equivalents in several works of Jerome, including the Latin Bible. In the Vulgate version of the Old Testament *pergo* occurs 172 times, whereas in the New Testament there are only two examples (John 8:1, Acts 22:5). By contrast *uado* occurs 247 times in the OT and 96 times in the NT. There is an almost complete absence of *pergo* from the NT, where *uado* greatly outnumbers it. In the Vulgate version the Latin of the OT has a more literary flavour than that of the NT (see E. Löfstedt 1959: 41).

In the three *Vitae sanctorum* written by Jerome (of Paul, Malchus and Hilarion), which are highly literary and allusive, Jerome's word choice is unlike that of the Vulgate. In these works *pergo* is much preferred (seventeen times) to *ire* (seven times, in the forms *euntibus*, *euntem*, *eundi*, *euntes*, and *ire* three times) and *uado* (three times only, in the *Vita Hilarionis*: 8.4 *uadit* = 'leave, go off', 16.1 *uadens*, 26.1 *uadam*, the last in a direct speech attributed to an impure spirit). *Pergo* probably had a high-style flavour, whereas *uado* might have been familiar in tone by this time. It has been noted that in several late low-register texts (the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*) in which verbs of motion are common *pergo* is avoided (Adams 1976a: 112).

4.2 ambulo

Several times in Plautus the imperative *ambula* is used in allusion to familiar phraseology from the opening of the Twelve Tables in contexts in which it might be thought that *ire* would have been usual (*ambula in ius* at *Curc.* 621, 624–5, *Persa* 745, *Rud.* 860). These Plautine passages and others have been discussed by Rosén (2000), who sees in the apparent intrusion of *ambula* into an expression of summoning to court the beginnings of a Romance-type suppletion (see also above, 3.1). There has been a long-standing debate whether the suppletive verb-form **andare*, which shows up so obviously in Italian, and *aller* reflect phonetic variants of *ambulare*, or of another verb such as **ambitare* (see recently *LEI* 11.748 and Petersmann 1999, particularly 533–5, opting for the latter on not very strong evidence; on the whole etymological question see the discussion at *LEI* 11.744–50), and if *ambulo* could be shown to complement *ire* already in Plautus that would be an interesting contribution to the controversy. The verb 'go' is said to lack 'a freely functioning imperative *i* from Early through Classical Latin' (Rosén 2000: 280) (though it was seen above, 3 that this form occurs 120 times in Plautus and thirteen times in Terence; by contrast

ambula occurs seventeen times in Plautus and twice in Terence). In Plautus there is 'a pronounced tendency' for *ambulo* to contribute a suppletive element in the imperative (2000: 280), and in Terence there is 'a definite complementary distribution of *ambula*- and *i*-, *ambulare* existing only in suppletion forms' (280–1). The reference in the last clause is to the two examples of *ambula* in Terence, and the three of *ambulando* (2000: 276).

There are several objections that may be raised to this argument. First, the form of *ire* that is supposedly being substituted is far more frequent in both Plautus and Terence than its substitute. Second, no account is taken of the other weak forms of *ire*, *is* and *it*, which, as we have seen (3), are still common in Plautus and Terence (more than seventy examples). By contrast in Plautus there are only half a dozen cases of *ambulas* and *ambulat*, and in Terence none. Third, and most importantly, the meaning of *ambulo* is not considered. Is *ambula* really a synonym of *i* in comedy? This semantic issue may first be illustrated from Rosén's discussion of an aspect of Terence's usage.

Rosén (2000: 276), noting that *ambulo* in Terence occurs in just two forms (*ambula*, *ambulando*), states: 'the inventory of *ambula*- in Terence is not fortuitous: the inventory consists of forms matching those forms of *ire* that are either of a slight frame (*i*) or of highly irregular shape (*eundo* and what would be, in a more formal register of Latin, *iens*, in the case of *ambulando* in Hec. 815, Ad. 713, and *euntem*, in Hec. 435)'. In other words the choice of *ambulo* is determined by the form required not the meaning of the verb. It is worthwhile to look at *ambulando* in context. Note first Hec. 815: *ita cursando atque ambulando totum hunc contriui diem*, 'I have wasted the whole day running and walking around.' There is a 'run/walk' contrast here, and *eundo* would destroy the point, as would *iens*. Both of the other two instances of *ambulando* refer specifically to walking about and both are overtly instrumental, and the equivalences proposed by Rosén are not acceptable. Note Hec. 435: *uouisse hunc dicam, si saluos domum | redisset umquam, ut me ambulando rumperet* ('I bet he made a vow that, if he ever got home safely, he'd burst my guts with running errands', Barsby 2001; for this use of the ablative gerund *ambulando* see xxvii.2 on *deambulando* at Veg. *Mul.* 2.82.5). The sense is: 'he would burst my guts by my walking about/by making me walk about (doing things for him)'. This is a use of *ambulo* in which the prefix (*amb*-) is to the fore, and *eundo* would not express the point. *Euntem* might be given a meaning, but it would not be that instrumental sense demanded by the context. The third

example is spoken by a character entering the stage: *Ad.* 713 *defessus sum ambulando*, 'I am worn out from walking.' The speaker explains himself further at 715–16: *perreptaui usque omne oppidum: ad portum, ad lacum, | quo non?* ('I've trugged all over the town, to the gate, to the pond, where not?', Barsby 2001). He is worn out from walking about all over the town, not from 'going'. *Ambulando* is used for its specific meaning, and the suggested substitutions would not be appropriate. These instrumental uses of *ambulando* have no information to impart about the suppletion of forms of *ire* of irregular shape. The importance of considering the meaning of *ambulo* as it is used in context may also be illustrated in passing from an example of *ambulat* in Plautus: *Bacch.* 896 *ut ille cum illa neque cubat neque ambulat | neque osculatur neque illud quod dici solet*. The reference is to the things that lovers do together. These include lying together, going for a walk, kissing and the 'thing that is usually said'. *Ambulat* 'goes for a walk' could not be replaced by *it* such that the required meaning would be retained.

Something must now be said about *ambula* in relation to *i*, and particularly the phrase *ambula in ius*. The relevant passage of the Twelve Tables (I.1–3) is as follows (text of Crawford 1996):

- 1.1 si in ius uocat, ?ito;? ni it, antestamino; igitur <im> capito.
- 1.2 si caluitur pedemue struit, manum endo iacito.
- 1.3 si morbus aeuitasue escit, iumentum dato; si nolet, arceram ne sternito.

If there is a summons to court, the defendant should go (*ito*). If he refuses, he is to be taken (*capito*), and there is to be a laying on of hands. A pack animal may have to be provided if he is infirm. Self-help (on the part of the plaintiff) may be needed to get the defendant there, as there is a distinct possibility that he will refuse to go. Force may have to be used.

In Plautus there is usually a good deal of drama to the scenes alluding to this section of the Twelve Tables. The defendant is not simply sent off by the plaintiff (which *i in ius* might imply). He may protest or refuse to go, and a procession may take place, with the plaintiff leading the way and instructing the other to follow. The plaintiff marches him off to court in his presence, on foot, given that the characters are not presented as infirm and in need of a pack animal.

The most vivid scene of this type is at *Persa* 745–52. Saturio instructs the *leno* to walk to court: 745 *age ambula in ius, leno*. The *leno* protests, and a heated exchange occupying five lines takes place. Saturio repeats his order, and then expands, twice using the verb *sequere*, in such a way as to make it clear that a procession is to occur: 750 *surdus sum. ambula*.

| *sequere hac, scelestas feles uirginaria*. | *sequere hac, mea gnata, me usque ad praetorem*. See Woytek (1982: 400) on this procession, with Saturio flanked by his daughter and the *leno*, the latter possibly held fast. There are various elements to the scene that need to be stressed. A group of people processes formally to court. The plaintiff leads the way, rather than merely dispatching the defendant. The defendant is reluctant, and it is likely that some sort of taking in hand, as allowed for in the law, would have been presented on stage (see further below). Finally, the defendant walks, as distinct from riding on a pack animal. The neutral verb *ire*, which in its imperative form might simply have been taken to be a dismissal of the defendant from the presence of the plaintiff, would not have captured the character of the event. The persistent use of *ambula* in this context ought to be read partly in the light of the third clause of the law, in which an alternative means of transport is to be provided if the defendant is not fit to walk. The neutral verb *ire* was adequate in the law itself, but in practice a formal processing on foot must have been such a marked feature of the event that *ambula* caught on, and the phraseology may have been very old. It is found in Terence too. For *ambulo* in another form and different context but referring to a grandiose progress on foot see *Cas.* 768 *uilius is autem cum corona, candide / uestitus, lautus exornatusque ambulat*.

Much the same elements are present in a scene at *Rud.* 859–69, but there is an additional revealing feature. The *adulescens* Plesidippus first announces to another his intention to 'carry off' (*rapio*) to court the 'criminal' *leno*: 859 *ego hunc scelestum in ius rapiam exsulem*. He then turns to the *leno* and issues the standard instruction: 860 *age ambula in ius*. The *leno* as in the above passage protests. The *adulescens* cuts him short by saying that he can save his protests for the court, and uses the same verb *sequere* as that in the previous passage: 866 *in iure causam dicito, hic uerbum sat est: | sequere*. The new element emerges in the next few lines: 867–8 *opsecro te, subueni mi, Charmides. | rapior optorto collo . . . | uiden me ut rapior?* Here it is made explicit that force is being used. The *leno* is dragged along by the neck. The instruction *i in ius* could not have expressed the physical character of these scenes. The defendant puts up resistance, and he is in effect marched off to court by the plaintiff himself.

A third passage is similar. At *Curc.* 621–5 the addressee is a soldier, who by two different speakers, one of them a witness, is instructed *ambula in ius* (621, 624–5). To the first instruction he replies *non eo* 'I am not going' (the typical protest that meets such an order). Rosén (2000: 276) refers to the 'interplay of imperative *ambulare* with indicative *ire*', but *non ambulo*

would not have been the appropriate reply. It might have meant 'I am not going on foot', with a suggestion that in keeping with the law transport should be provided. *Non eo* is a generalised refusal to go, by whatever means.

Terence has a similar scene: *Ph.* 936 *quin tu mi argentum cedo. | :: immo uero uxorem tu cedo. :: in ius ambula*. Barsby (2001) translates with stage directions: 'Just you hand over the money. :: No, just you hand over the bride. :: (*laying a hand on him*) Come with me to court.' Presumably here too the speaker coerces the addressee and marches him off, but the Latin is not so informative.

Several other instances of *ambula* in different contexts in Plautus are associated with the verb *sequor*, implying a procession with a leader:

Asin. 488 *ita facito, age ambula ergo. | tu contumeliam alteri facias, tibi non dicatur? | tam ego homo sum quam tu. :: scilicet. ita res est. :: sequere hac ergo (sequere hac* is in one of the passages above).

Poen. 717 *age, eamus intro. :: te sequor. :: age, age, ambula, | ibi quae relicua alia fabulabimur (ambula* seems to inject urgency, and caps *eamus*, an instruction which has not been satisfactorily carried out yet).

Ambula was the standard way of instructing an equine animal to 'walk on' (Adams 1995b: 593). *Ambulo* was also commonly used of soldiers marching (*TLL* 1.1874.36ff., Heraeus 1902b: 270), and is attested in the imperative form *ambula* (Petersmann 1999: 535). The plaintiff in the above scenes leads the way, much as a general might lead his troops. There is also a significance to walking in the light of the Twelve Tables, which allow for transport by *iumentum* in implicit contrast with going on foot, the latter accompanied if necessary by laying on of hands.

A few other instances of *ambula* in Plautus, in contexts different from the legal one above, may be noted. Four or five of the examples of *ambula* are accompanied by *bene* (*Asin.* 108 (see below), *Capt.* 900, *Cas.* 526, *Mil.* 936, *Most.* 853). This is an idiom ('bon voyage': see *OLD* s.v. *ambulo* 5), which may be related to the etymology of the word (of wandering around, *amb-*: see now de Vaan 2008 s.v.). Two of these examples are in identical contexts: *Cas.* 526 *ego ad forum modo ibo: iam hic ero. :: bene ambula* (the first speaker says that he will go to the forum and soon be back; the second says 'have a good walk/round trip'; *ambula* does not merely pick up *ibo* as if it were its imperative and an instruction to go, but has a special sense, close to 'farewell'), *Most.* 853 *eo ego hinc ad forum. :: fecisti commode, bene ambula* ('you have done well, have a good walk'). *Asin.* 108 has the same elements. Lindsay's text is: *eo ego ad forum, nisi quid uis. fietne? :: ambula.*

Leo on the other hand adopts an emendation of Fleckeisen: *ego eo ad forum, nisi quid uis. :: ei, bene ambula* (so de Melo 2011 *i, bene ambula*). The latter text is supported by the two examples above, which suggest a formulaic exchange. There are five other examples of *ambulo* in different forms in Plautus linked with *bene* (Lodge 1924–33: 1.105 col. a).

Several other instances of *ambula* in Plautus (in addition to *Poen.* 717, discussed above) seem to imply particular urgency, outdoing a verb of going:

Pseud. 920 *ambula ergo cito. :: immo otiose uolo . . . quid properas?*

Trin. 1108 *nihil est morae. [i], i, ambula, actutum redi.*

Any attempt to find in Plautus anticipations of Romance that do not show up in Classical Latin (and were arguably therefore submerged beneath the literary language) is risky, as similarities between early Latin and Romance tend to be merely superficial (see xxxiii.4). The combining of *ecce* with pronouns, for example, is very different in Plautus from the coalescence of *eccum* with pronouns in Romance (see xx.5.2, 6). *Ambulo* at the time of Plautus and Terence was a semantically marked verb expressing the idea of walking or travelling about (*amb-*). It might denote walking rather than running, or refer to impressive movement on foot in public, for example in a procession. As a matter of principle every example discussed must be looked at in context instead of noted simply for its form, a practice which, as was seen above, leads to strikingly misleading conclusions in relation to *ambulando* in Terence. *Ambulo* was no mere suppletive of *ire*, which was still very much alive in the monosyllabic forms at the beginning of the second century BC.

Identifying cases of *ambulo* throughout the later history of Latin that might be equivalent to *ire* would be difficult, given that an idea of 'walking' might have been constantly present even if not flagged, and no attempt will be made to do so here. There are, however, remarks in the literature on this subject that need to be queried. E. Löfstedt (1911: 288) notes that *ire* occurs only three times in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* but *ambulo* fifty times (*uado* not at all), and the reader is left with the impression that the one verb had replaced the other. But *ambulo* has a special point in veterinary texts and is not a generalised verb of motion. It denotes one of the gaits of the horse ('walking', as distinct from galloping, ambling, trotting) (Adams 1995b: 593), and has a nominal derivative (*ambulatura*) designating that gait (Adams 1995b: 597). Other uses of *ambulo* in the *Mulomedicina* are of the metaphorical types seen e.g. at 185 *humor per nares putridus ambulare incipiet* and 665 *sed ipsa fissura ambulat* (see Oder 1901: 324, index). These

curious uses (which were eliminated by Vegetius: compare Veg. *Mul.* 1.5.1 *emanat* with *Mul. Chir.* 171 *ambulans*, Veg. *Mul.* 1.22.6 *egressus est* with *Mul. Chir.* 10 *ambulantes* and Veg. *Mul.* 1.54 *emanat* with *Mul. Chir.* 243 *ambulet*) are taken by TLL 1.1874.74ff. (at 1875.3ff.) to show personification, and they are not readily replaceable with *ire*. The *fissura* at 665 'advances', i.e. spreads.

One or two clearer instances of *ambulo* used as a synonym of *ire* (of long-distance travel not necessarily on foot) are to be found in the sixth-century *Anonymus Valesianus* II (see Wölfflin 1933: 191, Adams 1976a: 110–11). There is an imperative at 88: *ambula Constantinopolim ad Iustinum imperatorem*. This instruction is illuminated a few sentences later: 90 *iubet ergo rex iratus nauem fabricari et superinpositum eum*. The journey is to be accomplished not on foot but by ship, and it is certain that *ambula* is a substitute for *i*. In this work there is only one instance of *ire*, and that in a polysyllabic form (93 *euntes*), and there is another place where *i* is replaced by another verb (62 *uade, iuuenis, de domo mea*) (Adams 1976a: 110). The author also twice has *ambulo* in the perfect of long-distance travel, and here it may be seen as a substitute for *iit*: 53 *Odoacar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulauit Mediolanum*, 65 *ambulauit rex Theodericus Romam* (walking is unlikely here, given the status of the referents; note too the compound *exiit* in the first passage; at TLL 1.1874.47, however, this first example is taken to mean 'march', as a battle ensues, though such an interpretation is not possible at 65). There are also several interesting examples in Ennodius. Note first 71.4 (*Epist.* 3.4) (*MGH, Auct. ant.* VII, p. 81.19) *suggero, si iubetis, ut unus de ipsis Rauennam ambulet cum uestris ad filium uestrum domnum Faustum commendaticiiis*. This is glossed in the index (p. 367) with *proficiscatur*, and if this sense is accepted it is the same as meaning 4 of *ire* as set out by the OLD, and as the meaning of several examples of *uado* in Cicero's letters (below, 4.3, p. 817). More striking is the case at 80.56 (*Vita Epifani*), p. 91.13: *ite ergo et rogate hominem dei, ut ambulet*. This is glossed with *ueniat*, a meaning that seems certain in the context. The sense is thus identical to that of some idiomatic uses of *ire* and *pergo* seen in earlier sections (3.1, p. 796, 4.1, p. 802).

Some of these examples show that *ambulo* in late Latin was capable of losing its explicit connection with walking, and a systematic search of late literature would probably reveal more examples (note the medieval examples cited by Niermeyer 1976: 40 s.v. 1 under the rubric 'to travel far, not necessarily on foot'). In earlier Latin, however, this weakened meaning is difficult to pin down.

4.3 uado

This verb made substantial inroads into the field of *ire* by the time of Romance (see *REW* 4545, 9117), as was seen above (1) from the present tense paradigms in several languages, and it is the main verb that was used in the late Latin period itself as a suppletive for *ire*. Its history in Latin is, however, problematic, because, whereas in later Latin it is used as a replacement for monosyllabic forms of *ire* in a number of low-register texts, in the classical period it seems to have been stylistically marked, even, it has been suggested, poetic (but see below). It is simplest to start with the later use, which has been well documented.

The picture is clear in the Vulgate. There for example the imperative *i* is never used, but *uade* occurs 181 times. By contrast in the plural *ite* occurs sixty-eight times but *uadite* never (E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.38). In the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* *ire* occurs sixty times (van Oorde 1929: 62–3; also Wölfflin 1887: 261, Meister 1909b: 375–6, Väänänen 1981a: 75–6), but not in monosyllabic forms (the following occur: *(h)iens*, *(h)iuit*, *imus*, *ire*, *euntes*, *euntibus*, *eundo*, *ibamus*, *i(u)eramus*, *iri*, *itur*). *Vado* occurs sixteen times, always in the forms *uadet* or *uadent*, with one exceptional case of *uadunt* (and one case of *uade* in a quotation) (van Oorde 1929: 206–7). Those in *-e(n)t* are not future but present tense forms (see Väänänen 1987: 58), with *uadet* a suppletive. *Ambulo* (fourteen times) is usually referred to in this text as another suppletive (see Meister 1909b: 375–6, Väänänen 1987: 141), but the verb manifestly means 'walk, go on foot', as at 1.1 *interea ambulantes peruenimus ad quendam locum*. In the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* the old expression *dormitum ire* 'go to bed' is varied according to the shape of the verb of motion: 5.11 *dormitum uades*, 27.4 *eunti dormitum*, 32.3 *uadens dormitum*, 32.7 *dormitu uadit*, 34.1 *dormitum ibis*, 34.2 *dormitum uadis*, 53.2 *dormitu uadi*, 57.6 *dormitum eas*, 57.8 *dormitu ierit*, 57.43 *dormitum uadis*, 59.13, 74.2, 74.4 *dormitum uadit*. There are four examples of *dormitum ire*, all with the verb in a polysyllabic form, and nine examples of *dormitum uadere*, seven of them corresponding to monosyllabic forms of *ire*. Worth comparing is also Ser. Med. 322 *cubitum pergens* (cited at *TLL* X.1.1430.30f.). A note at Schol. Juv. 6.527, p. 107.13 explaining a future form of *ire* and glossing it with *uado* perhaps suggests that *ire* even in strong forms was in decline in the face of *uado*: 'ibit' futuri temporis, id est uadet.

In the Republic and early Empire *uado* belonged to the high literary language (for its distribution see Oakley 1997: 463–4, Hine 2005: 219 n. 24). It is found in poetry from Ennius and Accius onwards (e.g. nine

times in Virgil, twelve in Ovid; also Catullus, Horace and Propertius; not in Plautus or Terence) but is rare in more mundane prose genres, though its distribution in prose resists easy analysis. It is absent from the Caesarian corpus and Varro's *Res rusticae*. There are only four examples in Cicero, but three of these are in letters to Atticus. The thirty-one examples in Livy, many of them in the first decade with a distinct decline in the later books (see Oakley 1997: 464 for the distribution), are partly in line with Oakley's characterisation (1997: 463), 'a choice and poetical verb', but on the other hand the word occurs five times in Vitruvius, who is generally held to be at the lower end of the stylistic scale (and there are the three cases in Cicero's letters), and once in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (see below). One must question the use of the term 'poetical', given that down to the Augustan period *uado* is better attested in prose than verse, and not entirely poeticising prose. It is necessary to look not only at the distribution of *uado* but also its use.

It is sometimes said that *uado* often means 'rush' (see Oakley 1997: 463, also referring to 'energetic movement'), but the sense 'rush' does not capture the extent of its uses. *Vado* seems to have been stylistically and semantically marked, referring particularly to an impressive, terrifying, threatening, rapid, dangerous or showy advance; note e.g. Fedeli (1980: 172) on Prop. 1.6.4: 'in poesia *uadere* designa normalmente l'inoltrarsi in vie pericolose', citing Virg. *Aen.* 2.358–9 (see below). In Livy many examples (fifteen or more) refer to an advance against the enemy, with complements such as *in hostem/hostes*, *in proelium*, *per hostes*. The first example in literary prose, in Sallust, is of this kind: *Jug.* 94.6 *eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora uadere*. Also similar are some examples in Virgil: *Aen.* 2.359 *per hostis | uadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus | urbis iter* (cf. Livy 22.50.10 *per medios uadit hostes*, 31.39.15), 2.396 *uadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro | multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem | conserimus*. At Livy 4.38.4 (*uadit alte cuspidem gerens*) an advance is led by Sex. Tampanius and is preceded by his exhortation to follow him into battle; the event is graphically described. On the other hand at Livy 1.7.7 (*quem cum uadentem ad speluncam Cacus ui prohibere conatus esset*), from the story of Hercules and Cacus, there is nothing obviously rushed or aggressive about Hercules' advance, but the heroic context probably influenced the choice of term. Ogilvie (1965: 58) notes that *uado* is 'employed by L. to give point to striking episodes'. Other examples of *uado* in Livy of motion that might have inspired awe are at 26.6.10 *elephanti per media castra uadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti sonitu... facerent* and 30.12.10 *ad regiam*

occupandam citato uadit equo. With *citato* in this second example cf. *percitus* at Lucilius 795: *sed fuga fingitur: <ut> timido pede percitus uadit.*

For instances of *uado* in other poets of motion that is impressive in some way beyond the norm see e.g.:

Catull. 63.31 furibunda simul anhelans uaga uadit, animam agens, | comitata tympano Attis per opaca nemora dux.

63.86 ferus ipse sese adhortans rapidum incitat animo, | uadit fremit refringit uirgulta pede uago.

Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.23 uidi egomet nigra succinctam uadere palla | Canidiam . . . | . . . ululantem (of an alarming procession).

Epist. 1.17.28 quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca uadet (of a confident progress through the streets).

Prop. 1.6.4 cum quo Rhipaeos possim conscendere montes | ulteriusque domos uadere Memnonias.

3.14.29 at nostra ingenti uadit circumdata turba.

On the other hand even in poetry there are signs of *uado* used neutrally, and in contexts in which *ire* might have been expected. For example, at Ovid *Trist.* 3.7.1 it is used with a supine of purpose, an idiom in which *ire* was commonplace: *uade salutatum, subito perarata, Perillam, | littera* (addressed to the letter, but of going to give greetings). Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 347 *deos atque amicos iit salutatum ad forum*, Cic. *Att.* 2.7.2 *ut Tigranem ires salutatum* (TLL v.2.641.37f.). At Ovid *Met.* 4.649 (*uade procul*) *uade* occurs in a phrase (sometimes cultic, separating the pure from the impure) in which *i(te)* was current (Ovid *Met.* 2.464 *i procul hinc*, *Ars* 3.505 *i procul hinc*, *Met.* 13.466 *ite procul*). The expression *pergo ire* (see above, 4.1) is replaced by *pergo uadere* in a passage of Cicero's poetry (*Arat.* 326 *post hunc ore fero Capricornus uadere pergit*), though here the subject (a constellation) may be significant (see below).

Neither example in the tragedies of Accius seems to place any emphasis on the character of the progression:

289 *sed iam Amfilocum huc uadere cerno, et | nobis datur bona pausa loquendi* ('but now I see Amphilocus coming here, and there is given us a welcome pause in speaking').

499 *exprome quid fers: nam te longo [ab] itere cerno [huc] uadere* ('express your news, for I see that you are coming here after a long journey').

These last two examples are of the same kind. Both refer to arrival before the speaker, and are equivalent in function to a use of *eo* seen earlier (3.1) in Plautus.

Frequently *uado* is used in poetry of dispatching someone from one's presence, in a variety of contexts, but the focus is on departure not on the method of movement, and the verb seems neutral in tone. The form used is *uade*, which corresponds to the monosyllable *i*. In two poets, Virgil and Ovid, *uade* is disproportionately common (four of nine examples in Virgil, seven of twelve in Ovid: eleven of twenty-one examples is a high proportion; also in Virgil *uadite* at *Aen.* 11.176), and it is possibly significant that that is the form in later Latin that most conspicuously acts as a suppletive for *ire* (see above on the Vulgate). Was *uade* already acquiring a particular currency? Did the imperative play a role in the loss by the verb of its distinctive stylistic markedness? There is more indeed to be said about Ovid's usage in this respect. Of his twelve instances all but one are in forms corresponding to monosyllabic forms of *ire* (*uadit* three times, *uadis* once, and the seven instances of *uade*). Ovid does not avoid *ire* in its monosyllabic forms (see above, 2), but it is possible that the lack of currency of these forms as deduced earlier (2) from contemporary prose was having some effect even on poets, causing some of them to resort increasingly to substitutes.

The neutral character of *uade* is particularly clear from a case in Horace, where it is in a context suggesting equivalence to 'farewell': *Epist.* 1.13.19 *uade, uale* 'be off, farewell' (see also *Juv.* 2.131 with Courtney 1980 ad loc.). Cf.

Ovid *Am.* 2.11.37 *uade memor nostri, uento reditura uento* (again an expression of farewell).

Met. 11.137 '*uade*' ait 'ad magnis uicinum Sardibus amnem' (seems neutral).

Trist. 1.1.3 *uade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse* (addressed to the book, which is sent off as into exile).

Virg. *Aen.* 5.548 *uade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum | agmen habet secum, . . . | . . . | dic* (neutral; cf. 3.462, 4.223, same phrase).

Also apparently neutral is the following instance of the third person singular present:

Ovid *Met.* 13.551 *sic Hecabe, postquam cum luctu miscuit iram, | non oblita animorum, annorum oblita suorum, | uadit ad artificem dirae Polymestora caedis | conloquiumque petit.*

There are some fairly early cases of *uado* in prose, apart from that of the poeticising historians. In Vitruvius *ire* occurs only once: 9.1.5 *luna die octauo et uicesimo et amplius circiter hora caeli circuitionem percurrens, ex*

quo signo coeperit ire, ad id signum reuertendo perficit lunarem mensem (of the movement of the moon). *Vado* is used five times:

6.praef.2 qui non doctrinarum sed felicitatis praesidiis putaret se esse uallatum, labidis itineribus uadentem non stabili sed infirma conflictari uita ('the man who thinks himself fortified and guarded by good fortune rather than by education, steps along slippery paths and struggles with a life unstable and insecure', Loeb).

9.praef.10 non est moratus, sed exsiluit gaudio motus de solio et nudus uadens domum uersus significabat clara uoce inuenisse, quod quaereret (of Archimedes, presumably referring to rushing).

9.1.6 sol autem signi spatium, quod est duodecima pars mundi, mense uertente uadens transit (of the passage of the sun).

9.2.2 cum praeteriens uadat ad orientis caeli partes (of the passage of the moon).

9.8.10 itaque quemadmodum sol per siderum spatia uadens dilatat contrahitque dies et horas (of the sun again).

Both verbs are used of the passage of the moon (and two other cases of *uado* are comparable, of the sun), and it is clear that they overlapped semantically. The two cases of *uado* with human subjects are special in different ways, the one of a famous event (Archimedes rushing naked through the streets), the other in a gnomic generalisation, which is in a (flagged) translation from Theophrastus of Eresos. The language in the latter case is elaborate (*labidus* is found only twice in the whole of extant Latin). There is no sign in Vitruvius that *uado* was behaving as a suppletive of *ire*. It is used rather of impressive/inexorable motion (as of heavenly bodies: see Hine 2005: 219 n. 24 for this usage also in Seneca) or of dramatically presented human motion. One would not expect Vitruvius to use an out-and-out poeticism five times. For him it was the character of the motion or of the event that determined the use of the term.

In Pliny the Elder *uado* is used eight times, always in forms which could only have been replaced by monosyllabic forms of *ire*. *Ire* for its part (forty-nine times) is never used in monosyllabic forms (Önnerfors 1956: 50). For *uado* see:

Nat. 2.18 hac procures iere Romani, hac nunc caelesti passu cum liberis suis uadit maximus omnis aevi rector Vespasianus Augustus.

2.23 sedere coepit sententia haec, pariterque et eruditum uulgus et rude in eam cursu uadit (of going at the double, metaphorical, of people adopting an opinion).

5.90 (Euphrates) parte laeua in Mesopotamiam uadit.

5.106 tertius (conuentus) Apameam uadit ante appellatam Calaenas (of the extent of a jurisdiction).

6.24 transit (Cappadocum gens) Lycaoniam, Pisidiam, Ciliciam, uadit super Antiochiae tractum (of the geographical extent of a *gens*).

6.213 sequens circulus incipit ab India uergente ad occasum, uadit per medios Parthos (of a parallel of the earth).

6.218 septima diuisio ab altera Caspii maris ora incipit, uadit super Callatim (again of a geographical division).

9.88 ita uadit alto Liburnicarum ludens imagine (of the creature the nautilus, '[s]o it proceeds across the deep mimicking the likeness of a fast cutter', Loeb, of rapid movement).

Vado is not used here as a colourless synonym of *ire*. In only one place (the first) is it used with a human subject, and there in high-flown language the 'divine' progress of the emperor is described. *Vadit* alternates with *ire* (in the archaic form *iere*) in this passage, it is true, but the second clause presents movement more grandiosely described. Five of the next six instances are metaphorical, and the eighth, though it refers to the (rapid) movement of a sea creature, evokes the image of a vessel. For *uado* in such a context there is Enn. *Ann.* 466 Skutsch *ingenti uadit cursu qua redditus termo est* (of a ship, moving *ingenti cursu*; see Skutsch 1985: 626 on the context, and on this phrase, elsewhere used of a ship). The third example refers to the motion of a great river.

It is possible that the apparent suppletive function of *uado* in Pliny is illusory, as the verb is always stylistically marked and chosen for its tone not its form. It certainly overlaps with *ire*, which semantically might have fitted into any of the above contexts, but adds to the impressiveness of the description.

An example in the philosophical works of Cicero refers to an event from Greek history, and is reminiscent of that in Vitruvius above concerning Archimedes: *Tusc.* 1.97 *uadit enim in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socrates, eodem scelere iudicum quo tyrannorum Theramenes*.

There is one case in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in an invented specimen of argument, which uses an analogy of wild beasts advancing to attack each other: 2.29 *nam cum feras bestias uideamus alacres et erectas uadere ut alteri bestiae noceant*. This example calls to mind the frequent use of the word in Livy (also found in Virgil) of advancing to attack the enemy (see above).

There remain three examples in an unexpected place, in Cicero's letters to Atticus, and in what seem to be neutral contexts, referring to the departure of someone:

Att. 4.10.2 ad eum postridie mane uadebam cum haec scripsi ('and I am just going over to him early to-day as I write this', Shackleton Bailey 1965–70; at the end of a letter).

9.1.2 hinc uero uulgo uadunt ('Here there is a general exodus', Shackleton Bailey 1965–70).

14.11.2 Lentulus Spinther hodie apud me; cras mane uadit ('Lentulus Spinther is staying the night with me. He is off early tomorrow', Shackleton Bailey 1965–70; again the very end of a letter, and of a departure).

Shackleton Bailey on the last passage (1965–70: VI.224) quotes J. S. Reid (*Hermathena* 11 (1901), 251) as seeing here 'an example of the mild jocosity which substitutes unusual for usual words'.

If *uado* originally referred to motion of striking types it was losing that implication already in classical poetry, particularly in the form *uade*. The process of semantic weakening must have continued for some centuries to account for the emergence of the verb in late Latin as a colourless suppletive of *ire*. Pliny the Elder does not provide the missing link between the semantically marked earlier use and the mundane later, even if he does have *uado* in forms corresponding to monosyllabic forms of *ire*, because in his work the verb is still semantically or stylistically marked.

Nor are there any signs in low-register non-literary Latin written on materials other than stone in the first three centuries AD of *uado* encroaching on *ire*, and it would not do therefore to suggest that there was at this period a 'vulgar' use existing beneath the surface. It is appropriate now to turn to these non-literary texts and the means of expressing motion in them.

5 Non-literary texts

In non-literary texts of the earlier period *uado* seems to be non-existent. No examples are registered in the index of Cugusi *CEL* III. The verb does not occur in the letters of Claudius Terentianus, the Vindolanda or Vindonissa tablets, the Bu Njem ostraca or the Mons Claudianus tablets. The absence of *uado* from these texts would be without significance if alternatives to it were also lacking: the subject matter of the fragmentary remains of subliterate material might never have required the use of such a verb. But alternatives are not uncommon. To take first *eo* itself. This verb occurs four times in the letters of Terentianus, in the forms *eas* (467.30), *ibo* (471.10), *iui* (467.16) and *ibi* (471.13). A notable feature here is the presence of *u/b* in the perfect forms, which seems to represent a phonetic strengthening of *ii* (on this phenomenon see VI.6 (iv)), the usual classical perfect. We shall see further evidence for this glide below.

Burton (2000: 160), after quoting Väänänen's description (1981a: 75–6) of the use of *ire* and *uado* in the Vulgate, adds a significant rider in reference to the practice of the Old Latin Gospels (OLG): '[a]n important qualification to Väänänen's statement should be made, namely that the compounds *abire* or more rarely *exire* appear alongside *uadere* as replacements both for the monosyllabic forms of *ire* and for the perfect forms (as the perfect of the uncompounded *uadere* is not used in classical Latin)'.⁴ It may be added that in non-literary Latin as well both *abeo* and *exeo* are used in contexts in which semantically they might have been replaced by *ire*,⁵ corresponding both to strong and weak forms of the simplex. *Abeo* is used three times by Terentianus, always in letter 471 (lines 24, 33, 34). The first two cases are future participles, but the third is first person perfect (*abiui*). Here again we see the insertion of the glide [w], which would have countered contraction. *Exeo* is better represented. It occurs six times in the Tiberianus archive, always in strong forms (*exiturum* twice, at 467.8 and 471.14–15, *exire* at 471.26, *exiuerim* at 472.3 (letter of Tiberianus; note again the glide), *exisse* at 472.7 and *exiundo* at 471.31). Of particular note is the example at 471.14–15 (*se exiturum Alexandrie*), where it is complemented by a substandard locative expressing goal. This usage has an exact parallel at Petron. 62.1 (*Capuae exierat*), and must have been idiomatic substandard Latin (xv.4). Semantically the compound here is equivalent to *proficiscor*, a sense that was seen above, 4.2, p. 810, for *ambulo*, *ire* and *uado*. *Exeo* is also found in a Vindonissa tablet (46.3–4 *exire*), at *O. Faw.* 2.9 (*exiut*, a perfect for *exiuit* with syncope of the last vowel, and requiring an assumption that the glide had been added: see vi.6 (iv)), and at *Tab. Luguv.* 32 (*exiat*). At *P. Gen. Lat.* 1 *exeo* is used 'of soldiers detailed for duty at the government granaries in Neapolis'. This last text has the expressions *exit ad frumentum Neapoli* . . . *exit ad frumentum Mercuri* . . . *exit ad frumentum Neapoli*. For this use of *exeo* see *TLL* v.2.1356.39ff. These three cases are all perfects with contraction, but the prefix makes the form disyllabic. Several of the verb forms just listed are substitutes for weak forms of *ire* (that is, conventional weak forms such as *ii*, without a glide), and others might in theory have been replaced by forms of *uado*. Burton (2000: 160), noting that in the OLG there was no single suppletive for *ire* but that *uadere*, *abire* and *exire* were all options, observes (with good reason): '[t]he fact that standard

⁴ While it is true that the perfect of *uado* is not found in Classical Latin, that does not of course mean that *uado* could not have replaced *ii*, *iit* etc. The historic present rather than the perfect is the norm in reporting past events (though both are possible), and thus *ii*, *iit* were replaceable by *uado*, *uadit*. In the letter of Terentianus containing *ibi* (471.13) there are six historic presents.

⁵ Not infrequently with a goal of motion expressed, a common use of *ire* as well.

manuals of Vulgar Latin overlook these various alternatives [i.e. *abire* and *exire*] is an illustration of the risks of interpreting the Latin data solely in the light of subsequent Romance developments'. Note Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.101–6 *ducendus et unus | et comes alter, uti ne solus rusus peregre<ue> | exirem, plures calones atque caballi | pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto | ire licet mulo uel si libet usque Tarentum, | mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos*. Here *exeo* is picked up by *ire*.

Though the evidence is not extensive, it suggests that in the early centuries AD in subliterary Latin *uado* was not yet in use as a mundane synonym or suppletive of *ire*. Nor is there any sign in these texts of *ambulo* used synonymously with *ire*.

A change is, however, apparent in a much later corpus from Spain, the Visigothic slate tablets dated roughly from the fifth to the eighth centuries and edited by Velázquez Soriano (2004). In these *uado* is used three times (see the index of Velázquez Soriano) but *ire*, *abeo* and *exeo* never. A notable text is 40.11, which has two examples of *uadamus*: 8 *uadam(us) ad domo Busani*, 10 *uadam(us) ad fragis*. Following the first example there occurs in the next line *sucisit fuim(us) ad domo Busani* ('and so it came about that we went to the house of Busa'), which picks up *uadamus* (note that the prepositional complement is the same). Here *fuimus* serves as the past tense of *uado*. This is a clear anticipation of Spanish, in which the reflex of *fui* provides by suppletion the preterite tense of the verb 'go'.

6 Conclusions

This case study makes nonsense of any view that developments showing up in the Romance languages must have their origin exclusively in a shadowy Vulgar Latin distinct from the classical language. Two main events have been seen in this chapter, first the fading of monosyllabic forms of *ire*, which necessitated suppletion, and second the growing importance of *uado* as a synonym and suppletive of *ire*. Neither of these events can be brushed aside into Vulgar Latin. The disappearance of the weak forms of *ire* shows up in literary prose of the late Republic (though not in poetry). If the literary classes were avoiding these forms in ordinary usage one assumes that the less educated were doing so as well (as emerges indeed from non-literary documents of the early Empire), but that would not justify the use of the term 'vulgar'. Here was a development that affected the language in general. *Vado* for its part was a high literary word, whether used of motion of the type to inspire awe, or neutrally as a synonym of *ire*. The idea that it might have been current in Vulgar Latin at the time of Cicero (for such

a suggestion see Oakley 1997: 464, basing himself on the occurrences in Cicero's letters) cannot be sustained, given its complete absence from low-register non-literary documents of the first three centuries of the Empire, where motion is often referred to. *Vado* was for a long time an upper-class verb, and it must have worked its way down the social scale only very slowly. The first significant signs of a semantic weakening (whereby it came to be used neutrally without any implication of rushing, aggression or hazardous advance) are to be found in poetry (mainly in the Augustan period, though there are some interesting examples in Accius), and are particularly to be seen in the imperative *uade*. That form might have been the starting point both for the emergence of the verb as a suppletive and for its weakening into a synonym of *ire*. Here is a Romance feature that began life in the literary language, and it is not alone in that (see below, xxxiii.1.3).

Ambulo was very slow to acquire uses that brought it into line with *ire*. Several weakened examples have been cited from very late texts, but in earlier Latin the verb had a variety of semantic nuances (such as its use of walking, or uses in which the prefix has a residual force) that made it distinguishable from *ire*.

Word order, a case study: infinitive position with auxiliary verbs

1 Introduction

There are two questions that must be raised in a book with the theme of this one. Are there changes in word order apparent in the Latin period that anticipate Romance orders? And is there any sign that change might have been faster, or initiated, in low social varieties of the language? Word order and word order change in Latin are subjects for a book of their own, and it would be impossible to deal with them comprehensively here. Instead a single topic will be discussed in detail. It is directly relevant to the general questions posed above, and may be taken as representative of a group of topics, which concern the position of a head term in relation to its modifier (noun and adjective, noun and dependent genitive, verb and object, verb and adverb, and so on).

The topic to be considered in this chapter is the order of auxiliary/modal verbs in relation to dependent infinitives (e.g. *ire uolo* versus *uolo ire*). The relationship between *uolo* and *ire* is the same as that between a verb and its object (*puellam amat* versus *amat puellam*), and any discussion of *ire uolo/uolo ire* may be seen as an aspect of the questions whether CL was an O(bject) V(erb) language and whether (and when) there was a transition from OV to VO (on this topic, which has now generated a considerable bibliography, see e.g. Adams 1976b, Bauer 1995, 2009, alongside Panhuis 1982, 1984, Pinkster 1990b: 187–8, stating correctly that further research is necessary, Pinkster 1991; Devine and Stephens 2006: 145–224 adopt a different perspective in their discussion of verb position; so too Marouzeau 1938; see also the survey of Magni 2009). For the object relation of the infinitive to the head verb one might compare the interchangeable phrases in curse tablets, *ne[c p]ermittā[s so]mnum* (e.g. *Tab. Sulis* 32.4) and *ne permittas... [do]rmire* (e.g. Rea 1972: 363–7, Kropp 2008a 3.23/1). Some stress the pragmatic determinants of the orders OV versus VO (see e.g. Pinkster 1991, and the recent discussion of the whole question of typological

change versus pragmatic influences by Halla-aho 2009: 121–55; also Spevak 2010 Chapter 2 on ‘pragmatic functions’; on the factors determining the orders OV/VO in one writer, Pelagonius, see Adams 1995b: 489–93), but there is no inconsistency between such an approach and maintaining that there was something of a shift from OV to VO, with pragmatic and other factors influential in the long transitional period (see now Ledgeway 2012: 185–255). It is undeniable that there are texts in the classical period in which the verb predominantly follows its object, and that in later Romance languages verbs mainly precede their objects.

However, any such shift is far from neat, and even of the two chronological extremes, namely early Latin and early Romance, it is not justifiable to speak in absolute terms. Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 28–31; cf. 140) show that, although S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb) order is the rigid one in some early official inscriptions such as the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* (see also Bakkum 2009: 1.299–300 on SOV as the usual order in Faliscan), there is much more variability in very early inscriptions and the early literary language, and the unvarying verb-final and OV character of legal inscriptions may represent a formalised bureaucratic style. As for early Romance, the order VO had certainly not been fixed by then. In Old French down to the twelfth century in verse texts the order subject-verb-object (SVO) is found but is not the dominant order in the sense of outnumbering the other orders (Buridant 2000: 743). From the twelfth century onwards SVO becomes dominant in declarative sentences and is the majority order in prose from the thirteenth century (Buridant 2000: 743), but there remain marked survivals of the Latinate order SOV in Old French (Buridant 2000: 747–51). It is traditionally suggested that between the orders SOV and SVO there lay in medieval Romance (particularly but not exclusively Gallo-Romance and Rhetoromance) a verb-second order (see e.g. Vincent 1988a: 62, Benincà 1997: 123, Buridant 2000: 741–2, Ledgeway 2011: 406–7, 2012: 65–9, 150–6; on aspects of verb-second order in Latin see Adams 1976: 121–9, Devine and Stephens 2006: 172–9).

Investigating what lies between Classical Latin and post-twelfth century Romance would be an immense undertaking, far beyond the scope of this book, and complicated by the problematic character of the determinants that might be called ‘pragmatic’ (for a recent discussion of some factors influencing e.g. verb position see Devine and Stephens 2006 Chapter 2). In the present book, given its subject, word order cannot in any case be discussed as an end in itself. We are concerned with possible developments in non-standard varieties. Is there evidence that educated

varieties and subliterate Latin might have differed in the placement of dependent infinitives? It is as well to set out on such a quest in a sceptical and pessimistic spirit, because any changes that might have been in progress in speech would readily have been obscured by the habit of all writers of imitating models, and by the inherent variability of Latin word order. Nevertheless the patterns *inf. + aux.* versus *aux. + inf.* do seem to offer the possibility of analysis.

2 Romance languages

In Classical Latin the order infinitive + auxiliary/modal is widespread, even if there was a good deal of variation. There was a change by the time of the Romance languages, or at least those in their more advanced stages. In all modern Romance varieties the order *aux. + inf.* has been generalised. The only apparent exceptions are found in Sardinian dialects, where the infinitive normally follows the auxiliary (e.g. *Juanne keret cantare* 'John wants to sing': cf. Jones 1993: 142), but may be fronted to convey a focal interpretation similar to that achieved by cleft constructions in English (e.g. *dormire keljo* 'to sleep I want' (Jones 1993: 18), *mandicare su casu keljo* 'to eat the cheese I want' (Jones 1993: 338)), though in this second case it is strictly the whole verbal phrase that has been fronted and not the infinitive alone. For an argument that we have here fronting of the infinitive (or infinitival expression) rather than postposition of the auxiliary see Jones (1993: 340), and for the function of such fronting, Jones (1993: 332). Another manifestation of fronting put in the same category by Jones is that type in which the past participle is placed in front of the auxiliary 'have', as in *mandatu sa littera appo* 'sent the letter I have' (again the whole phrase is fronted) and *mandicatu as?* 'Eaten have you?' (Jones 1993: 338–9). The order of the constituents in the Latin construction *habeo* + past participle came up in another chapter (xxiv.5). It was noted that in extant Latin, including that of the late period, the order past participle + *habeo* greatly outnumbers the Romance order 'have' + past participle. In Latin the proto-Romance order is far better attested in the one construction (*aux. + inf.*) than the other (*habeo* + past participle), to judge from the limited material collected here.

To revert to infinitive position. The one construction in which the infinitive must have regularly preceded the auxiliary in the late period was the future periphrasis *inf. + habeo*, with the auxiliary usually coalescing in Romance with the infinitive and becoming an inflectional element (see xxv.1).

3 Specimen passages of Latin

The following two passages, at chronological extremes of the period dealt with in this book, suggest the possibility that a shift from a basic order inf. + aux. to aux. + inf. took place within Latin. The first is from the *Bellum Africanum*, of the late first century BC, and the second is from the African grammarian Pompeius (*GL* v), of the fifth century AD. For clarity cases of the order inf. + aux. are in bold, and of aux. + inf. are underlined:

B. Afr. 6.1–6 itaque castra cum **mouere uellet**, subito ex oppido erupit multitudo atque equitatus subsidio uno tempore eis casu succurrit, qui erat missus a Iuba ad stipendium accipiendum, castraque, unde Caesar egressus iter **facere coeperat**, occupant et eius agmen extremum **insequi coeperunt**. quae res cum animaduersa esset, subito legionarii consistunt et equites, quamquam erant pauci, tamen contra tantam multitudinem audacissime concurrunt. accidit res incredibilis, ut equites minus xxx Galli Maurorum equitum ii milia loco pellerent fugarentque in oppidum. postquam repulsi et coniecti erant intra munitiones, Caesar iter constitutum **ire contendit**. quod cum saepius facerent et modo insequerentur, modo rursus ab equitibus in oppidum repellerentur, cohortibus paucis ex ueteranis quas secum habebat in extremo agmine collocatis et parte equitatus iter leniter cum reliquis **facere coepit**.

Pompeius *GL* v.180.33–181.29 et superius dixit licere nobis nomina de pluribus componere. quo modo hoc potest fieri? si nomen compositum, ut dixit, non potest conponi, quo modo potest conponi de pluribus? nam quando dico doctus, una res est; quando dico indoctus, duae res sunt. quo modo possumus de pluribus componere, nisi compositum iterum componamus? ut est illud quod legimus, expugnabilis inexpugnabilis. ideo uideor de pluribus composuisse, quoniam iam compositum nomen composui. iste autem dixit in principio nomina composita non posse conponi, et item dixit tamen ‘sed sciendum est etiam de pluribus posse conponi’. contraria uidentur. contraria sunt quidem ad uerba, ad rationem non sunt contraria. **scire enim debes**, quae nomina composita sunt, omnia naturaliter semel composita sunt; non possunt iam amplius conponi. sed si uolueris componere in similitudinem, possunt iterum conponi. nam haec ipsa quae composita sunt de pluribus, in similitudinem reuertuntur. numquam inuenis nomen in contrarium compositum. puta felix: qui est felix? qui habet prosperam fortunam; ecce habes significationem. conpone illud: infelix; ecce mutasti sensum: aliud est felix, aliud infelix. iterum si uolueris componere, **regredi habet** prima significatio damnatam compositionem infelix, sublata ista re: hoc non licet, ista compositio non conceditur. ceterum iam compositiones [iam] simplices sunt. puta pugnabilis, expugnabilis: idem est expugnabilis, quod est pugnabilis, ‘ille locus est pugnabilis’, hoc est qui possit paene dirui; ‘iste locus est expugnabilis’, hoc est qui possit paene dirui. inexpugnabilis

non uideatur tertia esse conpositio, sed secunda. similiter territus. numquid tale est, quem ad modum felix? numquid ipsa conpositio conuertit nomen, et non magis priorem significationem firmavit? ergo quando significat priorem significationem confirmantem, numquid possumus hoc dicere esse iterum conpositum? non enim uidetur quasi tertia adhiberi, sed post confirmationem secunda est. et licet nobis ita conponere, aliter non licet.

In the first passage there are five cases of anteposition of the infinitive and none of postposition. There are also eight cases of the order OV, and none of VO.

In the passage of Pompeius postposition of the infinitive predominates by 18:2, and the two exceptions are special cases. Pompeius regularly uses the formula *scire debes* with that order (see below), and in the *habeo* + inf. construction the infinitive tends to precede if *habeo* expresses obligation/necessity rather than possibility (Adams 1991). There is a similarity in the passage between infinitive position and object position. VO is preferred to OV by 9:5.

The passage was chosen at random from Pompeius, and it is typical of the whole work. Here are some statistics from a thirteen-page section in which it falls (pp. 178–90). Infinitives that are primary complements of a verb follow the head verb ninety-two times. Infinitives precede the head verb eleven times, and nine of the eleven are in the formula *scire debes* seen above, or variants (e.g. *scire debemus*) (pp. 179.31, 180.31, 181.10, 182.27, 183.2, 17, 184.12, 187.19, 190.10). Another is similar (180.29 *sequi debemus*), and there is the *habeo*-construction noted above.

The clause type does not seem to have been influential in the above passages. In Latin of all periods there is a more marked tendency for the finite verb to occur in final position in subordinate clauses than in main clauses (see e.g. Adams 1977a: 69 with bibliography, 1976: 135–6 for statistics from a late text, 1992: 21–3 on the Bath curse tablets, Bauer 2009: 269), and we therefore might expect the finite auxiliary to be postponed more often in subordinate clauses. In Pompeius above the order aux. + inf. is the norm both in subordinate and main clauses, and in the *Bellum Africum* the reverse order is found in both types of clauses. A more thorough account of infinitive position than that offered here would, however, have to take account of clause types.

4 *coepe* + infinitive

A particularly frequent construction throughout Latin is the use of *coepe* with the infinitive. Sometimes the meaning is inceptive, but often the

construction seems to be a periphrasis for the perfect (there is a literature on this topic: see e.g. Petersmann 1977: 191–2). In a range of texts from Cato through the classical period to the time of Tiberius the order *inf.* + *coepi* is constant:

	Infinitive preposed	Infinitive postponed
Cato <i>Agr.</i>	12	3
Varro <i>Ling.</i> 5	9	1
Varro <i>Rust.</i>	13	4
Cicero (speeches)	112	27
Cic. <i>Att.</i> 1	7	0
Caesarian corpus ¹	181	5
Sallust	21	7
Livy (active forms of <i>coepi</i> only)	117	9
Vitruvius	11	5
Valerius Maximus	24	1

In this selective group anteposition outnumbers postposition by 507:62. On the other hand it is possible to find late texts that show the opposite preference:

	Infinitive preposed	Infinitive postponed
<i>Pass. Perp.</i> 3–13	2	12
<i>Per. Aeth.</i>	3	20 ²
Pompeius <i>GL</i> v	1	6
Greg. M. <i>Dial.</i>	36	88
<i>Vit. patr.</i> 3.1–98, 5.1–5.7.24	6	35
<i>Anon. Val.</i> 11 ³	0	7
<i>Pact. leg. Sal.</i>	0	2

Here it is postposition of the infinitive that is preferred, by 170:48. It might be added that there is a striking difference between the placement of *coepi* in the Vulgate version of the OT compared with the NT. In the OT anteposition of the infinitive is slightly preferred (by 88:74), whereas in the NT postposition is overwhelmingly preferred, by 80:4. In the OT Jerome's own, literary, tastes show up; similarly in his three *Vitae sanctorum* anteposition of the infinitive and postposition are of equal frequency (9:11).

¹ That is, the two *commentarii* by Caesar himself, and the three others.

² Also of note in the *Peregrinatio* is the use of *incipio* with the infinitive. The infinitive follows eight times and never precedes. In the *Regula* of Benedict infinitives follow *incipio* three times and never precede, and the one example of the *coepi*-construction also has the infinitive following.

³ See Adams (1976a: 4; also 28).

In the NT he followed Old Latin versions, where the order must have been determined by a combination of popular usage and influence of the Greek (with the latter decisive). If Greek had adopted by this period the order aux. + inf., it could not have determined the order in most of the other late texts just listed, because it is only the *Vitae patrum* that is a translation text.

Cicero in the speeches prefers the order *clamare coepi* when these two words are associated (Verr. 2.47, 4.65, 4.67), whereas Gregory the Great in the *Dialogues* usually has *coepi clamare* (but with the two terms frequently separated) (1.4.7, 1.4.14, 1.9.11, 2.25.2, 2.31.2, 3.4.2, 3.14.3, 4.12.4, 4.17.2, 4.19.3, 4.40.4, 4.40.5, 4.40.8; cf. 1.10.17 *clamare coeperunt*, 2.32.2, 3.14.3, 3.20.2). In this phrase postposition is preferred by 13:4.

Coepit with the infinitive tends to occur in clusters, particularly in narrative. Here are some clusters on the one hand from the Republic and early Empire, and on the other from later Latin. In the republican *Bellum Hispaniense* note the following from a single chapter: 31.4 *premere coeperunt*, 4 *traduci coepta sit*, 5 *premere coepit*, 7 *agere coeperunt*. Similarly in one chapter of Petronius there are: 74.8 *osculari diutius coepit*, 9 *male dicere Trimalchioni coepit*, 12 *gemere ac flere coepit*. Contrast the following from a chapter of Gregory the Great: *Dial.* 4.40.3 *coeperunt . . . orare*, 4 *coepit . . . clamare*, 4 *coeperunt ei dicere*, 5 *coeperunt . . . orare*, 5 *coepit . . . clamare*, 7 *coepit tremere*, 8 *coepit . . . clamare*.

There is another such cluster at *Vit. patr.* 5.7.24: *coepit omne opus monasterii perfecte perficere*, *coepit etiam et biduanas abstinere*, *coepit frater ille supplicare*, *coepit amplius rogare*.

5 *oportet* + infinitival constructions

Also worth observing is the placement of dependent constructions with *oportet*. This verb takes either a plain infinitive or an acc. + inf. There is no point in making a distinction between the two constructions for present purposes, though in the rest of this chapter it is infinitive position, not the position of the acc. + inf., that is considered.

In Cato's *De agricultura oportet* (in various forms) occurs 110 times. Two of these examples are unaccompanied by an infinitive. In three cases the infinitive (or accusative and infinitive) is postponed (2.3, 145.1, 157.8). In the remaining 105 cases the infinitival construction comes before *oportet*. This order is also the norm in various other republican and early imperial authors.

In Varro's *Res rusticae* infinitival constructions precede *oportet* 131 times and follow just 18 times.

In Cicero *oportet* with the acc. + inf. is very common. A partial count establishes that in the speeches anteposition of the infinitival construction outnumbers postposition in the ratio of at least 10:1. In the speeches down to and including the Verrines (*Quinct.*, *S. Rosc.*, *Q. Rosc.*, *Div. Caec.*, *Verr.*) there are about 120 cases of anteposition and 11 of postposition.

Livy uses the same placement as Cicero. There are about 43 cases of anteposition of the infinitival construction, versus 3 of postposition.

Plautus and Terence wrote metrical texts and greater variation is to be expected, but here too anteposition is the norm. In Plautus anteposition predominates by about 99:24, and in Terence by 17:5. Perfect passive infinitives with *esse* omitted (of the type *factum* for *factum esse*) have been omitted from these figures.

In later Latin there is a good deal of variability, but it is easier to find postposition of the infinitival construction predominating. A complicating factor, however, is that *oportet* had probably fallen out of use in most idiolects.

In the Vulgate, for example, there is no difference between the OT and the NT: *oportet* almost always precedes the verbal construction. In the OT postposition of the infinitive occurs twelve times and anteposition not at all. In the NT postposition predominates by 95:8. In the sections of the *Vitae patrum* dealt with here (see the table above) there are twenty-three instances of *oportet* with infinitival constructions, every one of them after *oportet*.

The *Mulomedicina Chironis* goes against the trend of the later language. Infinitival constructions usually precede *oportet*. In the first three books (1–296) anteposition of the infinitive occurs forty-two times, compared with only eight instances of postposition.

In Vegetius' *Mulomedicina* on the other hand postposition of the infinitive with *oportet* is the norm. From 1.1 to 2.131 (well over 200 pages of text) there are nine instances of anteposition of the infinitive, and thirty-seven of postposition.

In the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* *oportet* does not occur, but *necesse est* is preceded by an infinitival construction four times and followed by one nineteen times.

There seems to have been a shift in the placement of the dependent construction, but it was open to a late writer to revert to an earlier way of doing things or to adopt his own placement. The beginnings of change are to be seen in Vitruvius, who like Varro is often at variance with the standard language. In Vitruvius postposition of the infinitival with *oportet* outnumbers anteposition by about 44:25. Vitruvius has, for example, *oportet fieri* ten times, and *fieri oportet* six times. In Cicero *fieri oportet* is common.

6 Position of the infinitive with all governing verbs

Specific verbs taking an infinitive or infinitival construction were considered above. In this section some statistics are given for infinitive placement with the totality of governing verbs in a selection of texts. Only infinitives standing as the primary complement of a verb are included: the acc. + inf. is omitted, because in that a whole verb phrase is dependent on the higher verb, and the placement of the acc. + inf. is complex and a subject for investigation in itself. *Oportet* is excluded because its complement can usually be interpreted as an acc. + inf. even if an acc. is not expressed, and separate figures were given above for *oportet*.

There are patterns here, but with a good deal of variability, particularly in literary texts, which must reflect the artistry of the literary language.

First, there are texts of the classical period in which anteposition of the infinitive is strongly preferred. This placement is invariable in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, which suggests that anteposition had bureaucratic status. In Caesar particularly and also Cicero anteposition is preferred. Most of the small number of postpositions in *Caes. Gall.* 1 (see n. 4) are in speeches. One would expect the bureaucratic order to be employed in the narrative of the *commentarii*. The apparent difference in the speeches may reflect the greater variability of speech, but statistics would be needed from the whole of the *commentarii* to sustain such a view. There is considerable variety already in Plautus and Cato (and also Terence, for whom statistics are not given here), and it would not do to exaggerate the frequency of anteposition in republican Latin.

Second, there are texts from the late period in which the reverse order (postposition of the infinitive) predominates, particularly but not only in works that are regarded as low-register. To this group belong the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, the *Regula* of Benedict, the letter of Publicola, the two school exercises, the scholia to Juvenal, Pompeius, the *Vitae patrum*, the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* and Anthimus. The predominance of postposition of the infinitive in these works exceeds that of anteposition in the classical works mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Third, there are literary works of the early Empire and late period in which anteposition of the infinitive is proportionately more common than in the texts listed in the last paragraph (Seneca, Jerome, Lactantius, Vegetius). These writers were perhaps maintaining up to a point a traditional literary leaning towards anteposition, or, it might be more accurate to say, a literary variability.

	Infinitive preposed	Infinitive postponed
Plaut. <i>Mil.</i>	57	58
<i>S. C. de Bacch.</i>	11	0
Cato <i>Agr.</i> 1–9	18	11
Cato <i>Agr.</i> 17–118	40	31
Cato <i>Agr.</i> 156–7 (medical chapters)	8	11
Cato speeches	31	25
Caes. <i>Gall.</i> 1	95	15 ⁴
Varro <i>Ling.</i> 5	53	26
Cic. <i>Att.</i> 1	78	41
Cic. <i>S. Rosc.</i> 1–100	101	46
Sen. <i>Contr.</i> 1.praef.– 1.4	91	82
Terentianus	0	13 ⁵
Vindolanda tablets	4	14
Jer. <i>Vita Malchi</i>	20	13
<i>Per. Aeth.</i>	56	100
<i>Per. Aeth.</i> speeches	2	13 ⁶
Lact. <i>Mort. Pers.</i> ⁷	74	34 ⁸
Veg. <i>Mul.</i> 1	82	67
Publicola ⁹	3	23
Bened. <i>Reg.</i> 1–73	37	96
School exercise (Dionisotti 1982)	2	11
<i>Coll. Monac.</i> (CGL III.644–54)	2	21
Schol. Juv. 1–9	81	164
Pompeius (<i>GL v</i>) ¹⁰	21	162
<i>Vit. patr.</i> ¹¹	81	310
<i>Itin. Ant. Plac.</i>	3	18
Anthimus	7 ¹²	38

⁴ Most examples of postposition of the infinitive are in (indirect) speeches (twelve of the fifteen), and these tend to come in clusters (there are three cases in a speech at 31, and two in a speech at 43). Cases not in speeches are at 3.1, 47.6, 48.3.

⁵ For a full collection of examples see Adams (1977a: 71–2).

⁶ In the previous line (referring to the *Per. Aeth.*) the figures embrace all infinitives that are primary complement (as distinct from part of an acc. + inf. construction) of a single verb; periphrases such as *neceſse eſt* + inf. are not included. In this line figures for direct speeches, which are not uncommon in the work and are in a colloquial style suggestive of the real spoken language, are extracted from the full figures. Postposition is proportionately much more common in speeches than in the work as a whole. The speeches that contain such constructions are at 10.8, 12.3, 14.2, 19.11, 19.13, 20.9, 20.11, 36.5, 46.6.

⁷ The text contains two quotations, of an edict (34) and an official letter (48). Examples in these two chapters are not included here.

⁸ In sixteen of these cases the higher verb is negated.

⁹ For the text of Publicola's letter to Augustine see Aug. *Epist.* 46 (CSEL xxxiv).

¹⁰ The selection considered here comprises pp. 96.19–101.29, 125.35–133.2, 165.20–168.31, 178–90.

¹¹ The selection considered here comprises 3.1–98 and 5.1–5.7.24.

¹² Three of the cases of anteposition are in the introductory epistle, where there is no case of postposition.

There is more to be said about low-register texts. In the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, traditionally considered to be an archetypal text of this character, postposition of the infinitive is twice as common as anteposition, but the real interest lies in the figures for speeches. The work is punctuated by direct speeches, which are in colloquial style (see 1.7 (iii) with references), and in these postposition is more marked than in the work as a whole (see n. 6), though the figures are not large. It is likely that here the author was falling into a habit of speech. The significance of Pompeius' striking taste for postposition, which was illustrated in the passage quoted above, 3, is illuminated by this feature of the speeches in the *Peregrinatio*. It has been convincingly argued that Pompeius was not composing his treatise with pen in hand but speaking to a scribe (see Kaster 1988: 153–9, especially 156–7). We may now turn back in time to the letters of Claudius Terentianus, which belong to the early second century AD. Here postposition is total. These texts are not only famously low-register; they were also possibly dictated to scribes (Halla-aho 2003). Again there is a hint that the placement of the dependent infinitive in speech might have differed from the variability of the literary language. Terentianus was bilingual, and he has also left us letters in Greek, and it might be objected that his preference for postposition was a Greek characteristic (given, for example, that in the NT of the Vulgate, based on old translations from Greek, postposition of the infinitive was almost complete (above, 4); on possible Greek influence on Terentianus see now Halla-aho 2009: 131–2). However, we also have from the same period the Vindolanda letters, which do not stem from a Greek environment. These too were dictated to scribes, as the varied hands of letters from single persons suggest, and they contain a notable dictation error (234 *et hiem* for *etiam*). In these too postposition is preferred.

It may be suggested that from a quite early period spoken Latin showed a preference for postposition of the infinitive, whereas literary authors were subject to a variety of influences (not least that of earlier texts), which caused either a predominance of anteposition or a high degree of variation. It is preferable to refer to a feature of spoken Latin in general, not of lower-class speech. Pompeius was a grammarian, and the Vindolanda tablets present Latin that is far from being substandard. It would be unsafe to maintain that postposition was exclusively a feature of the entity Vulgar Latin. A systematic survey of infinitive position in speeches in the complete Caesarian corpus might throw light on the subject.

The most striking feature of the above table does not concern classical or early imperial literary texts. There is such variability there that it is obvious that the determinants of placement must have been many and complex.

What most stands out is the marked predominance of postposition of the infinitive in many late texts without literary aspirations. It cannot but be concluded that the language was moving in the late Latin period in the direction of the Romance order. There was still some flexibility, and contextual analysis might throw light on that, but a reading of the text of, say, Pompeius shows clearly that there had been a decline in that flexibility.

7 Some reservations about ‘pragmatic determinants’

It seems to be an orthodoxy that if there are two competing orders of two elements it should be possible to find pragmatic or other factors that might explain the variation. But not all variation is easily susceptible of explanation (see also now Ledgeway 2012: 235–62). The point is worth making because there is something of a tendency in the literature to generalise about Latin word order from selective examples.

It is worthwhile to begin with infinitive position in Vegetius’ *Mulomedicina*, because Vegetius’ major source, the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, is extant, and it has sometimes proved fruitful to consider changes made to the earlier material. Vegetius’ treatment of the source in this respect does not suggest that one order had higher status than the other in the fourth century (the assumption usually being that Vegetius set out to make the material more ‘literary’), and in addition Vegetius’ own practice is variable and pragmatic factors seem impossible to identify. Some specific cases are cited below.

At Veg. *Mul.* 2.9.5 there is a description of a treatment, and then the clause *cum conualescere coeperit*. The focus here is on recovery (*conualescere*: ‘when he has begun to GET BETTER’). The source here is *Mul. Chir.* 277 (*et si coeperit melius habere*), where the infinitive is in the postponed position. Later in the same book Vegetius uses the same clause (2.28.4 *cum coeperit conualescere*) in the same sort of context, but the order is reversed. There is no difference in focus, but the order is variable. Note too Veg. 2.88.15 in comparison with the passage of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* above: *si melius habere coeperit*.

At Veg. *Mul.* 2.34.2 (*remissus semel de palato sanguis non potest reprimi*) with negated *potest* the infinitive is postponed. This is part of a description of a dangerous situation, when after treatment the flow of blood cannot be stopped. In the next chapter (2.35) Vegetius describes a similarly dangerous situation, again employing negated *potest*: *mature periculum creat, cum incisa uena claudi non potest in palato*. Here however the infinitive is preposed.

At Veg. *Mul.* 2.55.1 there is reference to the emergence of a symptom/condition (limping): *otiosa in stabulis ex collectione humorum incipiunt claudicare*. The same construction and order, again of a symptom, is at 2.21 *quo facto oculus incipiet lacrimare*. On the other hand at 2.60.1 in another description of an emergent symptom/condition the infinitive is preposed: *quodsi dorsum sedentis iniuria tumere iam coeperit*.

At *Mul.* 1.33.1 Vegetius writes: *si autem aestate febrire coeperit*. The source is *Mul. Chir.* 127, which does not have the same idiom: *si quod iumentum aestate concaluerit*. In the previous chapter (1.32) Vegetius had the same idiom, but in the reverse order: *si autem autumni tempore coeperit febrire iumentum*. There is no functional difference between the two phrases. Again Vegetius has changed the construction of his source: *Mul. Chir.* 126 *si cui iumento febris molesta fuerit autumnno*.

It is instructive to compare *Mul. Chir.* 231 *si uentum dare coeperit* with the derivative passage Veg. *Mul.* 1.48 *si uentum coeperit emittere*. The noun *uentum* remains in the same place in the second passage, but the auxiliary and infinitive have been reversed.

It is hard to see any difference of emphasis between the two orders of the same phrase at Veg. *Mul.* 1.3 *cuicunque autem sanguinolentus humor uel croco similis per nares fluere coeperit* and 1.10.3 *quod si sanguis postmodum coeperit fluere*. It is just as hard to see any pragmatic motivation for the different orders of the verb phrases (both with afflictions as subject) in the following passages of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*: 86 *quod si post sanitatem ea causa excrescere coeperit*, alongside 91 *quod si coeperit crescere* (of another condition, a *tumor*) (also 89).

Note the following alternation in another late text: Schol. Juv. 10.137 *non propter uirtutem posse uolunt, sed propter gloriam*. . . (140) *propter famam uolunt posse*. The *propter*-expressions in both sentences are focal and both come before the verb phrase (though with a *non*. . . *sed* construction split around the verb in one), but the order of the identical verb phrases varies for no obvious reason.

In Classical Latin too it is difficult to relate variations of order to emphasis, focus, topic or whatever jargon one chooses to use. It is possible that a detailed study might elicit patterns, but this is not the place for such a study and it will be enough to bring out the complexity of the matter with selected classical examples.

At Plaut. *Mil.* 283 *tute sci soli tibi, | mihi ne dixis, scire nolo* ('it's for you to know that on your own, don't tell me, I DON'T WANT to know') the emphasis is on the auxiliary, which is postponed. In the same play there is much the same placement at 833 *di me perdant si bibi, | si bibere potui!*

(‘may the gods destroy me if I drank, if I COULD HAVE drunk!’). On the other hand at 1241 (*consciscam letum: uiuere sine illo scio me non posse*, ‘I shall commit suicide: I know that I cannot LIVE without him’), where there is a contrast between death and living, the emphatic infinitive *uiuere* is at the beginning of the construction rather than postponed (behind the auxiliary). Thus in all three cases the infinitive is preposed, yet twice it is the auxiliary that is emphatic, and once the infinitive: the emphasis varies yet the order remains the same.

At Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.1 the auxiliary verb (placed after the infinitive) is emphatic: *inter barbaros quid passa sit nescio; quid pati potuerit scio* (‘what she DID suffer among barbarians I do not know; what she COULD HAVE suffered I know’). The placement and emphasis here are the same as at Plaut. *Mil.* 833 above. At Cic. *Att.* 1.20.5 *cupit, credo, triumphare* the infinitive is emphatic and is flagged as such by the parenthetical *credo*. These two examples, and some of those above, might prompt one to think that postposition, whether of auxiliary or infinitive, is the emphatic placement. However, at Cic. *Att.* 1.16.5 *uel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia* there is a contrast of opposites, and the first (emphatic) infinitive is before the auxiliary. At Sall. *Cat.* 51.38 there is again a pair of opposites dependent on this same verb, and here both precede the auxiliary: *imitari quam inuidere bonis malebant*. On the other hand contrasted infinitives may both come after the higher verb: e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 4.12 *malo emere quam rogare*, *Caec.* 29 *maluisse condemnare quam absolvere*. There is complete flexibility, with no one placement of the infinitive(s) inherently emphatic.

Another pattern may be illustrated from Cic. *Att.* 1.13.4 *postea quam non auderet reprehendere laudare coepisse* (‘he began to PRAISE when he no longer dared to BLAME’). Here there is a ‘praise/blame’ antithesis, with the one infinitive after the auxiliary and the other before, with the result that there is a chiasmus, with the opposites juxtaposed.

If emphasis is to be studied, it is not enough merely to look at the infinitive in relation to the head verb. There are usually other elements in the clause, and these may be emphatic. Note Cic. *Att.* 1.8.2: *uelim . . . et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse uidebuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas, et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique uidebuntur esse* (‘please send . . . and any other things you think would do credit to the place in question and to my enthusiasm and to your good taste, as many and as soon as possible, especially any you think suitable to a lecture hall and colonnade’, Shackleton Bailey 1965–70). The genitival expressions before the verb phrases underlined contain new information and are important in the context. The placement of the infinitive is varied

in the same verb phrase, which stands in both clauses in the same position in relation to the genitives. It does not seem meaningful to seek emphasis or focus in either of the components of the verb phrase as explaining the variation in placement. The variation looks arbitrary.

Curse tablets, which use traditional phraseology, are one genre in which the two orders alternate without semantic or pragmatic significance. They are completely interchangeable. A common formula is a wish of the type that the victim of the curse not be able (*possum*) to eat, drink, sleep and so on. *Possum* is indifferently preceded or followed by the infinitive. For example, in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* (Sherwood Fox 1912) postposition of the infinitive outnumbers anteposition by 8:1 (omitting *oportet*; the figures are based on the phraseology of a single *defixio* reconstructed from the remains of several formulaic tablets). At Audollent (1904) 221 (Kropp 2008a 11.1.1/7) *possum* six times has an infinitive following but never preceding. On the other hand at Kropp (2008a) 11.1.1/32 *possum* has infinitives six times preceding and never following, and at Audollent (1904) 275 (Kropp 2008a 11.2.1/12) five times preceding and never following. In other texts again there is haphazard variation between the two orders with the same verb *possum* (e.g. Audollent 1904 250, Kropp 2008a 11.1.1/25). Note for example Audollent (1904) 218 (Kropp 2008a 11.1.1/4) *ne aduersus nos respondere <possint>* (where the missing auxiliary could only be after the infinitive) alongside Audollent (1904) 219 (Kropp 2008a 11.1.1/5) *ne quit possint respondere contra*. Here not only does the position of the infinitive vary, but also that of the term meaning 'against'. It would be futile to attempt to find specific reasons for the variations of order in these curse tablets: there can be no different emphases in such formulaic compositions. A rough survey of placement in Kropp's corpus (2008a) shows about ninety-six infinitives preposed (the governing verb *permitto* and its constructions are left out because the infinitive is not its primary complement: it takes the dative + infinitive) and twenty-seven postponed. The traditional bureaucratic order is preferred but some writers had switched to a predominating aux. + inf. order.

8 Some determinants of infinitive placement

It is obvious from what has been said above that to investigate possible pragmatic influences on infinitive position would be a major subject in its own right. Nor would it be relevant to the theme of this book. The impression should not, however, be left that placement is completely haphazard. A few factors may be mentioned here, but they are presented in an unsystematic way.

There are idioms in which one order is favoured. It is usually not possible to say why the order became associated with the expression, but it is to be assumed that there was a reason. Note Virg. *Aen.* 6.751 *incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti*, Sen. *Apoc.* 14.2 *incipit patronus uelle respondere*, Petron. 9.4 *coepitque mihi uelle pudorem extorquere*, 70.10 *iam coeperat Fortunata uelle saltare*, Jer. *Epist.* 2 *coepi uelle desinere*, Vulg. *Iud.* 19: 7 *coepit uelle proficisci*, *Antidot. Brux.* 3, p. 364.21 *cum coeperis uelle encolpidiare*. In these examples there is a double postposition, in that *uelle* follows the verb meaning 'begin' and is itself followed by an infinitive. Sometimes, as a variant, while *coepit* still precedes *uelle*, the latter is preceded by its infinitive: Jer. *Vita Pauli* 4.2 *coepit prodere uelle*, 7.2 *coepit ire uelle*. Cic. *Fam.* 7.5.1 has the same order as the first group of examples but *uelle* has dependent on it not a plain infinitive but an acc. + inf.: *coepi uelle ea Trebatium exspectare a te quae sperasset a me*. See Petersmann (1977: 190–1).

Habere regularly precedes *coepi* in Cicero's speeches (6:0), as do *esse* (9:2), *loqui* (3:0) and *petere* (9:1). *Dicere*, however, regularly follows (7:1). It might be suggested that rhythm comes into it, as *dicere coepi(t)* would produce a heroic clausula. Five of the seven instances of postposition do indeed show juxtaposition of *coepi(t)* and *dicere*, but there are also instances of *coepero dicere* and *coepisse . . . dicere* (Verr. 4.32). Note too Varro *Rust.* 2.1.1 *quae coeperas nuper dicere*, Petron. 62.7 *quod coeperam dicere*, 75.10 *ut coeperam dicere*, 139.3 *coepit dicere* (speech). Rhythm might not have been the only factor. One order or the other sometimes seems to have become associated with a particular idiom.

For a possible rhythmical determinant note Sen. *Contr.* 1.praef.6 *facitis autem, iuuenes mei, rem necessariam et utilem quod non contenti exemplis saeculi uestri prioris quoque uultis cognoscere* ('Well, my dear young men, you are doing something necessary and useful in refusing to be satisfied with the models provided by your own day and wanting to get to know those of the previous generation too', Winterbottom, Loeb). Here it is *prioris* that is in a contrast and bears the main emphasis (marked by *quoque*). It would be difficult, even impossible, to say whether the auxiliary or the head verb is intended to convey some sort of emphasis as well, but here it is noticeable that placement of *uultis* after *cognoscere* would have produced a heroic clausula.

The fact that postposition or anteposition may be lexically determined is shown by Cato's usage in the *De agricultura* when *uoles* is accompanied by an infinitive in a conditional clause. There are nineteen cases. In thirteen of these *si* and *uoles* are juxtaposed, and in all thirteen *si uoles* is followed by the infinitive. Occasionally the infinitive precedes *uoles*, and then *si* and

uoles are separated (18.1, 49.1, 117, 157.12). In just one case is *si... uoles* followed by an infinitive (3.6).

It was noted earlier (3) that Pompeius regularly places infinitives after the higher verb, but that in the expression *scire debes* (-emus etc.) *scire* usually comes before.

The length of the dependent infinitive construction was probably a factor, with the higher verb likely to come at the start of a long construction. Note Cic. *S. Rosc.* 30 *utrum malit ceruices T. Roscio dare an insutus in culleum per summum dedecus uitam amittere*. This factor is advanced merely as a possibility.

The infinitive *esse* sometimes cliticises onto a higher verb (and therefore follows it), detached from an emphatic predicate or auxiliary or from a negative that it might be expected to follow (Adams 1994c: 28–31): e.g. Cic. *Att.* 7.2.5 *nihil potuit esse iucundius*, 13.45.1 *non uidebatur esse dubium* (more examples at Adams 1994c: 30).

In this section we have merely scratched the surface but enough has been said to show the complexity of placement.

9 Conclusions

Infinitive position in the classical period is not fixed. There are texts in which anteposition is markedly preferred, but the evidence of Plautus, Terence and Cato shows that there was from an early period variability in the literary language. Far more striking is the preference for postposition in some late texts, particularly of low register or associated with speech. The predominance of aux. + inf. in Pompeius would not be consistent with a view that there was free variation in his idiolect between the two orders, with choice determined by emphasis or pragmatic factors. So dominant is postposition of the infinitive that it has the look of a mechanical order, such that any departures from it were highly exceptional. Many of these departures are accounted for by a single idiom (*scire debes*). By the fifth or sixth century the Romance order was being foreshadowed in texts such as this, and there must have been a shift in progress, or even complete, from variability to a predominating order, though as long as Latin was written there would always be some who tried to reproduce what they thought was classical usage.

It was seen earlier (1.2) that Labov (e.g. 2006: 59) made a distinction between careful speech and casual speech. That distinction usually cannot be applied in a straightforward way to the Latin evidence, which is written. However, there is evidence, as was noted above, 6, that Pompeius was

speaking (see particularly Kaster 1988: 156–7), and doing so in a repetitive, informal way, which has been well described by Kaster (1988: 153–9). A distinction suggests itself between informal speech, as witnessed in this text, and formal writing, as in most literary texts of this and earlier periods. In the latter, even in late Latin, OV and the associated inf.–aux. order are often the norm, whereas in Pompeius' speech VO is the norm. We have seen hints that this order might also have been preferred from quite early on in lower-class speech, though the evidence is not extensive, and Greek influence was a possible factor in the relevant texts. By the time of Pompeius, if his huge work with its consistent patterns of word order is anything to go by, VO and aux.–inf. would appear to have been usual in speech higher up the educational scale as well.

If pragmatic and other influences were already causing considerable variation in the classical literary language, there are nevertheless signs in some early texts of a predominating order (inf.–aux.) different from that of Pompeius, an order that is to be seen particularly with the verb *coepi*. It matters little whether one regards the practice of Pompeius as reflecting a shift from an original anteposition to postposition, or from variability to postposition. What is clear is that the spoken language was already moving towards the Romance order, and what is more it is the spoken language of the educated for which we have such good evidence in this text. The Romance order cannot be derived exclusively from lower sociolects.

The determinants of placement in those many writers who used both orders freely remain to be elucidated, and it is not clear that investigation of them would have such clear-cut results as to make the effort worthwhile.

PART 8

Summing up

*Final conclusions***1 The social background of Romance phenomena**

Most of the developments within the history of Latin discussed in this book anticipated features of the Romance languages. We refer to ‘developments’ deliberately, because, if the norms of Classical Latin in its broadest sense (embracing all the Latin extant between the second century BC and about the end of the second century AD) are compared with those of the Romance languages in any of the linguistic spheres that are the subject of the book, it will be seen that usually Romance is fundamentally different from Latin. Latin had a vowel system based on distinctions of vowel length but Romance does not, Latin had a complicated inflectional case system but Romance does not, Latin had a synthetic passive (in the *infectum*) but Romance does not, Latin had three genders but Romance (according to the standard view) has two, Latin had an inflected present participle but Romance does not, Romance has a definite article but Latin did not, the Latin future has failed to survive, and so on. Most of the changes may be observed in progress in attested Latin, if only in an incipient form and alongside the old classical norms. Most have long had a place in handbooks of Vulgar Latin, or have often been classified as vulgar, popular, colloquial or the like in general histories of the language or in miscellaneous articles on linguistic topics.

There has, however, been unease in recent times about the assumption that it was a variety Vulgar Latin (however that might be defined by individual scholars) that was the domicile of all these changes, and therefore the source of the Romance languages themselves. It has been shown that (in the terminology of Labov) linguistic change socially may come ‘from above’ or ‘from below’ (see 1.3 and also e.g. Labov 2010: 196, 444), with different determinants operating in both cases, and it is inappropriate to jump to the conclusion that features of the Romance languages originating in the Latin period must always reflect change from below. Nor should we

be looking only into one alternative possibility, that some proto-Romance changes in Latin might have come from above. There are also developments that affected Latin in general, across the whole social spectrum. In speaking of 'Latin in general' we must admittedly keep it in mind that our evidence is limited, and that what looks to us like a change affecting all social varieties might in reality have begun in one social dialect and then spread before revealing itself to us. Nevertheless, if a change destined to have an outcome in Romance shows up in our evidence at opposite ends of the social spectrum, we have no alternative but to allow that Latin in general, as distinct, say, from Vulgar Latin, generated the Romance feature.

We have discussed about thirty topics, and have paid attention to the levels of the language in which developments may be identified. The findings will now be summarised. The information available is such that we can only speak of crude and imprecise social categories, but if the three types of change alluded to in the last paragraph (change from above, from below and affecting the language in general) are identifiable in our material, we would at least have succeeded in refining the view that it was Vulgar Latin that was the source of Romance.

1.1 *Change affecting Latin in general*

It is not being unfair to say that scholars have sometimes blindly assigned phenomena to Vulgar Latin that were well established in the literary language (as well as in lower varieties), for no better reason than that these phenomena influenced the Romance languages.

A typical example of a development affecting all levels of Latin that has suffered this fate was the loss by the ablative of the gerund of its instrumental force, such that it encroached on the nominative present participle (xxvii). This was a usage favoured by high stylists such as Livy and Tacitus and found also in e.g. Cicero and Virgil, as well as in the substandard letters of Terentianus. Many of the examples are ambiguous between an instrumental and a weakened sense, and that suggests that the participial (i.e. non-instrumental) function was developing in ambiguous contexts: change was in progress in the educated language, and it was not a matter of a stigmatised usage of lower sociolects borrowed from time to time by the educated.

Another such case is the anticausative/passive use of reflexive verbs, the distinction between which tends not to be satisfactorily made (xxvi). Some scholars have concentrated on low-register texts such as the *Mulomedicina*

Chironis and constructed a narrative whereby supposed proto-Romance uses of the reflexive had their origin in the Vulgar Latin of late antiquity. But the same uses are found in the classical period and even earlier. We showed that there is a close parallelism between the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, of the fourth century, and the classiciser Celsus, three centuries earlier. Anticausative reflexives are as old as extant Latin itself, and found in literary sources. As for reflexives that are open to a passive interpretation, these turn up occasionally from an early period onwards and are not confined to low-register sources (xxvi.12).

The reflexive dative with transitive verbs (e.g. *uolo, sumo, habeo*) has tended to be marginalised and treated as colloquial or the like (xvi.2), but such uses were well established in literary language as well, often conveying a clear nuance (xvi.7).

The factor lying behind suppletion of the verb 'go' shows up in Latin in general and not merely in the types of low-register texts that might be taken to exemplify lower social dialects (xxxi). The loss of the 'weak' monosyllabic forms of *ire* occurred in the republican literary language at some time between Terence and Cicero. It is only if we turn a blind eye to Cicero, Livy and many other literary texts that we could possibly conclude that Vulgar Latin played a vital role in establishing the conditions that were to lead to suppletion.

The construction *inf. + habeo* with future meaning might qualify for inclusion in the category 'change from above', were it not for a stray example (without context) on an ostracon from Egypt (xxv.1.2). The construction can be observed extending its semantic range towards the expression of futurity in the educated language from the classical period through the second century to the fourth century and beyond. In the later period, when it often is open to a future meaning, it tends to be in learned texts of theologians and grammarians, and is frequently in conditional clauses in logical argument. Such contexts would not favour the idea that it was a stigmatised usage that had started life well down the social scale and was admitted from time to time by the educated. Either it developed first in educated varieties of the language, or, if we attach weight to the ostracon, it was spread across the social/educational spectrum.

The present indicative referring to the future (xxv.3), a usage with structural and semantic limitations early on but of wider range in late Latin, occurs not only in Plautus, low-register texts and non-literary documents on papyrus and ostraca, but also in a speech in Caesar. Later grammarians attempted to resist it, but one acknowledged that there was no more common 'solecism' even among the learned, and another let slip that it

had its (learned) defenders. The profile of the construction is suggestive of a usage that had a place in casual speech right across the social spectrum.

Ever since Cooper's (1895) book dealing supposedly with word formation in the *sermo plebeius* there has been a view that numerous adjectival suffixes were vulgar in some sense. One of these, *-osus*, has attracted the attention of literary scholars and prompted speculation about the motives of certain poets in admitting such words (xxii.11). It has been argued here that, far from being domiciled down the social scale, *-osus* was a resource of the language in general. Just one oddity was identified (*bibosus*) (xxii.11.1.4), but that was probably an ad hoc coinage. Many other suffixes and suffixal uses were shown in xxii to be general to the language, or to have been motivated in particular texts not by any social status that they might have had but by their functional properties. One or two low-level suffixes or usages (such as the diminutive formation *-inus*: xxii.7) were noted, but in general suffixation is functionally not socially determined, and most suffixes are likely to turn up in a wide variety of genres.

Later grammarians stigmatised compound adverbs (prepositions), particularly with separative prefixes, even though the type of formation was old and had long been acceptable in the literary language (xxiii.1). What was new was the proliferation of words of this formation in later Latin. There were probably mixed attitudes in the late period. Some purists were resistant to such formations (xxiii.5 (1), 7), which are common in low-register texts (xxiii.6). However, if we read between the lines we find that grammarians were well aware that they were used by the educated class as well, and even defended (xxiii.5 (2)). The formation had probably flooded the later language in general and not just lower social varieties, though some may have excluded it from writing.

Various phonological developments were shown to have taken place in the language in general. Since misspellings reflecting these developments are almost by definition found only in badly written non-literary documents, there has been a tendency among scholars to speak of vulgarisms, when it is only the spellings and not the pronunciations behind them that might be so described. Phenomena in this class include the omission of final *m* (viii.1), assimilation of the final nasal in a monosyllable or 'grammatical' word to a following consonant (viii.1.2), loss of *t* at the end of a word or syllable when it was followed by a consonant (e.g. *pos paucos*) (viii.3.4.1), the conflation of *ad* and *at* in speech (viii.3.5.1), assimilation in the consonant cluster *ns* (ix.7), the pronunciation lying behind the writing of B for V (x), and assibilation and palatalisation in words such as *hodie* and *diebus* (vi.7.2; see further xi.1–2). Syncope was so widespread in the language in

general (see v.1) that we sometimes find educated purists castigating the original full form (so *caldus* and *audacter* were advocated over *calidus* and *audaciter*) (v.2). It was remarked at xi.3 that we had found in Part I hardly any phonological phenomena that could be assigned exclusively to low social dialects.

Grammarians' pronouncements may at first lead us to think that a development was resisted among the educated classes (and therefore by implication confined to the uneducated classes), but the data may reveal rather that the change was spread across the social classes (see also above on the present for future, and on grammarians and their motives see further below, 5). That is particularly so of the loss of distinctions of vowel quantity (III.6). Grammarians made some effort to preserve oppositions of vowel length, but that does not mean that in about the fourth century there were genuinely two vowel systems current, the one among the educated classes and the other among the uneducated. The fact is that grammarians were prone to the very errors of vowel length that they were criticising, and we may surmise that there was merely an artificial (and no doubt inconsistent) attempt to maintain quantitative distinctions mainly for the reading of classical verse. Another sphere in which the ideals of grammarians were probably unrealistic lies in their resistance (as revealed by Augustine) to the insertion of glides between vowels of different quality in hiatus (vi.6). Augustine makes it obvious that this resistance was ridiculous, and the implication is that most speakers of his own class would have made such insertions. Again, we find a grammarian finding fault with the indicative in indirect questions, but another grammarian of much the same time himself using the construction extensively (xxix.1.8).

The expansion of prepositional expressions to convey case functions cannot be located merely in lower sociolects. An important general point is that a prepositional usage resembling a use of a case inflection (such as *ad* alongside the dative of the indirect object) may have a nuance that distinguishes it from the plain case. A failure to notice the distinction may cause the prepositional expression to be wrongly classified as vulgar. The use of *ad* with *nuntiare* in Plautus has been interpreted as equivalent to the dative, and the expression treated as a proto-Romance vulgarism already found in early Latin but thereafter largely submerged. In fact with this verb the preposition implies movement, and there are parallels in the literary language, e.g. of Cicero (*dare/scribere ad* of the dispatch of letters over a distance) (xiii.5.1). Literary stylists such as Sallust and Tacitus experimented with prepositions as substitutes for unaccompanied cases, and were perhaps greater innovators in this respect than lower sociolects as

represented in low-register documents (XIII.3). The gradual encroachment of some prepositions on case uses (as for example *de*, with its separative force intact, rivalling the partitive genitive but sometimes distinguishable from it: XIII.4.2–3) can be observed at different levels of the language. The use of *ab* to mark departure from a town (as in *ab Roma* with verbs of motion) is already the norm in the historian Livy in the Augustan period (xv.2). But the status of prepositional innovations may vary from instance to instance, and one should avoid over-generalising. On the one hand the adnominal use of *ad* to express possession can only safely be assigned to lower social dialects (XIII.5.5). On the other hand the instrumental use of *ad*, far from being stigmatised, is more common in the classical Vegetius than in his substandard source the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (XIII.6.4.4).

Ecce, which along with the form *eccum* coalesced with certain demonstratives in some Romance languages, was a word used in abundance in all varieties of the language, including high literature. We saw it juxtaposed with demonstratives (a precondition for compounding) at a low social level in the direct speeches in the *Peregrinatio Aetherae*, but at the other end of the scale in a grammarian and other learned writers (xx.5.4.1).

It was suggested (xxxii.9) that a predominating word order aux. + inf. (with the associated VO) may well have been a feature of speech, as distinct from writing, and indeed of speech well up the educational scale and not only of the poorly educated.

1.2 *Change from below*

The key question addressed in this book is whether we can ever securely talk of change emanating from lower social dialects, and perhaps later influencing the Romance languages. Despite the traditional misclassifications referred to in the preceding section, there has emerged here a mass of incontrovertible evidence for usages either found in low-register sources but avoided completely by the educated, or explicitly stigmatised by the educated. These constantly survive in Romance. Sometimes we have evidence of more than one of the types listed at 1.7 bearing on the social level of a phenomenon. Sometimes a usage from lower sociolects was at first rejected by the educated but in time became acceptable.

We can only guess why it was that stigmatised forms of expression should so readily have imposed themselves on the educated, and then have survived in whole areas. One factor might have been the high proportion of uneducated speakers in both urban and rural populations. In the modern

Western world there is universal education, and, although educational levels vary widely, there is mass literacy, which creates a sense in speakers that some linguistic features are considered proper and others are not. In such societies change from above is commonplace, as speakers take up what they perceive to be prestige usages from higher educational classes. In the Roman world by contrast the highly educated elite must have been a tiny group, and their social dialect was perhaps more easily swamped than might have been the case had they been more numerous. The upper classes communicated regularly with slaves and freedmen, and there was a feeling among them that less formal speech was appropriate for such communication (Quint. 12.10.40). The same passage of Quintilian envisages the same level of language being used by the educated with their friends, and Cicero (*Fam.* 9.21.1) refers to the 'plebeian language' that he adopts with one of his friends (see 1.7 (vi)).

A particularly interesting passage is at Quint. 1.6.44–5:

sic in loquendo non si quid uitiose multis insederit pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit. nam ut transeam quem ad modum uulgo imperiti loquantur, tota saepe theatra et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbaramente. ergo consuetudinem sermonis uocabo consensum eruditorum.

So too in speech; we must not accept as a rule of language any bad habits which have become ingrained in many people. To say nothing of the language of the uneducated, we know that whole theatres and the entire circus crowd often commit Barbarisms in the shouting they make. I shall therefore define Usage in speech as the consensus of the educated (Russell, Loeb).

In the second sentence Quintilian alludes (with disapproval) to the language of the uneducated (*imperiti*, here alongside *uulgo* of their general speech habits), and then adds that whole theatres and circus crowds shout out in barbarous language. The point can only be that it is not only the uneducated who make up these crowds but also the educated, and the latter too use the barbarisms of the uneducated masses. They accommodate their speech to those around them, or in other words are influenced by lower social dialects. In the first sentence Quintilian makes it clear that 'bad habits' (note *uitiose*) may become ingrained in many people (*multis*), and states that these should not be accepted as correct simply because they represent the usage of the 'many'; it is the usage of the educated (*eruditorum*) that should be followed, and these by implication are not many. This contrast between the educated and the many shows that the many are the uneducated, and it becomes clear that the final verb phrase of the first sentence is in effect a call to resist change from below, which by implication was hard to do.

We saw that a problem of communication across the classes was perceived particularly by later Christian Fathers (see 1.7 (ii), and below, 2). Augustine appears to have taken pride in employing usages castigated by grammarians so that he could be understood by the ordinary people (see 1.7 (ii); also vii). This attitude was widespread (see Herman 1991), and was conducive to change from below. There was also perhaps a feeling among practically educated men such as architects and doctors that the linguistic practices of those trained by grammarians and rhetors were so rarefied as to be unattainable. The architect Vitruvius makes this point early in his first book (1.1.18), and he happily himself admitted usages rejected by the educated elite (see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1956: 11.92 on *si qui* for *si quis*; also below, 1.4). Practical men were probably more willing to associate themselves linguistically with those they worked with (builders, craftsmen, midwives, and so on) than with the pupils of rhetoricians, and that accommodation would have favoured change from below. When the medical writer Soranus Lat. (Mustio) said in his preface (p. 3 Rose) that he would speak 'simply' to the illiterate midwives he was addressing and use women's words (see also above, 1.7 (ii)), he was promising precisely this form of accommodation, and the attitude conveyed if fairly widespread was bound to cause some usages to move up the social/educational scale.

We offer a summary of the usages discussed in this book that were definitely domiciled in lower social dialects, and rejected by the educated either entirely or for a time.

The case system was one sphere in which there is particularly good evidence for stigmatised usages that were rigorously resisted by the educated over a long period. At xviii.2 there is a list of eleven such phenomena, which need not be repeated here, though some are worth recalling.

First, the point was made at xviii.2, p. 377 that the most striking substandard phenomena down to about the fourth century are all local expressions, static, directional or separative. The evidence that we have tends to come from different types of sources. For example, the directional use of the locative *Capuae* is put into the mouth of a freedman by Petronius, and a little later the same usage (*Alexandrie*) is used several times in the substandard letters of Terentianus from Egypt (xv.4). The two sources, one conveying an attitude by an educated speaker, complement each other and establish that there was a submerged method of referring to motion to a (well-known) town. Both writers have the locative with the same verb, *exeo*, which is suggestive of an idiom.

Second, there is also information from a variety of sources about the use of *in* + acc. to denote motion to a town. This usage was castigated

by Quintilian and it turns up in low-register subliterate documents from Egypt (xv.2). It is also found in Plautus, whose diverse language incorporates elements from lower sociolects considered appropriate to stage performances before a popular audience. Since the emperor Augustus, we are told, used prepositions with names of towns, it is a reasonable guess that this stigmatised construction had some place in the casual speech of the educated. Augustus' motive, according to Suetonius, was to achieve clarity, and that aim reminds one of the readiness of Church Fathers to accommodate their speech to that of their audience so that they could be understood, an accommodation, as we noted, that represents, or might generate, change from below.

Third, fossilised place names were commented on by a grammarian (xv.4). Those with the ending *-as*, used with several case functions, are largely restricted to inscriptions and a mundane bureaucratic text, the *Notitia dignitatum* (xv.5). It is only in very late (early medieval) Latin that the nominative use of the *-as* ending in general (i.e. in common nouns as well as place names) became acceptable.

Fourth, the use of the accusative as subject of passive or inactive intransitive verbs shows up exclusively in late Latin in low-register texts (xii.6.3, 6.4).

Fifth, the nominative of personal names dependent on prepositions occurs only in substandard texts, mainly late (xii.3.1). Lower social dialects also seem to have led the way in the fossilising of the nominative in certain naming constructions (xii.4).

Finally, the reflexive dative with intransitive verbs, particularly with the nuance 'spontaneously' and the like, seems to be domiciled largely in low-register texts (xvi.5, 7). It was eliminated by Vegetius when he found it in his source, and was avoided by Jerome in the Old Testament.

A morphological feature that remained all but completely submerged was the possession by various pronouns of distinct feminine dative and genitive singular forms (xx.3). These are restricted to low-register writing tablets and inscriptions, where they have not always been recognised for what they are, and must for centuries have been rejected by the literary classes. They partly survive in Romance languages.

Gender in Latin was always somewhat variable, with many nouns showing more than one gender or changing gender ad hoc in response to a variety of factors. However, a systematic account of aberrant genders in Plautus on the one hand and Petronius on the other reveals a diachronic development in the use of the neuter (xix). In Plautus variations of gender affect nouns of all three genders. In Petronius there are two distinctive features of gender

variation: all examples are in speeches by freedmen, and all are related to the neuter. The neuter had not been lost, but neuter nouns were tending to switch into the masculine under restricted conditions. Since Petronius only allows this feature in freedmen's speeches, he associated it with the middle to lower end of the social spectrum. One other suggestive item was the appearance, in British writing tablets of military provenance and in the graffiti of La Graufesenque, of a group of neuter plurals of nouns otherwise masculine (e.g. *gladia*, *carra*, *radia*, *modiola*) (xix.11; also below, 1.4). Do we have here, at relatively low social levels, an anticipation of the neuter plural forms that were to survive in some Romance languages (as feminine plurals) with the function of designating groups of weakly differentiated entities?

The history of the indicative in indirect questions is complicated. In the first century AD it does seem to have been socially stigmatised, but by about the fifth century it could be used freely even by a grammarian. This pattern suggests that in the intervening period it had spread from below (xxix.1.9). The infinitive for subjunctive in indirect deliberative questions and in potential/generic relative clauses definitely started in lower sociolects and even in late Latin is largely restricted to low-register texts (xxix.2).

Many misspellings with phonological motivations merely reveal pronunciations that were not socially restricted (see above, 1.1). However, the four structurally parallel types of contact assimilation discussed in Chapter ix (such as *otto* < *octo*) do seem to have been restricted. These had had no influence on Latin as it appears at the start of the historical period, which is remarkable, because the effects of other types of contact assimilation are widespread. Many of these other types had taken place before Latin came to be written down, as the original unassimilated forms are themselves often not attested. The first secure attestations of the four assimilations are in Pompeian graffiti, an early source for lower-class Latin. Thereafter they are rare and very limited in distribution, to a few low-register inscriptions and writing tablets; they also have some parallels in Oscan and Umbrian, which some have taken as suggestive of Italic influence on (lower-class?) Latin. We cannot prove that the underlying pronunciations were not socially widespread in speech, but the history of the four types and the other, structurally different, types in the written language is so different that the educated are likely to have been resisting the former in speech for a long time (see further II.2.2 (ii)).

The aspirate particularly in initial position has an interesting history in Latin (vii). There are signs that it was unstable in country districts from an early period (note for example *anser* 'goose', which etymologically

ought to have an initial *h* but is never attested in that form). In the late Republic dropping of the aspirate and its false addition by hypercorrection were clearly stigmatised by the educated (there is a relevant fragment of Nigidius Figulus, and Catull. 84). At the time of Augustine grammarians were still trying to preserve the aspirate but were mocked for this by Augustine, who accuses them of anachronism. Here then is a feature that started from below, probably both in regional and lower social dialects, and then spread up the social scale, despite the resistance of some grammarians. We have seen other clear-cut pieces of evidence for a rise in acceptability of a once stigmatised usage, perhaps most noticeably in the case of some compounded adverbs/prepositions with the prefix *de-* (*desursum*, *deintus* etc.) (xxiii.8 with 5 ((3)) and of the nominative plural use of the feminine ending *-as* (xii.7). See also iv.2.6 on the spread of the monophthong *e* for *ae*.

One type of syncope that seems to have started in lower sociolects is that in perfect verb forms such as *donaut*, *exiut* (v.2.1).

We noted some slight evidence of very late date that lower social dialects might have led the way in developing articloid uses of *ille* (see xxi.9, p. 526). *Ipse* had a far more complicated history.

One whole area of the language in which usages were often established in lower sociolects but avoided higher up the social/educational scale was that of the lexicon (but see below, 2 on the problem of submerged Latin). Particularly revealing are terms that survive widely in Romance languages and are attested in Latin just a few times in low-register texts (e.g. *ebriacus*: see further xxi.6, p. 565; see in general xxx).

1.3 Change from above

As was noted, at least one of the phenomena discussed at 1.1 above might arguably belong in this category, namely the future periphrasis inf. + *habeo*. The stray example in a substandard text is in a fragmentary context and its interpretation is uncertain. The construction is overwhelmingly in learned texts.

The *dico quod*-construction is absent from low-register documents such as writing tablets, in which speech is often quoted either indirectly by means of the acc. + inf. or in direct form, but can be seen emerging in the literary language (xxviii). The acc. + inf. is also overwhelmingly preferred by the freedmen in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, where there is just one instance of the *quod*-construction. That however is matched by an example in another part of the novel, a distribution which at least shows that

Petronius did not perceive the new construction to be distinctively lower-class. There are two examples of the *dico quia*-construction in speeches by freedmen, the first examples of this usage extant, but it is not impossible to give *quia* a remnant of its causal meaning in both places. In later Latin *dico* + *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* had a firm place in literary language, and it is not possible to assign the construction predominantly to low-register texts.

The comparative construction with *ab* was a prepositional equivalent to the ablative of comparison, alongside which it is discussed by grammarians (xvii.2), and the ablative of comparison was a literary construction. If we see the *ab*-construction as a prepositional development out of the ablative, then that development is likely to have taken place at higher levels of the language (xvii.4).

Habeo + past participle finds its way into handbooks of Vulgar Latin (see xxiv.5), predictably, since it has Romance outcomes, but without justification. Several different constructions underlie this combination, depending on the meaning of *habeo*, and they are all in literary and legal prose. The type which seems to function as a perfect periphrasis is most securely attested in the classical period in Cicero, with participles from verbs denoting mental acquisition or cognition. Otherwise possible perfect equivalents are scattered about in different types of literary texts and do not seem to occur in substandard texts. The argument that there was a new shift towards a genuine perfect periphrasis in the 'late Vulgar Latin of Gaul' as evidenced by Gregory of Tours is far-fetched (xxiv.3), as on the one hand Gregory was a learned writer and on the other his usage in this respect cannot clearly be distinguished from that of Cicero. Scholars have seemed unwilling to see the origin of the Romance construction in the literary language, and there have been claims that much must have been going on beneath the surface, in lower sociolects.

The main suppletive of *ire* was *uado*, which survives extensively in the paradigm of the verb 'go' in Romance languages (xxx1). In late low-register texts it is commonplace. In the classical period, however, it was very much a literary word, at home in poetry and high-style prose, whereas in low-level writing tablets it is non-existent. There are signs particularly in Ovid of a loss of semantic markedness, notably in the form *uade* (xxx1.4.3), which was to become a replacement for *i*. Given the frequency of verbs of motion in subliterate writing tablets and the absence from these of *uado* (xxx1.5), it would be implausible to suggest that, at the time when it was a literary word, it also had an independent existence in the language of the *uulgus*. Here seems to be a verb that started off in higher social dialects denoting

marked forms of motion, underwent semantic weakening in those dialects and sometimes indeed stood in for monosyllabic forms of *ire*, and then spread down the social scale in this weakened sense and became a suppletive, encroaching on *ire* in its weak forms.

Final -s was actively discussed by scholars in the late Republic, and its complete restoration in the literary language of the classical period seems to have been the result of a standardisation movement among the educated (VIII.2.2). If we were right to argue from low-register non-literary documents of the Empire that the restoration also took place in lower social dialects (VIII.2.4), then it is possible that a prestige pronunciation advocated by educated purists had spread down the social scale as well.

It has to be acknowledged, however, that identifying change from above may be problematic. A difficulty is that experiment in the literary language may foreshadow a Romance usage but be independent of later developments at a lower social level (see below, 6.5). Sallust and Tacitus, for example, occasionally use *de* in contexts in which an objective genitive might have been expected (XIII.3.3). This usage anticipates *de* as a substitute for the objective genitive in late low-register texts and as its replacement in Romance. Should we say that the objective-genitive equivalent first emerged in literary Latin and then spread from above? It is far more likely that the isolated phrases in Sallust and Tacitus were ad hoc creations unrelated to extensions of the functions of *de* at a late date and a different social/educational level. To make a case for change from above one needs continuity of evidence over a period suggesting the direction of change. There is such evidence for *uado*, and also for a usage not dealt with in this book, the quasi-adverbial use of *mente* with adjectives (e.g. *tota mente*) anticipating the Romance role of *mente* as an adverbial suffix (see Karlsson 1981, Bauer 2010). Such phrases with *mente* occur in the classical literary language and then spread later in different types of texts.

1.4 Specific social groups within the *uulgus*

For reasons set out at the beginning of the book (1.5) we have been forced to speak vaguely about usages of the *uulgus* without identifying different social groups within the relatively uneducated masses. Imprecise terms such as ‘lower sociolects’, ‘lower social dialects’, ‘uneducated’ versus ‘educated’ usage abound, inevitably, given the deficiencies of the evidence available. Occasionally, however, snippets of information have emerged about the linguistic practices or general linguistic level of specific groups, and it may be worthwhile to collect these here. Grammarians had a habit of attributing

linguistic ‘vices’ to different peoples (*gentes: gentilia uitia*), particularly Africans. These are relevant to regional, not social variation in the strict sense, and have been collected elsewhere (see Adams 2007: 806 s.v. “vices”, linguistic of certain peoples). Similarly ‘rustic’ Latin may have a social dimension, since rustics were often presented as uneducated, but again regional variation is at issue, and we have not dealt systematically with rural Latin here (see Adams 2007: 804 s.v. “rustic” Latin and rustics; see also above, 1.7 (iii)).

Within the *uulgus* a prominent group was the Roman plebs, and usages are ascribed to them by grammarians (Consentius and Fortunatianus: see 1.7 (i)), with disparagement. When referring to the ‘barbarisms’ that even the educated (by implication) fell into in the circus (see above, 1.2) Quintilian no doubt had in mind the urban plebs as the driving force. The plebs were not, however, a uniform mass. There were Greeks and other types of outsiders (see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 9.15.2, *Brut.* 258), and there must have been a good deal of linguistic diversity. Remarks by grammarians are likely to have been over-general.

The diminutive use of the suffix *-inus* had its roots in a feature of the nomenclature of the plebs (xxii.7), and some terms of this diminutive formation can be ascribed specifically to wet nurses and midwives (xxii.7).

The best evidence concerns freedmen. These were not of uniform educational level but ranged from educated scholars to the uneducated types presented by Petronius (1.7 (iii)). It has been noticed that even among Petronius’ uncultured freedmen there are linguistic variations (see 1.7 (iii)). Slaves and freedmen were often of Greek origin, and the speeches in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, particularly of one character, Hermeros, are full of Greek elements. In Plautus too slaves use Greek terms and code-switching (whereas women in particular do not: see Clackson 2011c: 509 with bibliography). The occasional grecising element became established (under restricted conditions) in the Latin of such speakers, notably the feminine genitive ending *-es* and its Latinate variant *-aes* (see 1.7 (iv)). We have in the hand of a real freedman from the Bay of Naples (the location of the *Cena*), C. Novius Eunus, some legal documents of the first century AD which in their spelling display a lack of education (see Adams 1990a). Eunus at one point construes the preposition *per* with the nominative of a personal name, a usage that can be paralleled much later in Latin but is abundant in some corpora of Greek papyri of comparable date (roughly the second century) to Eunus himself (see xii.3.1), and it is possible that he has lapsed into a contemporary Greek practice. His use elsewhere of a neuter

plural subject with the singular verb *est* is open to various explanations (VIII.3.4), and need not reflect Greek influence. But while we may allow that the Latin of some freedmen and slaves was subject to different types of Greek influence, which would have rendered it distinctive, it is not so much interference phenomena as internal Latin developments that make the freedmen's speeches in Petronius interesting. Petronius had noticed features of the language of this social group that he put into their speeches but kept out of the rest of the novel, most notably some uses of the masculine for neuter (see XIX.5.3, and above, 1.2), thereby portraying a real social variation. Certain uses of the indicative in indirect questions are also given only to the freedmen (XXIX.1.7.1). Plautus too assigns some special (Latin) idioms to slaves (1.7 (iii)).

It is worth mentioning here a remark by a freedman which is revealingly discussed by Clackson (2011c: 507). Echion, a humble *centonarius*, accuses Agamemnon, a rhetorician, of looking down at his language: 46.1 *non es nostrae fasciae, et ideo pauperorum uerba derides. scimus te prae litteras fatuum esse* ('you are not one of our bunch, and so you laugh at the speech of the poor. We know that you are crazy for learning', Clackson). Clackson notes that here we have implied a notion that language may be a mark of group identity, remarking:

Agamemnon is taken to use his own learning to enable him to deride the mistakes in Echion's speech, but he is also identified as someone who is an outsider, not a group-member. As Petronius is aware, speakers of non-standard varieties may choose to use them, consciously or unconsciously, in order to gain acceptance within a group.

The sense that a usage may be appropriate to one's class (see Chambers 2002: 350, cited at 1.2 above) and thus a mark of group identity is one of the reasons why speakers maintain stable sociolinguistic variables over a long period, even if they are aware that the variables they use may be stigmatised. In these two sentences and immediately afterwards Echion seems aggressively to be adopting usages that were substandard, the genitive plural *pauperorum*, *prae* + acc. (see *TLL* x.2.379.5ff.), and then *persuadeo* + acc. for dative. The linguistic difference that he clearly perceives between himself and the rhetorician is echoed in a remark by the architect Vitruvius that has been referred to earlier (1.5, and this chapter, 1.2). Vitruvius (1.1.18) apologises to the emperor for any departures that his work may contain from the 'rules of the *ars grammatica*' (*si quid parum ad regulam artis grammaticae fuerit explicatum, ignoscatur*), stating that he does not write as a *rhetor disertus*, but as an architect (*sed ut architectus his litteris imbutus*

haec nissus sum scribere). This is not an unequivocal apology but a statement of identity: his language is that of an architect, who has merely dipped into grammatical rules.

A sense of belonging to a group as motivating the adoption of usages that higher status groups might look down on perhaps lies behind a remarkable morphological item in specimens of soldiers' Latin, to which category we now turn.

Slang terms and technical terms used by soldiers are attested and have been collected (see Heraeus 1902b, 1937: 151–7), but these are usually not the same as sociolinguistic variables, and we have not gone into details of this kind in the book. There are however some more relevant usages in soldiers' Latin that have come up. One of these was mentioned earlier (1.7 (iv)), the repeated use of *debunt* for *debent* by a group of under-officers at Vindolanda in a military outpost where *debent* was also current (and is attested). Given that at least some of those who wrote *debunt* must have been familiar with *debent*, their regular choice of the non-standard variant smacks of the influence of their sense of group membership. A comparable form, *habunt* (see Adams 2003b: 544–5), has turned up in a letter (628) written by a decurion to the commanding officer Cerialis, whose own Latin is very correct. *Habunt* lies behind Fr. *ont*. It is interesting to find these *-unt* forms used by lower officers, and to see that the decurion does not modify his usage when addressing a superior. The cases of *debunt* and *habunt* are a reminder that non-standard variables are not only used by the lowest social classes.

Another feature of the Vindolanda documents (and also the comparable ones from nearby Carlisle) is the accumulation of about half a dozen unusual neuter plural forms (see XIX.11). We see within a specific group below the elite a tendency to convert some masculine inanimates into the neuter in the plural (for possible motivations see 1.2).

A comparable neuter plural, *catilla* alongside the singular *catillus*, was observed within another identifiable non-elite group (potters, craftsmen) (see XIX.11).

2 The problem of submerged Latin

Although Latin is massively documented through literary texts, through extensive Christian and technical texts of late date, through non-literary documents and vast numbers of inscriptions, and although it is possible in many cases to construct narratives of diachronic change based on these written sources, there must always be an element of doubt about the

truth of these narratives, given that our sources are written and Latin was a spoken language, and that writing is conservative (see also above, 1.10). Consequently assertions are commonplace, in the literature on the history of Latin and on Vulgar Latin in particular, that such and such an innovation must have been far more advanced in popular speech than our written sources would lead us to believe. Sometimes these assertions take an extreme form, as in the case of Pulgram's view (1975: see above, III.1) that Romance vowel systems developed out of a vowel system of 'Spoken Latin' that coexisted with the quantitative vowel system of Classical Latin from an early period. Sometimes they are far less implausible. For example, the single example of *inf. + habeo* on a badly written Egyptian ostrakon might lead one to think that the attestation of this proto-Romance future periphrasis almost exclusively in literary texts is misleading, and that it might well have been widespread in spoken lower social varieties as well (see above, 1.1). Sometimes again there may be incontrovertible evidence that a usage existed in speech without surfacing in writing. Quintilian, for example, castigates the compound adverb *desursum* centuries before it appears in literature (see XXIII.2, 5 (1)).

Some idea of the level of our knowledge of what was happening in Latin in the seven or eight centuries prior to the emergence of the Romance languages would be obtained if we attempted to make predictions from the Latin data that we do have about what changes were likely to take place in the long run. For example, if we were entirely ignorant of the main features of the Romance languages, would we be able to predict from the Latin evidence that the neuter gender would be lost (as a separate category)? The answer in this case would probably be yes. There are clear stages to be seen in the disturbances to the neuter, from switches into the masculine under restricted conditions in Petronius, to more generalised switches in the Oribasius translations, and it would be a reasonable guess to say that the category was under threat. On the other hand what could we predict about the fate of the classical future tense? In texts of all descriptions, high and low, and of all dates the traditional inflected future abounds. It is true that substitutes are attested (xxv), namely the present tense with future reference and the *habeo*-construction, but, frequent as these constructions are, their attestations are a drop in the ocean compared with the frequency of the inflected future. Moreover one of the two (the *habeo*-construction) is found mainly in learned texts. No student of Christian literature of the third to sixth centuries, where *inf. + habeo* is mainly found, would be tempted to predict even from these texts that the construction would oust the classical future in a few centuries' time. It follows that we cannot

possibly have access to the full picture. At a submerged level, in speech, there must have been a real decline in the inflected future, leaving the way open for the substitutes to take its place. There is just one piece of evidence pointing to that decline. In the direct speeches found throughout the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, in which future time is often expressed, the present with future reference noticeably outnumbers the old future (xxv.3). This evidence would not be adequate on which to base a prediction that the future would be lost, but it does provide a hint that at an unseen level the future was declining. The case of the passive is similar (xxvi). We can sometimes see reflexive constructions intruding into the territory of the passive (xxvi.12), but the inflected passive is so common in most texts containing such reflexives that it could not be predicted that the passive would disappear. Its history must have been along the same lines as that of the future. While preserved in writing it must have been declining in speech. Again there are hints of such a decline. In some writing tablets the passive of the infectum is all but absent, and the learner of Latin who translated fables of Babrius had not been exposed to it (xxvi.2).

These last two cases (others could be added) show up the inadequacy of written evidence and establish that developments must have been in progress in speech that can hardly be observed. But there is a significant reservation that must be stated about the relevance of submerged developments to social variation. While we might be confident that we can guess in a particular case what was happening beneath the surface in speech, we should not attribute such conjectural features exclusively to the speech of the uneducated. There is no reason why an educated speaker should not have written one thing but said another. It has been pointed out (see xxvi.2) that in some modern European languages the passive is very much a planned construction, used in the most formal registers but avoided in casual speech (by speakers of whatever social class). Similarly in Latin the inflected passive might have been rare in the casual speech of the educated as well as of the uneducated *uulgus*. 'Submerged' does not necessarily mean 'vulgar'.

This last point is an important one. It was made by implication in the chapter on word order (xxxii.9). A case has been argued by Kaster (1988) that the grammarian Pompeius was speaking when he composed his treatise, and this is a text with an overwhelmingly dominant VO (and aux. + inf.) word order, in anticipation of Romance. No other text of the late period seems to have this feature to the same extent, though the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* with its chatty tone comes near. If Kaster's case is accepted we have evidence not for a specifically 'vulgar' practice but for a feature of the casual speech of the educated. By contrast more conventional

written texts of the same period are far more likely to have the object before the verb (with a good deal of variation from text to text), and that would reflect the variable influence of formal traditions of writing. If there was a difference in the matter of word order between educated speech and writing, there is no reason why casual educated speech should not have had other proto-Romance characteristics (such as an absence of synthetic passive forms of the *inflectum*) that are invisible from the written record. We need good cause for concluding that a phenomenon that must have existed at a submerged level belonged to lower sociolects only (or mainly), and not to speech in general. If the submerged usage occasionally rises to the surface in revealing contexts, that may constitute a hint that it was socially restricted (e.g. *ebriacus*, on which see below, this section, p. 860).

We have been stressing the inadequacy of writing in a dead language as evidence for the subjects (especially linguistic change in lower sociolects and the social sources of the Romance languages) discussed in this book. There is always the possibility that the information provided by texts is centuries out of date because change happens in speech not writing, and we cannot observe speech in a language of the past. There are however reasons for not merely abandoning the subject (see also above, 1.10). First, there is at least something to be learned from an analysis of linguistic change as it shows up in writing, even if there is an inevitable time lag between the first appearance of a phenomenon in speech and its entry into texts. All historical accounts (of which there are very many) of languages of the past have to use written evidence, and the time lag referred to above is a problem in every case, despite which scholars go on making the most of what evidence is available. Second, where the history of Latin is concerned we have seen lots of types of special evidence, which take us much closer to speech than do high-style literary texts (though occasionally even these may be revealing, because the varieties of a language, formal versus informal, educated versus uneducated, regional versus standard, written versus spoken are not completely discrete). We have been careful in this book to look for such evidence. At 1.7 we reviewed in general terms the sorts of evidence to be used in the book. It is appropriate here to list some instances of special evidence that tell us something about the spoken practices of lower social classes, or of the educated classes when they departed from the standard recommended by grammarians. In each case the evidence is of a type that can be taken to refer to usage at a particular time, and there is no need to speculate whether it had taken centuries to achieve written form. Evidence of this sort has already come up in this chapter, particularly in the discussion of change from below. We allude briefly to some such cases again.

In the middle of the first century AD Petronius has speakers overtly portrayed as uneducated converting nouns from the neuter into the masculine (see above, 1.2), whereas the narrative parts of the text and speeches by other characters are free of this phenomenon. He must have been presenting a contemporary feature that he specifically associated with lower-class speakers. A little later the Vindolanda tablets also show disturbances to the neuter. These we know were to some extent composed by dictation, and thus are in a sense a reflection of spoken language. Some centuries later we have (in the rhetorician Consultus Fortunatianus) another *testimonium* connecting the masculine for neuter (as in *hunc theatrum*) with a specific (lower-class) group (*Romani uernaculi*) (see 1.7 (i)). *Vernaculus* on the one hand means ‘native-born’, but carries an implication of low-bred, proletarian (*OLD* s.v. 3), and Fortunatianus must have been referring (with disapproval) to the Roman plebs. Similarly Jerome, apologising for his use of *cubitus* for *cubitum*, attributes it to the *uulgus* (xix.12; also 1.7 (ii)). We have here substantial evidence for a stable sociolinguistic variable (for the term and its meaning see Labov 2010, Chapter 3) over several centuries: the usage long remained stigmatised and associated with the lower classes.

Petronius, as we saw above, 1.2, also has one of his lower-class characters use the locative (*Capuae*) as complement of a verb of motion expressing goal of motion. Again the usage stigmatised by Petronius turns up in a near-contemporary writing tablet (a letter of Terentianus) from well down the educational scale, and again, centuries later, comparable usages are castigated by grammarians (xv.3, 4). The phenomenon thus constitutes another stable lower-class variable. In both of these cases a combination of different types of special evidence allows us to see lower-class usages that remained such over a long period, and we do not have to speculate about what might have been happening out of sight in speech. The letters of Terentianus were written by different scribes, and again there might have been an element of dictation in their composition.

Grammarians and other commentators often provide specific information about contemporary lower-class speech, and their comments may sometimes fall into line with other types of evidence. Quintilian, for example, as we saw above, 1.2, castigates the use of *in* + acc. of a town name to express destination, and this turns up in other significant sources spanning a period of about 400 years. Here then is another stable sociolinguistic variable that was associated with lower social dialects for centuries.

Again, the suffixal adjective *ebriacus* is condemned by the grammarian Charisius, and his remark coheres with the distribution of the word

(xxii.6). It is admitted some centuries earlier in the republican genre mime (Laberius), which like Atellan farce drew on popular speech, and there are imperial attestations in low-register sources.

Augustine and other Church Fathers comment explicitly on lower-class usages that they are prepared to admit sometimes for the sake of being understood (I.7 (ii); also above, I.2). Their *testimonia* not only provide facts about current lower-class features of speech but also imply that there were some marked distinctions between varieties of speech at opposite ends of the social spectrum, such that problems of communication might arise. Augustine, however, was also aware that class-related variation was not always as marked as grammarians would like it to have been. Augustine rebukes grammarians for their anachronistic attitudes to various phenomena, such as the insertion of a glide between vowels of different quality (vi.6), the dropping of the initial aspirate (vii), and the lengthening of short vowels under the accent (iii.6). The implication is that these practices, though castigated by grammarians, were to some extent current among the educated themselves. It was pointed out at the start (I.2) that there are usually not rigid distinctions between different social classes in their adoption or rejection of sociolinguistic variables; rather, the frequency of the variable will vary from class to class. Augustine's comments on the glide and aspirate imply that grammarians were almost on their own in their recommendations.

Occasionally a modest source may convey important information. We have referred already in this section to the direct speeches in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. These may well have been composed by the author herself, as the informants she quotes during her eastern pilgrimage were not necessarily Latin speakers. The text provides a contrast between narrative (careful style) and speech (casual style). The preference in the latter for the present tense referring to the future over the old future hints at a decline of the classical future.

Sometimes a comparison of two closely related texts may provide information about the status of certain usages. Vegetius in his *Mulomedicina* drew heavily on the substandard *Mulomedicina Chironis*, often changing the wording of the original. Comparisons have often been made with the aim of identifying usages that Vegetius considered to be stigmatised. We noted (I.7 (v)) that sometimes such comparisons are misleading because they have been based on selective evidence (see XIII.5.5 n. 17 on the sympathetic dative, xxvi.9 on reflexive constructions), but social attitudes may be deduced from some of Vegetius' changes (see XII.6.3, pp. 242, 244 on the elimination of a subject accusative, XVI.5, 7 on avoidance of

reflexive datives with intransitive verbs, XIX.10 on the elimination of the plural form *armora*, XXII.7 on the diminutive formation *-inus*, and XXIII.7 on compound adverbs).

Finally, it is worth referring again (see above, 1.3) to an item of literary evidence, the use of *uade* in Ovid. The neutral use of the imperative turns up in Ovid at a time when the monosyllabic forms of *ire* had virtually disappeared from prose, and Ovid's usage in part may be seen as an anticipation of the later role of *uado* as a suppletive. We seem to be witnessing here current developments in the language.

There is no need to dwell further on the types of special evidence that have recurred throughout this book. With the selected items above we have merely tried to show that to dismiss writing in general as a potential source of information about social variation and linguistic change in Latin would be misguided, because writing takes many forms and there is a lot to go on in establishing features of social dialects. The evidence set out above points to features of speech contemporary with the date of the source.

3 Conclusions: innovation in Latin and social class

Once we allow for the points made in the last paragraph of the preceding section the fact remains that most Latin extant is learned and literary. Despite the relative poverty of our evidence for low social varieties, far more of the linguistic changes that came up in the core chapters of this book exemplify change from below than other sources of change. We are obliged to conclude that it was mainly lower social dialects that were generating the types of changes that were to make the Romance languages look different from Latin. One is reminded of Consentius' observation (see Adams 2007: 205) that the Roman plebs aspired to linguistic novelty (*GL* v.392.16–17 = Niedermann 1937: 11.25–6 *quod uitium plebem Romanam quadam deliciosa nouitatis affectione corrumpit*). His three examples are all phonological. The remark may perhaps be taken to suggest that Consentius was particularly aware of innovations in lower-class speech that he would himself have avoided.

Several other themes have recurred in this book, which it may be worthwhile in this concluding chapter to comment on more comprehensively.

4 Early Latin and the Romance languages

It was observed in the first chapter (1.4) that there has been a tradition of tracing proto-Romance features back to early Latin and particularly

Plautus. The implication is usually that a feature that surfaces in, say, Plautus from spoken varieties remained in spoken use for centuries before resurfacing at a later period or in Romance. It cannot be denied that there was sometimes continuity between early and later Latin/Romance, such that a usage disappears from sight and then reappears centuries later. A good example was seen at xxx.1. *Cam(p)sare*, a popular borrowing derived from a Greek aorist form, is found in Ennius and not again until the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. Later it turns up in Romance. Since the term is unlikely to have been borrowed twice in this form, it must have been in unbroken spoken use between the time of Ennius and the *Peregrinatio*. In an earlier chapter (xx.2.1) we commented on the reinforced pronoun form *illic* (*illunc* etc.), which disappeared from the literary language during the Republic but reappeared in low-register documents of the Empire. Sometimes too it is a regional usage that had a long life mainly out of sight (see the index to Adams 2007 at 799, s.v. 'continuity, of dialects/regional Latin').

This is not the place to reopen the whole subject of possible continuities between early Latin and late Latin/Romance. It has however come up often in earlier chapters, and it is appropriate to offer a summary of our findings.

The most important finding is that apparent continuities are not always what they seem, and that scholars have been uncritical in discovering connections between early and late phenomena. The monophthongised form of *aurum*, *orum*, is attested early on and may seem to be an anticipation of It. *oro*, but we saw (iv.3) that the quality of the first vowel was different in the two terms, and that the Italian form reflects a second monophthongisation. In Plautus a use of *ad* supposedly equivalent to a dative of the indirect object and anticipatory of Romance constructions is no such thing (xiii.5.1). Throughout Latin *ad* expresses special nuances even when it might appear to overlap with the dative. *Ambulo* has been taken to function as a suppletive of *ire* in Plautus, but we saw that its use is always semantically motivated (xxxi.4.2). Any attempt to find in Plautus signs of a proto-Romance gender shift from neuter to masculine is misguided (xix.4.3.3). There is considerable gender variation in Plautus of many types and with many motivations, and it is misleading to seize on a few cases of one type and disregard the others, which taken together point to a lack of standardisation rather than to one particular trend. In Plautus *ecce* sometimes coalesces with the demonstratives *ille* and *iste*, but under restricted conditions (forming exclamatory accusatives), and such forms cannot be related directly to superficially similar Romance forms (e.g. It. *quello*, *questo*), which are not subject to the same limitations (xx.5.2–3, 6). There is a view that the use of *habeo* + past participle in Plautus,

supposedly anticipating the Romance perfect periphrasis, belonged to the 'Volkssprache' (xxiv.3), but it emerged from the chapter that most examples of the combination, in Plautus and elsewhere, are not genuine perfect equivalents at all. On the break in continuity between Plautus and late Latin see particularly xxiv.2.1 on the account of Benveniste. It is also unclear whether there is a direct connection between periphrases with participles of mental acquisition in Classical Latin and the Romance perfect (xxiv.2.3.1). It was argued (viii.2) that there was a break in continuity between the loss of final *s* under certain conditions in early Latin, and its disappearance in some areas of Romance. There is evidence for a restoration of *-s* in the late Republic affecting all social varieties. Finally, we reported (ix.5 (4)) an argument that the assimilation of the type *octo* > *oto* (with single consonant) found in the early first century AD is not to be linked directly to the assimilation seen in Italian *otto* (with geminate).

We did on the other hand observe some continuities between early Latin and Romance. Despite what was said about *aurum/oro* above, there is a small group of Romance terms that preserve the type of monophthong derived from original *au* that there is reason to believe emerged in early Latin, as distinct from reflecting a secondary monophthongisation at a much later period (terms deriving from *coda*, *codex*, *foces* and a few others: see iv.3). The use of the present for future (xxv.3) is in Plautus and scattered throughout Latin, usually in significant texts or contexts. It continued into Romance. Two uses of *de* also go well back in Latin, the one which was to lead to the partitive article (xiii.4.5), and the adnominal use expressing definition (xiii.4.6).

It follows that each possible case of continuity should be considered on its merits.

5 Grammarians

Grammarians have been mentioned often in this chapter and have been cited throughout the book. Their motives in recommending or castigating certain usages were variable, and it is a mistake to see them merely as commenting on usages that were generally considered socially standard. They did to be sure have a certain interest in drawing attention to stigmatised usages current among the lower classes (see e.g. above, 3 for Consentius on the Roman plebs; Charisius' comment on *ebriacus* can be taken in that way (xxii.6), as can Quintilian's on the use of *in* + acc. with the names of towns (xv.2)). We have, however, stressed throughout that that is only part of the story, because their main interest was in the language

of those whom they were instructing. Their obsessions were often divorced from reality, and we cannot arrive at features of stigmatised lower social varieties merely by listing usages that they condemned. It is worthwhile here to illustrate this point briefly by referring back to some of the remarks by grammarians that have been collected in this and earlier chapters.

A grammarian commenting on the use of the present tense with future meaning lets it slip that no 'solecism' was more common even among the *docti* (*etiam a doctis*) (xxv.3, p. 671, and above, 1.2). He might have heard it among the *indocti* as well, but that is not the point of the remark. He was standing up against a usage that was current high up the educational scale.

Even more striking are some of the grammarians' discussions of comparative constructions (xvii.2). They advocate the ablative of comparison above the others, and one of them (Pompeius) even goes so far as to state that the *quam*-construction should not be used, except under special circumstances. Here grammarians have turned a blind eye to the realities of expressions of comparison. The *quam*-construction had always been standard at all levels of the language. The ablative was a relatively infrequent variant employed mainly in particular contexts. Pompeius was thus rejecting standard Latin, and grammarians in general were trying to establish the literary construction as the norm, castigating as well the prepositional substitute with *ab*. It was pointed out that Pompeius does not follow his own recommendations, and that betrays the lack of realism that must always be allowed for in the assertions of grammarians.

Augustine in one place ridicules grammarians for their anachronistic efforts to reintroduce the aspirate in initial position (see vii). The passage implies not that there was a lower-class feature of which grammarians disapproved, but that most speakers of whatever class dropped the aspirate and that grammarians were trying to reinstate what they regarded as a feature of educated Latin of an earlier era. Grammarians' attempts to stop the lengthening of short vowels under the accent also look artificial, given the mistakes that they themselves made (see iii.6), and suggest that they were not merely reacting against a specifically lower-class development but seeking to impose the system they found in classical versification (see also above, 1.7 (i)).

The nature of Augustine's mockery of grammarians for resisting the insertion of glides between vowels of differing quality in hiatus (see vi.6) suggests that they were trying to inflict, against usage, spelling pronunciations on the educated class. The passage does not imply any distinction between the usage of the educated and that of lower classes, who simply do not come into it.

The grammarian Diomedes found fault with the indicative in indirect questions, but a fellow grammarian of the same period used it freely, and it is obvious that Diomedes was trying to reinstate a usage of classical texts, against the practice of the contemporary educated class (xxix.1.2, 1.8).

Although some grammarians were obsessive in some matters, there were variations of opinion, and we sometimes find some of them adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude. Quintilian, for example, was not bothered by the falling together of *at* and *ad* in (educated) speech, whereas Terentius Scaurus was (viii.3.5.1). We also noted a revealing admission by Velius Longus that a grammarians' rule was at variance with a pronunciation of educated speech (viii.3.5.1). On an inconsistency between Quintilian and Velius Longus see ix.7.1.

6 Social variation and Latin literature

A good deal of the material in this book has to do with Latin literature, and we might ask to what extent literary genres exploit or reflect social variation in the language. In this section there is a summary with cross-references of the various themes of literary significance that have come up. The most obvious text containing linguistic variation determined by the social status of the speakers is the *Satyricon* of Petronius, and we will not refer to it again here. Speeches in other literary works have also been alluded to and will not be mentioned here.

6.1 Phonological variables

Socially determined phonological variables are represented by spelling variations, and it is surprising to what extent these variables play a part in distinguishing genres or establishing the tone of a particular context or characterising a speaker or referent. A clear case (with regional significance primarily but also social) is the satirist Lucilius' use of the forms *Cecilius* and *pretor* at 1130 to stigmatise the person referred to (iv.2.1). There is evidence too that rustics in Atellan farce were assigned a form with *e* for *ae* (iv.2.2), no doubt as a means of characterisation. The monophthongal variant (*o*) of the *au* diphthong also occurs in some significant contexts. *Plaustrum*, for example, is the form preferred in literary Latin, but Cato and Vitruvius in their practical manuals favour *plostrum* (iv.3.1.6). The diminutive *plostellum* is also in Horace's *Satires*, and satire, like farce, is a genre in which disparaged variables have a role (see above and further below). Cicero uses two *o*-forms in proverbial expressions in letters (see iv.3.1.2 on *oricula* and

IV.3.1.7 on *olla*), to impart a tone suitable both to the homely phrases and to the genre. Catullus too has both forms in proverbs in shorter poems. More problematic is the interpretation of Celsus' use (if the manuscripts are to be trusted) of *colis* 'penis' (see IV.3.1.5), a form which appears to make the term down-to-earth and 'Italian', and to dissociate it from a similar Greek word.

Syncope has complex motivations, and cannot simply be attributed to lower sociolects. We did see a few interesting literary variations. Syncope in *calidus* (> *caldus*) is attested mainly in satire and epigram (Lucilius, Horace and Martial), and in prose in practical texts (v.2.2). The high literary term *ualidus* resisted syncope, but the colloquial derivative adverb *ualde* shows it almost invariably (v.2.5). Occasionally orators as a group are held up as users of what is socially acceptable (see Gell. 1.22.2 at 1.1), and that is so in the case of *audacter* (v.2.3), where it is the syncopated form that is recommended, though not by extreme pedants. These cases in different ways show the interaction of social and stylistic determinants. The stigmatised syncopated variable is admitted in casual/informal style, but in some words may become the norm, and its full variant is then treated by some as no longer acceptable.

It has been suggested in the literature that a stylistic factor influences the use of another variable in early Latin, that is the deletion of final -s under certain phonetic conditions (VIII.2.2). Deletion has been reported to be more common in spoken than sung metres in Plautus, and more common also in funerary than in sacral inscriptions, and that would suggest a resistance to loss in the most formal styles. We questioned, however, the reliability of the evidence.

There is a particular literary interest to several terms with an open vowel (*e*) in hiatus where the educated language has *i*. The phenomenon starts out as regional (e.g. in *filea* for *filia* in inscriptions probably from Praeneste, and in Plautus' *conea* for *ciconia*, attributed to Praenestines), but one such term (*labeae*; also with a change of gender) reached the city, where it was undoubtedly socially stigmatised, as it occurs only in Atellan farce (Pomponius and Novius), Lucilius and in a passage of Plautus where the dramatic illusion is dropped (see XIX.4.1 (12) and also VI.2). It is found in several phrases of aggressive content, and there can be little doubt that these various writers were admitting a disparaged form (there were various synonyms available) to suit the genre and context.

Another term with a provincial feature that reached the city, no doubt through movements of population at a low social level, and was admitted to a lower genre was *glaucuma* (XIX.4.2.3 (30)).

6.2 *Morphological variables*

Three categories of phenomena with relevance to generic variation in literature have come up.

First, various Greek neuters in $-\mu\alpha$ (e.g. *schema*, *stigma*, *glaucuma*) are used as feminines in genres such as comedy, farce, mime and satire and also a freedman's speech in Petronius (see XIX.5 (ii), 4.2.3 [30, 31], 12.2), but in the high literary language are given their original neuter gender. One such term, *schema*, is neuter in early tragedy but feminine in comedy (XIX.12.2). The change of gender reflects a popular or acoustic borrowing, and the popular forms were obviously felt to be suitable to lower genres.

Second, by the late Republic the reinforced pronoun form *istaec* (neuter plural) is admitted only in informal style (letters, Catullus, a speech in the senate containing a sexual charge) (xx.2.2), particularly in hackneyed phrases. It might also have been current in low social dialects, though there is no evidence of the relevant type at this date.

Third, various hybrids, with Latin base but foreign suffix (Greek, Etruscan or Celtic), are found only in the lower genres mime, comedy and Menippean satire, and in a speech in Petronius (xxii.6 *leuenna*, *ebriacus*, *hamiota*, *lupatria*), and one of these (*ebriacus*) is stigmatised by a grammarian.

On the other hand it was argued (xxii.11) that the suffix *-osus* was without social significance and that it should have no place in attempts to find rustic or plebeian elements in literary genres.

6.3 *Syntactic variables*

Directional expressions show some variation, with forms considered acceptable by the educated sometimes rivalled by stigmatised forms. We observed (xv.2; also above, 1.2) a familiar pattern in the use of the preposition *in* with names of towns: it is criticised by a grammarian and attested in non-literary documents from Egypt, but also admitted in comedy. Of particular interest is the fact that another castigated usage, *intus* for *intro*, sometimes intrudes into high literature (e.g. Lucretius, Ovid, Tacitus: see xv.3, xxiii.3). Here is evidence for a general point that has often been made here, that distinctions between social dialects are not absolute, and that one cannot always see a motive when a socially disparaged usage is admitted in high style. In Latin literature it is usually the case, as has been shown above, that disparaged usages turn up in what we have referred to as lower genres, but that is not always so. There was also some slippage in the distinction

between *foris* and *foras*, with the former admitted for the latter by Pliny the Elder (xv.3).

There is some evidence that reflexive datives (with various nuances) with intransitive verbs were frowned on by some purists. It is interesting to find one (which seems pleonastic) in Horace's *Satires* (see xvi.5). This seems to be an anticipation of a type of usage found much later, mainly in low-register texts.

6.4 *The lexicon*

The lexicon has had only a marginal place in this book, but we have seen a few items, largely submerged though in some cases with Romance reflexes, which turn up in significant texts or contexts. A proto-Romance use of *bucca* is admitted by Cicero in casual style (letters) (xxx.2.7). Various weakly attested anatomical terms, *pantex* (xxx.2.15), *aqualiculus* (xxx.2.15) and *rostrum* of humans (xxx.2.7), appear in lower genres such as farce and satire, typically in pejorative contexts. More striking is the appearance of *pisinnus* and *manduco*, both of which belonged to low sociolects (or in the case of *manduco* to casual style as well among the educated), in an epic fragment (I.7 (vi), xxii.9). It is not clear whether the writer was striving for a particular effect or showing indifference to normal social restrictions.

6.5 *Some conclusions*

The variables seen above that had associations with lower sociolects were admitted by the educated into literary compositions under various conditions or for various purposes. Socially disparaged variables might be (1) suited to the general tone of certain lower literary genres (comedy, farce, mime, satire) that presented scenes from mundane life; (2) suited to the micro-context within a work, as for example to a popular proverb or abusive remark; (3) used to characterise a speaker within a work that is otherwise in a higher style; (4) chosen to clash with their surroundings to achieve some sort of effect, as when the epic poet used both *pisinnus* and *manduco* in a single sentence in a translation of Homer; (5) used to achieve a casual style in epistolography; or (6) suited to the readership, a factor of which Jerome was aware (xix.12). Jerome's Latin, across a range of genres, is very variable (xvi.5, xxxi.4.1, xxxii.4). To these six categories, which are not completely discrete, there might be added the phenomenon that we referred to as slippage, that is when a stigmatised usage is admitted in high literature either for no apparent reason other than that no one

resists disparaged usages all the time, or because different writers may evaluate the same usage differently (see above on *intus*).

Sometimes a usage that was to have a Romance outcome makes an appearance in literature not as a manifestation of any of the above factors, but because it was an innovation that first occurred at higher social or educational levels of the language and then spread from above (see above, 1.3).

We also saw a variation on this pattern. Sometimes high-style writers in their striving for unusual forms of expression happen to anticipate developments of a much later period that in some cases were destined to have an outcome in Romance. There need be no continuity between the anticipation and the later development. The innovation is ephemeral and is made again centuries later, usually at a lower social/educational level of the language (see also above, 1.3). Into this category fall the use by Sallust and Tacitus of *de* as equivalent to the objective genitive (XIII.3.3), the use by Tacitus of instrumental *per* with concrete nouns (XIII.3.1; cf. 6.2), *percutio* with quasi-instrumental *de* in Ovid (XIII.6.4.2; cf. XIII.7, p. 319 for *percutio de* in late low-register texts), *ab* as a substitute for the ablative of comparison in Ovid (XVII.2), and a use by Propertius of *uenio* with a perfect participle that comes close to a perfect periphrasis (XXVI.14.2).

7 Greek and Latin

The interaction of Greek and Latin under the Roman Empire is not a theme that is germane to the subject of this book, but it has come up often and it is appropriate here to note the places. There has been a long tradition of discussing the influence of Greek on Latin, the influence of Latin on Greek, and ‘parallel development’ of the two languages (on this last see e.g. E. Löfstedt 1936: 217 s.v. ‘Lateinische-Griechische Parallelentwicklung’, 1959: 113–19; see now too the wide-ranging discussion by Calboli 2009). Old-fashioned ‘parallel developments’ might arguably be seen as manifesting the effects of a Greek–Latin *Sprachbund* (on which see Kramer 2011: 57–80). The interactions seen in this book have been variable in type.

In both Greek and Latin separative adverbs tended to lose their separative force (XXIII. 3–4), and in both prefixing was used to establish a separative form, or remotivate an earlier separative form. Structurally, however, the Greek and Latin compounds show some differences (XXIII.8), and it would be unconvincing to argue for direct influence in one direction or the other, except in a few particular cases of translationese in the Latin Bible (XXIII.6.4, 6.10 n. 15). There was however parallel development.

In the earlier period there is some employment of the Latin demonstrative system to imitate uses of the Greek article (xxi.2), but the Latin demonstratives retain their traditional deixis and it is hard to see how such uses could have had any influence in the long run on the emergence of the Romance article. On the other hand contrastive, articloid uses of *ille* in very late Latin mimic a Greek article type closely (xxi.6), and what is more they are most easily identified in Anthimus, a native speaker of Greek.

We saw a tendency in both non-standard Greek and non-standard Latin for the nominative form of a personal name to be treated as invariable when dependent on the prepositions *διὰ* and *per* (xii.3.1), and an early example of this usage in Latin is committed by a Greek.

Prepositional encroachments on the dative of the indirect object share a feature in the two languages (xiii.5.3). The old dative of pronouns goes on being used, whereas prepositions are found particularly with nouns and names, most notably complementing verbs of saying. It does not seem justified to argue for the specific influence of one language on the other.

A Latinism in Greek was seen (xxiv.5, p. 650) in a specific use of ἔχω + perfect passive participle, which corresponds to one type of the Latin construction *habeo* + past participle.

Leaving aside loan-words, which move in both directions (see 1.7 (iii) on Hermeros in Petronius), we have noted subtle lexical influences of Greek on Latin (on the gender of *uenter* (xxx.2.15) and on the accentuation of *ficatum* (xxx.2.16)).

The VO character of the word order of the grammarian Pompeius is anticipated centuries earlier in the letters of Terentianus (xxxii.6), but Terentianus was bilingual, and his Greek letters show the same characteristic (see Adams 1978a: 68). Were the languages developing along the same lines at the level of speech?

Opinions will vary about the significance of these various connections. There is some evidence for the influence of Greek on Latin and a little for the influence of Latin on Greek, but there are also similarities where it is not possible to pin down the direction of the influence.

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Subject index

This book has a very detailed list of Contents, which makes clear most of the topics discussed. The following index does not duplicate to any extent the material contained there, but adds selected topics that do not emerge from the Contents. References to classical authors can be located from the Index locorum potiorum. Authors or texts with an entry here are usually not comprehensively indexed in the Index locorum potiorum, or else their usage is regarded as worthy of special note.

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